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HISTORY OF THE GENESEE COUNTRY

(Western New York)

*Comprising the counties of Allegany, Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Chemung,
Erie, Genesee, Livingston, Monroe, Niagara, Ontario, Orleans,
Schuyler, Steuben, Wayne, Wyoming and Yates.*

EDITED BY
LOCKWOOD R. DOTY

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ILLUSTRATED

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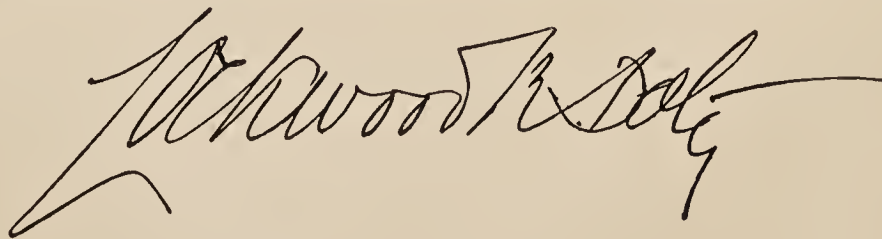
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FOREWORD 2278142

The region historically known as the Genesee Country is, broadly interpreted, co-extensive with Western New York, whose eastern boundaries may be fairly, if somewhat arbitrarily, drawn at Seneca Lake, and whose northern, western and southern borders are the outlines of the State. Within this domain lie the counties of Allegany, Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Erie, Genesee, Livingston, Monroe, Niagara, Ontario, Orleans, Schuyler, Steuben, Wayne, Wyoming and Yates, having an area of more than eleven thousand square miles and a population in the year 1920 of about one million six hundred and seventy-five thousand. In extent this district embraces nearly one-quarter of the State and one-sixth of its population. It is identical with the territory comprising the original Phelps and Gorham Purchase, and here abode the Senecas, the most populous and warlike of the nations of the Iroquois League—the keepers of the Western Door of the Long House. It is an empire within itself, including fifteen counties; two hundred and eighty-one towns; one hundred and thirty-four incorporated villages, and fourteen cities, of which Buffalo and Rochester are the largest of the State outside of the Metropolitan district.

The annals of the Genesee Country are of surpassing interest and importance. Rich in legend; a narrative of constant and exciting activity in the period of aboriginal occupation; of eventful years of pioneer life while hardy, courageous and forceful men were helping to build a nation, and a story of accomplishment down to the present day that has given to this country an extraordinary distinction.

These records have been preserved only piecemeal in local histories; the limitations of space in histories of the whole State have not permitted an adequate account of the Genesee Country and its people, and these volumes are presented in the belief that the time has come when their history should be written.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Howard Crosby", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.



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SURFACE OR AREAL GEOGRAPHY OF WESTERN NEW YORK (Plate 1).

THE GENESEE COUNTRY

CHAPTER I.

GEOLOGIC HISTORY OF THE GENESEE COUNTRY.

By HERMAN LEROY FAIRCHILD
University of Rochester.

Western New York has been aptly called the Garden of the World. Its beauty and fertility justify the appellation. In richness of soil and variety and abundance of earth products; in favorable climatic conditions; in diversity of physical features and scenic beauty; and in the character of its people with their institutions and industries, the area may rightly claim superiority. And the district of the Genesee is the choicest part, the fruit and flower corner of that garden.

For these material excellencies the Genesee region has long been famous, but the unusual scientific features have not been fully recognized. In several geologic and physiographic characters central and western New York may challenge the world. The series of twenty parallel valleys, holding twelve beautiful lakes, is unequaled and the story of their making is a drama in the geologic history. The display of oval, ice-built hills between Rochester and Syracuse is the finest group of drumlins in the world. The Genesee Valley has the most varied and complicated drainage history of any river basin. The display of rock strata in the canyons of the Genesee and Niagara rivers is unsurpassed for clearness and perfection of the geologic record, and is classic in geologic literature. In its northward course, entirely across New York, with its three splendid canyons and six cataracts, the Genesee River is unique.

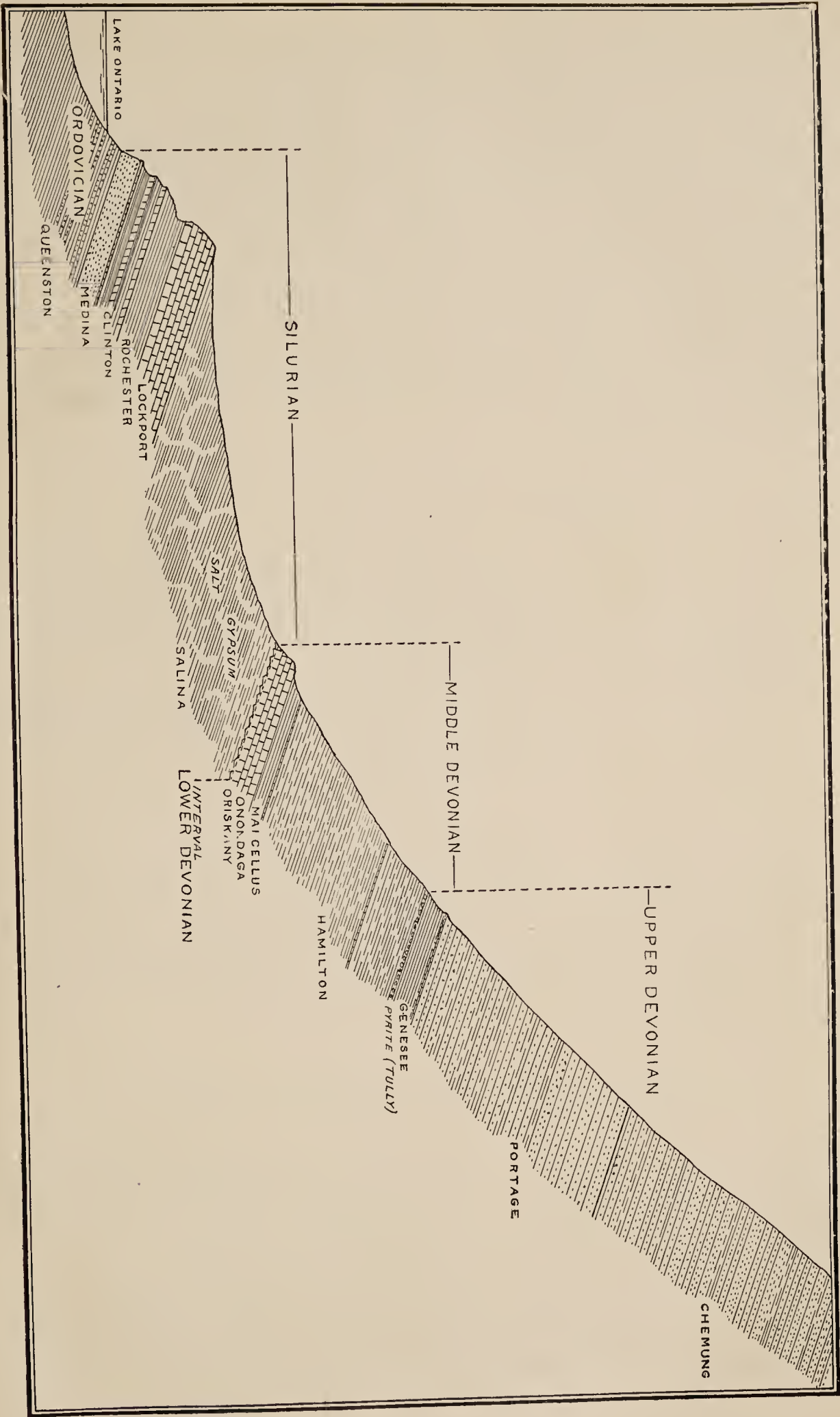
All the physical features of the Genesee region are the effects of geologic processes. Its soil fertility and agricultural advantages; its mineral deposits; its surface relief of valley, plain and mountain; its lakes and rivers and cataracts; and its singular scenic charm are all the product of nature's forces working cease-

lessly through many millions of years. The story of that activity is the geologic history. Through immeasurable later time the rivers have carved their valleys in the solid rocks, with the aid of rain and frost and the chemical action of the atmosphere. But the rocks were formed in an earlier era of vast duration, having been deposited in ancient seas which covered the wide spaces of what is now western New York. The waves and tides of those ancient waters spread out the sediments of sand and clay and lime in horizontal layers which are now consolidated into the hard rocks. Subterranean forces have subsequently lifted the marine rock-strata out of the sea, and high in the air, to an altitude over 2,000 feet.

Our story, therefore, divides naturally into two great eras, first, the immensely long time of submergence in the shallow inland (epicontinental) seas, and second, the long era of uplift and of exposure to the destructive forces of the atmosphere.

OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY.

The geologic story of the Genesee region can not be told in simplicity for easy reading. The history is involved in that of the larger territory of eastern America, and in some difficult geologic problems. Dealing with vast lengths of time and with conditions very unlike the present, a demand is made on the constructive or scientific imagination of the reader, requiring an appreciation of conditions and events far beyond the range in experience and in study of most readers of these lines. For example, the story of the Rochester canyon of the Genesee River, the very latest event, requires not only an understanding of the nature of stream erosion but the recognition of the interfering action of a continental ice-sheet (the Quebec Glacier); the presence of high-level glacial lakes; the later presence of sea-level waters; the final presence of Lake Ontario as the latest water-level limiting the river erosion; and during all the time of erosion of the canyon the land was being uplifted, with some tilting of the surface. (See No. 52 of the appended list of writings and plate 35.) The serious study of the chain of cause and effect leads clear back to the method of formation of the globe. How-



GENESEE VALLEY ROCK STRATA (Plate 2).
Vertical north and south section; looking eastward.

ever, the writer will try to tell the story as simply and clearly and with as few technical terms as possible.

The earlier part of the history, while the region was generally beneath oceanic waters, the era of submergence and sedimentation, will not be described in detail, because the records, rocks and fossils, are not everywhere available for study. But the second era, the time since the region was permanently raised out of the sea and subjected to the familiar agencies of the atmosphere, has educational value and will be discussed more fully. The following tabulation gives the outline or summary of the long geologic history. The geologic names of the time divisions are given on page 25.

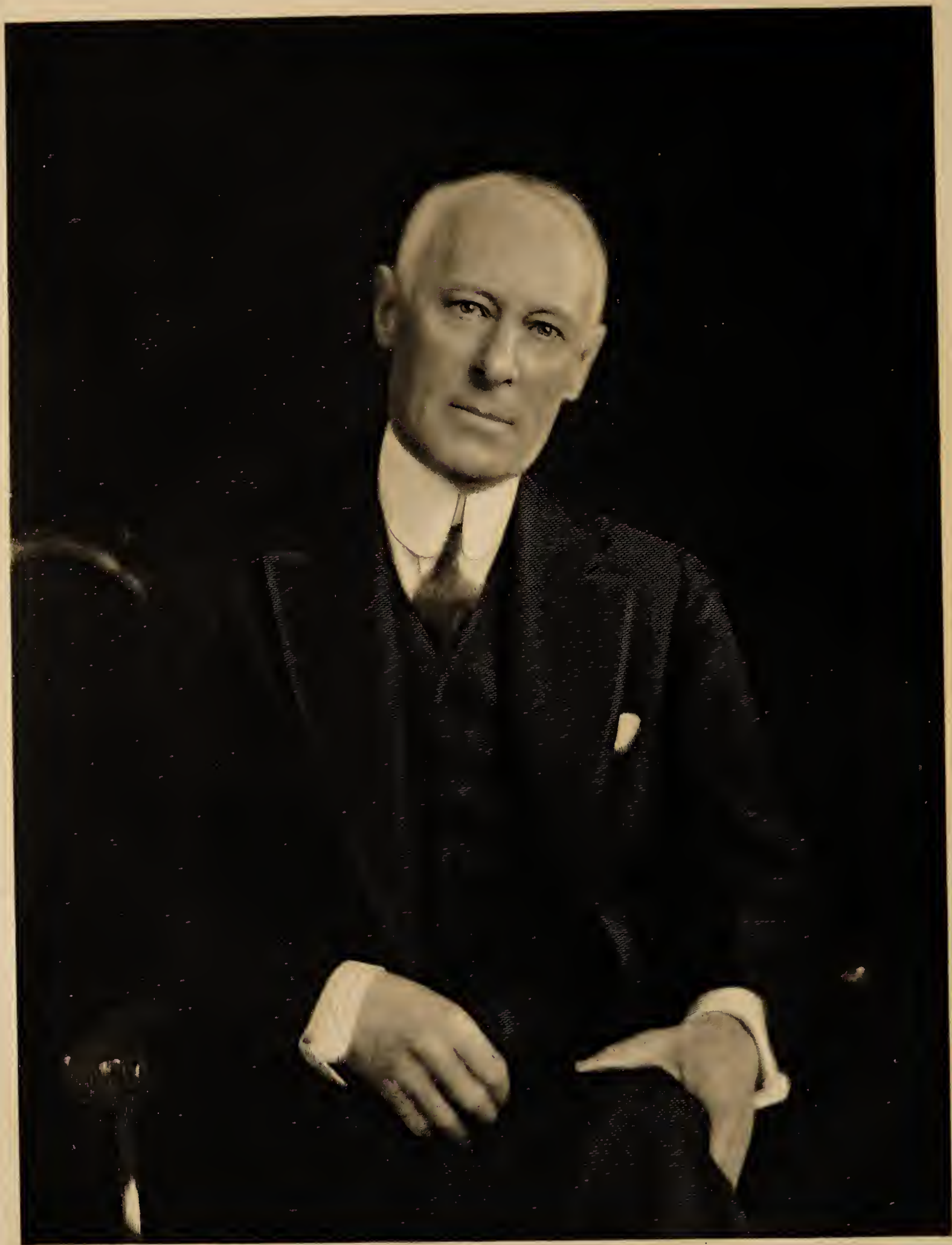
DIVISIONS OF THE GEOLOGIC HISTORY

<p>A.</p> <p>Era of prevailing <i>Submergence</i>, with rock-formation, or <i>Sedimentation</i>.</p>	<p>1. Burial of the region under shallow (epicontinental) seas, from Cambrian to Devonian time; with prevailing slow subsidence, and deposition of thousands of feet of rock-forming sediments. Some intervals of exposure to the atmosphere, with surface erosion. Tens of millions of years.</p> <p>2. Continuous exposure of the area to the atmosphere, with land erosion; from the Devonian Period to the Pleistocene Period (Glacial time). Tens of millions of years.</p>
<p>B.</p> <p>Era of uplift, and exposure to atmospheric conditions, with <i>Erosion</i> and production of the present surface features. <i>Physiography</i></p>	<p>3. The Glacial Period. The area buried under thousands of feet of ice (Quebec Glacier). Hundreds of thousands of years.</p> <p>4. The present, Post-Glacial, episode of re-exposure to the atmosphere, with renewed rock destruction and land erosion. Tens of thousands of years.</p>

INTERPRETATION OF THE GEOLOGIC RECORD.

The reader may wish to know how the long-ago events and conditions can be learned or deciphered. The translation of the rock-record is not difficult, in its general features.

All the rock strata of our region, at least as far as now recognized, are beds of detritus laid down in the sea. This is an evident fact from the great abundance of marine fossils contained in the rocks. The materials of the deposits were derived from



Richard R. Dady

LOWER SILURIC (UPPER MEDINA-EDGEWOOD)



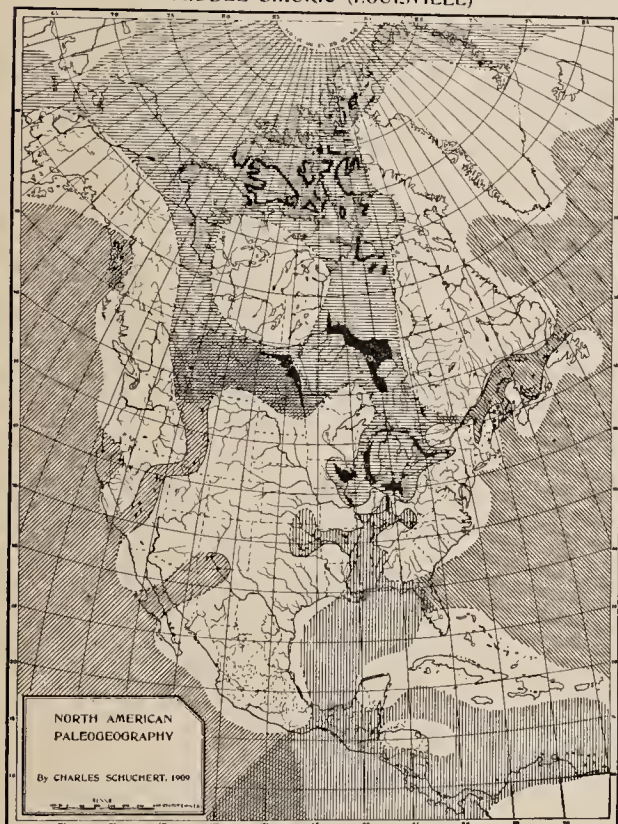
1

MIDDLE SILURIC (ROCHESTER-OSGOOD)



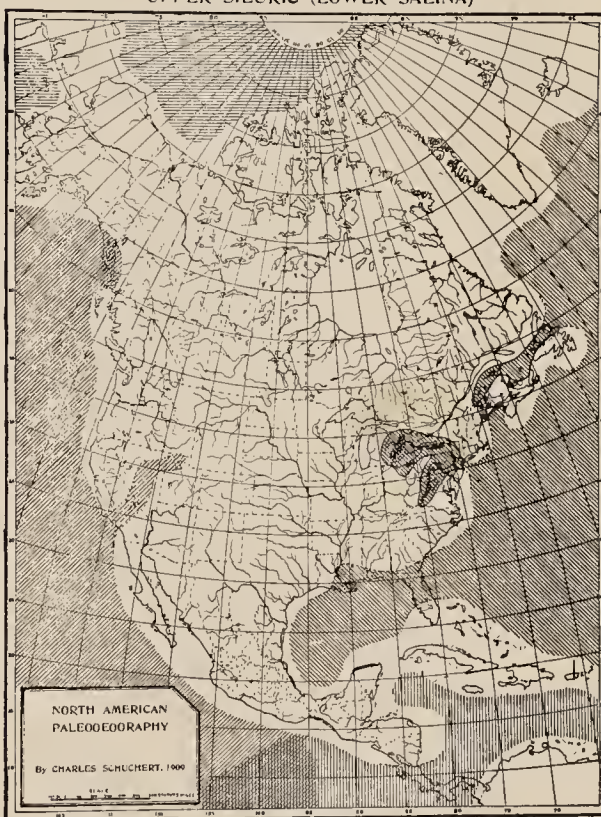
2

MIDDLE SILURIC (LOUISVILLE)



3

UPPER SILURIC (LOWER SALINA)



4

CHANGES IN SILURIAN GEOGRAPHY (Plate 3).

Produced by up-and-down movements, or changes of level of the continental surface. The unshaded areas are dry land. The shaded areas are flooded by oceanic waters (epicontinental seas). The direction of the lines indicates the connecting ocean, Pacific, Arctic, Atlantic or equatorial. This is determined by the nature of the fossils.

Louisville time, Map 3, is equivalent to the Lockport of western New York.

the erosion of neighboring areas of exposed land. The earth's surface nearly everywhere is in slow up or down movement, and the oscillations of level carry wide areas beneath the sea, only to re-elevate them at some later time. This does not necessarily mean that continents and oceanic areas ("basins") fully change places. Submerged portions of the continent are no less a part of the geologic continent because below sea-level, or not "dry land". Whether some portion of the continent (the geologic continent) is above or below the ocean water depends merely on a slight vertical change of position with reference to the plane of the ocean's surface. These changes in the ancient geography of North America are illustrated in plates 3, 4. All the rocks of western New York, and all the marine strata of the United States, were deposited in similar invasions of the continent by shallow oceanic waters. Today the continent is mainly above sea level, but Hudson Bay is a present example of a shallow inland or epicontinental sea.

When an area is beneath an inland sea, rock-forming deposits are accumulated on the sea bottom. When above the water the area suffers erosion, and the product of the wastage is carried away by streams and winds to form contemporaneous aqueous deposits in some neighboring submerged area. A series of rock strata proves submergence, but not necessarily continuous submergence, as there may be gaps or breaks in the strata (disconformity). Such breaks in the stratigraphic record, or absence of rocks representing a time division, generally proves exposure to the air, or an erosion interval.

The physical conditions of submergence are indicated by the character of the deposits. Gravel or coarse sands imply vigorous current or wave action, and hence relatively shallow water, and usually near-shore location. Fine sand implies less velocity of transportation, usually greater depth, and probably greater distance from the dry land. The finest materials, silt and clay, can be deposited only in quiet water, and if of wide extent such deposits suggest considerable depth of far-spread water.

Limestones are formed of the pulverized material from the calcareous skeletons or framework of lime-secreting animals, like mollusks and corals. Such lime deposits may be formed at the localities where the animals are growing, like the coral limestone

LOWER DEVONIC (BECRAFT)



1

MIDDLE DEVONIC (MIDDLE ONONDAGA)



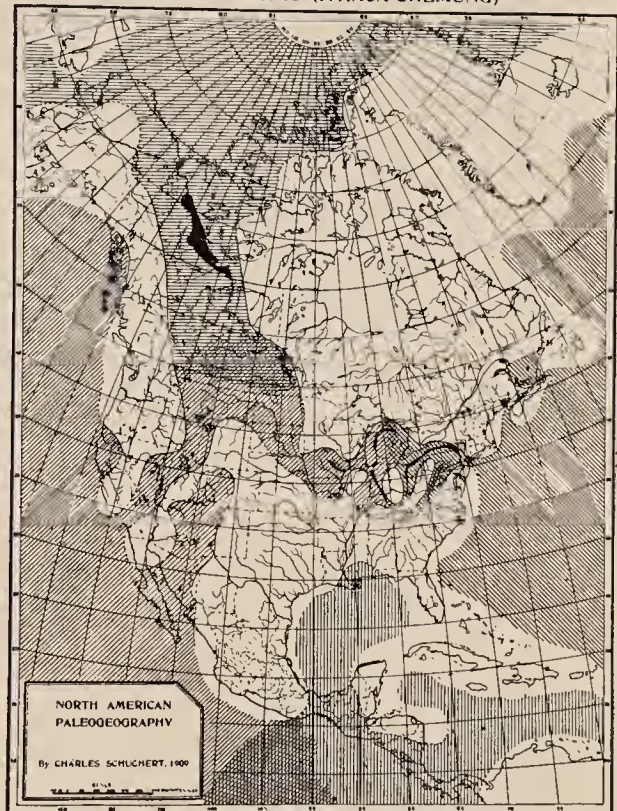
2

MIDDLE DEVONIC (LATE HAMILTON)



3

UPPER DEVONIC (ITHACA-CHEMUNG)



4

CHANGES IN DEVONIAN GEOGRAPHY (Plate 4).

Produced by up-and-down movements, or changes of level, of the continental surface. The unshaded areas are dry land. The shaded areas are flooded by oceanic waters (epicontinental seas). The direction of the lines indicates the connecting ocean, Pacific, Arctic, Atlantic or equatorial. This is determined by the nature of the fossils.

Map 1 shows why western New York has no strata of the lower Devonian.

now forming along the reefs in tropic seas, requiring pure water and vigorous waves. An illustration is found in the quarries in Onondaga limestone at Lime Rock, east of LeRoy, where the coral detritus buried great masses of the standing coral, and in the coralline reefs in the Clinton limestone between the Genesee and Niagara rivers (plate 11). More commonly the lime detritus is far-borne by the ocean currents and dropped in quiet water as a fine-grained organic sediment or compact limestone. When the calcareous sediment is mingled with clayey material derived from the wastage of land areas, a rock of variable composition is produced, sometimes a clayey limestone and sometimes a limey shale.

Deposits laid in deep water and hence beyond the reach of wave effect have a finely laminated structure, due to the very slight variation in the rate of deposition. On the other hand, shallow-water deposits are marked by a variety of beautiful structures, produced by shifting winds, waves and currents, such as may be seen on the shores of lakes and seas. These are wave-ripples, wave-ridges, wave-lines, oblique bedding, rill-marks, flow-structures, etc. The depth, temperature and salinity of the water are indicated by the nature of the organic remains (fossils) preserved in the deposits.

Such shallow water and beach structures are abundant in many rocks of the Genesee region, especially the sandstones, as the Medina, Portage, and Chemung. The reader can easily study the beach structures and markings in the process of their formation on the beach of Lake Ontario and can then visit a Medina sandstone quarry and find precisely similar features made far back in Silurian time. (See paper No. 5.)

GEOLOGIC TIME DIVISIONS.

The term "geologic time" is understood to cover only that trifling bit of eternity which has left a visible record in the surficial crust of the earth. And this geologic time with its hundreds of millions of years leads us back into the shadows of uncertainty, while farther back is the unfathomable abyss of Pregeologic, or Cosmic, time.

The following table, to be read from the bottom upward, cor-

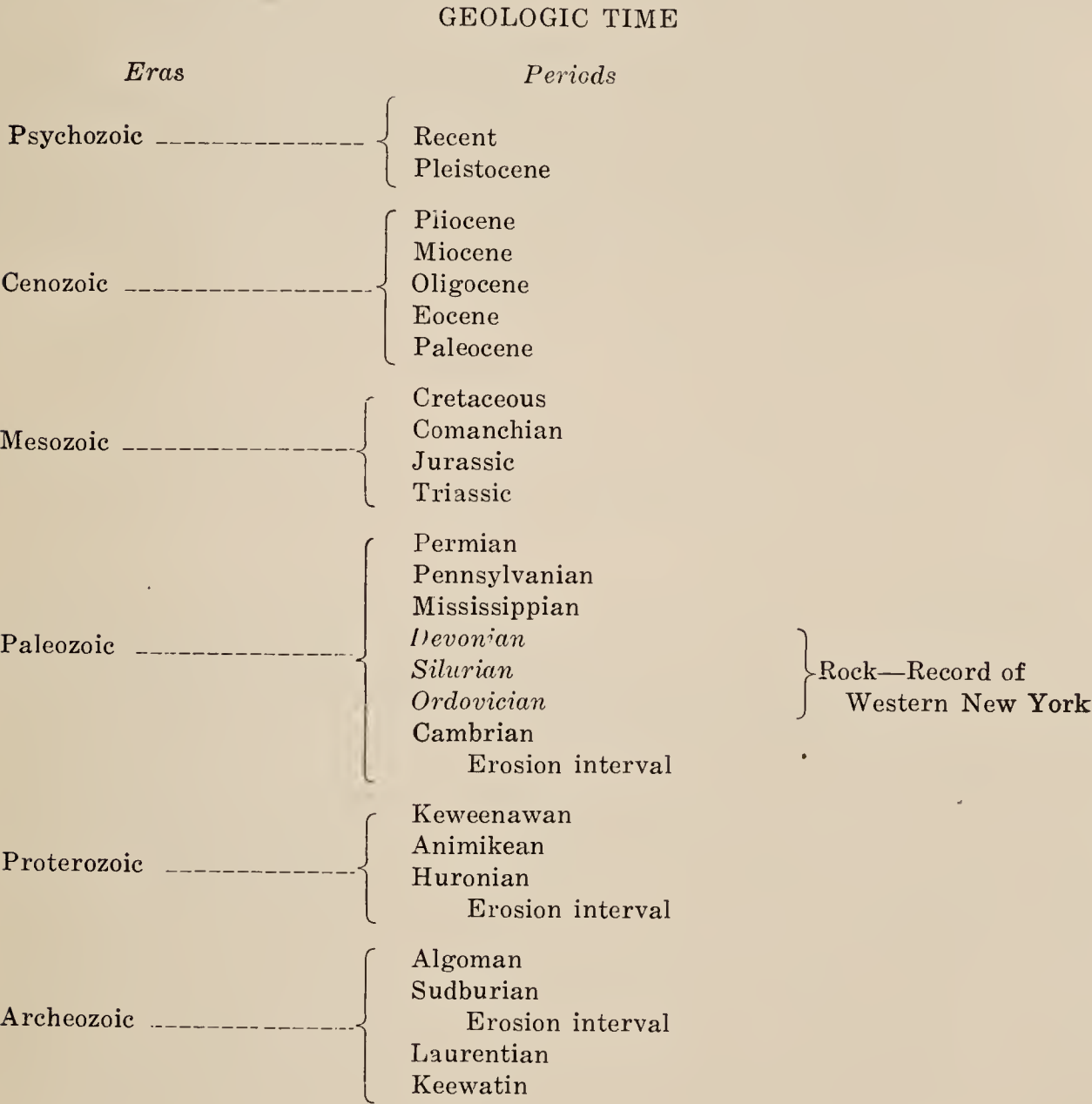


LOWER CLINTON LIMESTONE (Plate 5)

With bed of hematite iron ore, about one foot thick. Rochester canyon, Maplewood Park.

responding to the succession of the rock strata, gives only the greater time divisions. The subdivisions, or more local application or relating to our region, will be considered later.

It will be seen that the rock record of western New York includes only two periods in full, the Silurian and the Devonian, with uppermost (latest) beds of the Ordovician and the earliest deposits of the Mississippian. While the Silurian and Devonian periods represent several millions of years, they are yet only a minor part of the Paleozoic Era, estimated at one-fifth.



THE LOCAL ROCK RECORD.

Southward from the shore of Lake Ontario the later record of the rock strata is exposed in the many ravines and river can-

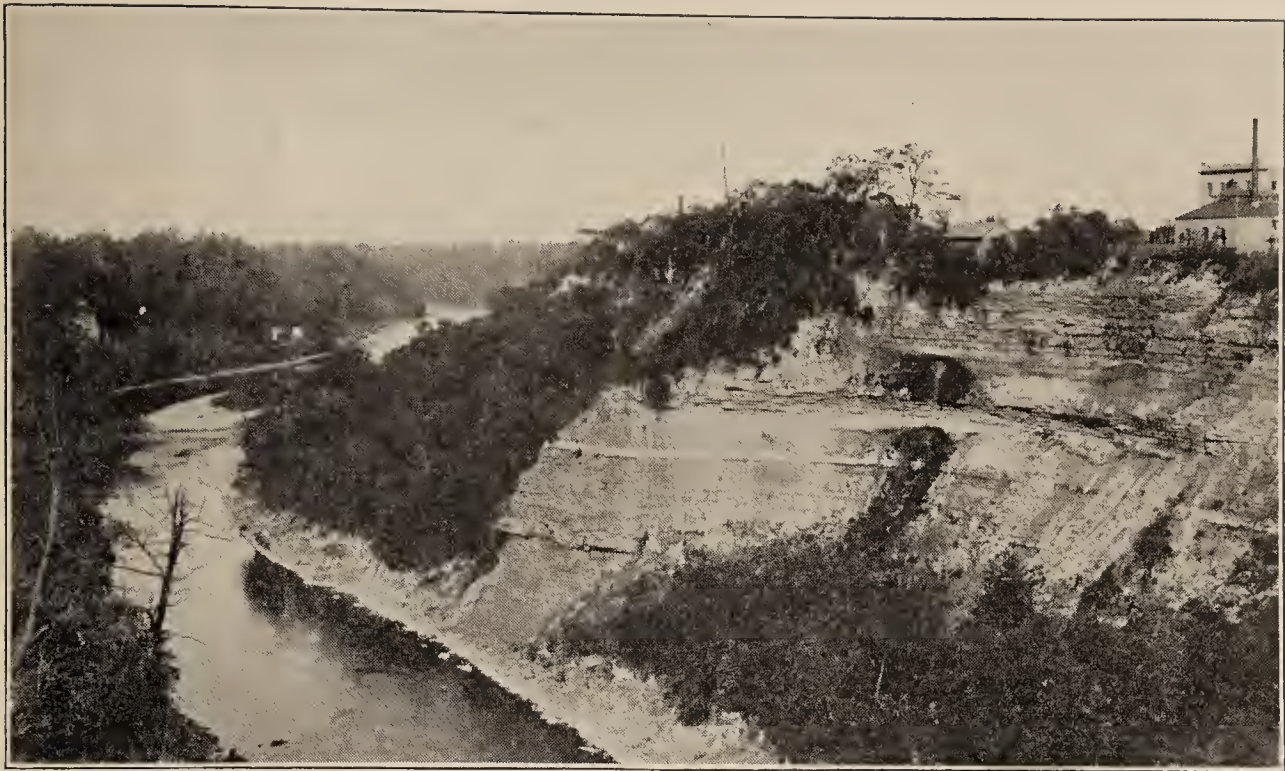
yons in the uplands, but the older record of our region is buried under these visible later strata, and beneath the water of Ontario. Yet we know much of the earlier history, for the drill has been pushed down through over 3,000 feet of the old strata, to near the crystalline base (No. 2 of the list of writings). Moreover, the rocks encountered by the drill beneath Rochester are the equivalent of the surface rocks over wide areas of eastern and northern New York, as well as westward in Ohio and other states. From the character and content of the rocks we may read the geologic history of the Genesee region from Ordovician time to the close of Devonian time.

The limestones, shales and sandstones of the Genesee region, of great total thickness, prove an equal amount of slow sinking of the area, because even the lowest and oldest strata were formed in shallow water. But the subsidence and sedimentation were not steady or continuous. Gaps in the sequence of the strata show that episodes occurred of uplift and exposure, with land erosion. The land movement was down-and-up, or oscillatory, but with a prevailing or net downthrow of several thousand feet. In the Rochester district the subsidence was probably 5,000 feet. The subsequent permanent uplift was perhaps 2,500 feet, with erosion and removal of toward 2,000 feet of rock. (Discussed below.)

Fortunately for the simplicity of our rock record, the region has never been involved in mountain-making disturbances, and the strata are only slightly tilted from their original nearly horizontal position. They now have a southward decline or "dip" averaging about 50 feet to the mile.

The figures for thickness given in the following table must not be taken as precise, nor as closely applicable to areas far east or west of the Genesee River. All of our sedimentary units are merely irregular lenses in shape, and in all directions eventually thin to zero, or change in composition to another kind of rock. Some of the rocks in the Genesee region do not occur eastward on the Syracuse meridian, while on the other hand the Helderberg series of the Syracuse district are missing here (plate 4, map 1).

As illustrated in the following table, it is the rule among geologists to name the strata after localities where they are typically displayed, as this is noncommittal with reference to the



STRATA

Rochester

Clinton

Therolite

Medina

Queenston

ROCHESTER CANYON, GENESEE RIVER (Plate 6)
View looking north from the Driving Park Avenue bridge



UPPER FALL OF THE GENESEE RIVER, ROCHESTER CANYON (Plate 7)
View looking south. The New York Central Railroad crosses the river above the falls.

age or classification. On the same principle the groups of strata are named after areas of abundant occurrence.

THE ROCK SUCCESSION, OR STRATIGRAPHIC COLUMN, ON THE MERIDIAN
OF THE GENESEE VALLEY

Theoretic Time Divisions		Stratigraphic Units	Estimated thickness, in feet.
Devonian	Chautauquan	Chemung shales and sandstones	1200
	Senecan	Portage shales and sandstones	900
		Genesee shales	100
		Hamilton shales and sandstone	750
	Erian	Marcellus black shale	50
		Onondaga limestone	90
	Oriskanian Helderbergian Monroan	Erosion interval.	
Silurian	Cayugan (Salina)	Bertie waterlime	60
		Camillus shale and gypsum	100
		Syracuse shale and salt	600
		Vernon red shale	
		Pittsford shale	20
	Niagaran	Guelph dolomite	100
		Lockport dolomite	
		Rochester shale	80
		Clinton shales and limestones	80
Ordovician	Cincinnatian	Thorold white sandstone	3
		Medina red sandstone and shale	50
		Queenston red shale	1025
	Mohawkian	Oswego gray sandstone	83
		Utica and Lorraine dark shales	598
		Trenton gray limestone	954
		Black River dark limestone	134
		Lowville and Chazy limestone	
	Canadian	Beekmantown limestone	?
Total feet			6,977

This table should be compared with the map of outcrops, or areal geology, plate 1, and with the diagram of successive strata, plate 2.

A. ERA OF SUBMERGENCE AND SEDIMENTATION.
CAMBRIAN PERIOD.

The condition of western New York during the immensely long time previous to the Paleozoic Era is unknown. Possibly it

was dry land, contributing materials for deposits in neighboring submerged areas. The rocks of pre-Paleozoic time are widespread in Canada, and are represented in New York in the Adirondack highlands and in the lower Hudson Valley. It is possible that Proterozoic strata lie deep beneath our Ordovician, which would imply submergence. Deep drilling, to depth much over 3,000 feet, is the only way to secure knowledge on this matter.

For Cambrian time, the opening period of the Paleozoic, we have a probable negative record. Across Lake Ontario in Canada the Cambrian is wanting, and it does not clearly appear in the record of the deep Rochester well (paper No. 2). The absence of Cambrian rocks would indicate either (1) that our region was above the sea in Cambrian time, or (2) that if deposits were made in submergence they were eroded during later uplift.

Some part of northern New York was submerged in the Cambrian, as proven by the Potsdam sandstone¹ in the St. Lawrence Valley and this and other strata in the Champlain Valley.

The most interesting element in geologic history is the evolution of life:—plants and animals, and the Cambrian fauna is of special interest, because it is the most ancient record of life which has been clearly preserved. We find no evidence of land, or air-breathing, animals in the Cambrian rocks, but the seas were swarming with invertebrate life of many kinds and of high development. A characteristic form of the time is a group of crustaceans, the Trilobites, which had their culmination in this period and became extinct in the Paleozoic. The living crustaceans which most resemble the ancient trilobite are the "Horseshoe Crabs" (*Limulus*) of our seashores, and the little "Sow-Bugs" of the land. Any textbook of geology will describe and illustrate these and other fossils.

The Cambrian fossils represent probably more than one-half of the evolution of animal life from its simplest forms. And this suggests that the length of time previous to the Cambrian, during which the physical conditions were favorable for oceanic life, was much longer than all the scores of millions of years which have elapsed since. The alteration (metamorphism) of the very

¹ A sample of the red Potsdam, so largely used in northern New York, may be seen in the entrance of the State Armory on Main Street East, in Rochester.



LOWER FALL OF THE GENESEE RIVER, ROCHESTER CANYON (Plate 8)
View looking south, from near the Driving Park Avenue bridge.



ROCHESTER CANYON, GENESEE RIVER (Plates 9)
 Upper view: Looking south toward Driving Park Avenue bridge.
 Lower view: Looking south from Seneca Park drive.

ancient rocks has destroyed the contained fossils, and the early stages of life are forever lost.

ORDOVICIAN PERIOD.

The three great time periods subsequent to the Cambrian are well recorded in the Genesee region, but the Ordovician (old Lower Silurian) is mostly buried and invisible. According to the present classification of the rock strata the only portion of the Ordovician that is visible in our region is about 50 feet of the latest beds. This is seen in the Rochester canyon of the Genesee River below the lower falls. Here the inferior half of the canyon walls is red sandstone and shale. The upper 50 feet is Medina, and the lower 50 feet, the bottom of the visible section, is now regarded as the top of the Ordovician, and named Queenston, from the exposure on the Niagara River. Some geologists call it Richmond, from its large occurrence in Indiana.

The upper limit, or the plane of separation from the overlying Silurian strata, is not well marked, but is somewhat arbitrarily taken as the bottom of the heavy beds of red Medina sandstone, which project conspicuously on the east wall of the canyon north of Driving Park Avenue Bridge (plate 6). The red shales and sandstone which appear along the Ontario shore from Niagara eastward toward Oswego are Queenston, or upper Ordovician. Beneath Rochester the drill found 1,025 feet of these red shales.

Below the red Queenston shales are some 83 feet of gray sandstone, which are correlated with those that appear on the lake shore at Oswego. Beneath the Oswego sandstone is about 600 feet of fine-grained, dark shale, believed to correspond to the dark shale in the Mohawk Valley, and named Utica. Below the Utica shale is nearly 1,000 feet of gray limestone, the Trenton. This is underlain by 134 feet of dark limestones, the Black River and lower beds. Beneath this immense thickness of limestone the nature and the correlation of the few feet of quartzose rocks are not determined.

The history of the Genesee region in Ordovician time is evident, in a general way, from study of the rock section, briefly described above. It is certain that for a vast length of time this region was submerged, or oceanic, being part of a widespread

epicontinental sea. During the earlier part of the Ordovician the region was under open sea. No dry land was near enough to supply sand or clay, and in the pure salt waters the lime-secreting organisms flourished in abundance, supplying the material for over 1,100 feet of slowly accumulating limestone. Great numbers of the many kinds of animals which then lived in the sea are preserved in their hard parts. The earliest recognized remains of fish, or at least related forms, occur in rock of Trenton age in Colorado.

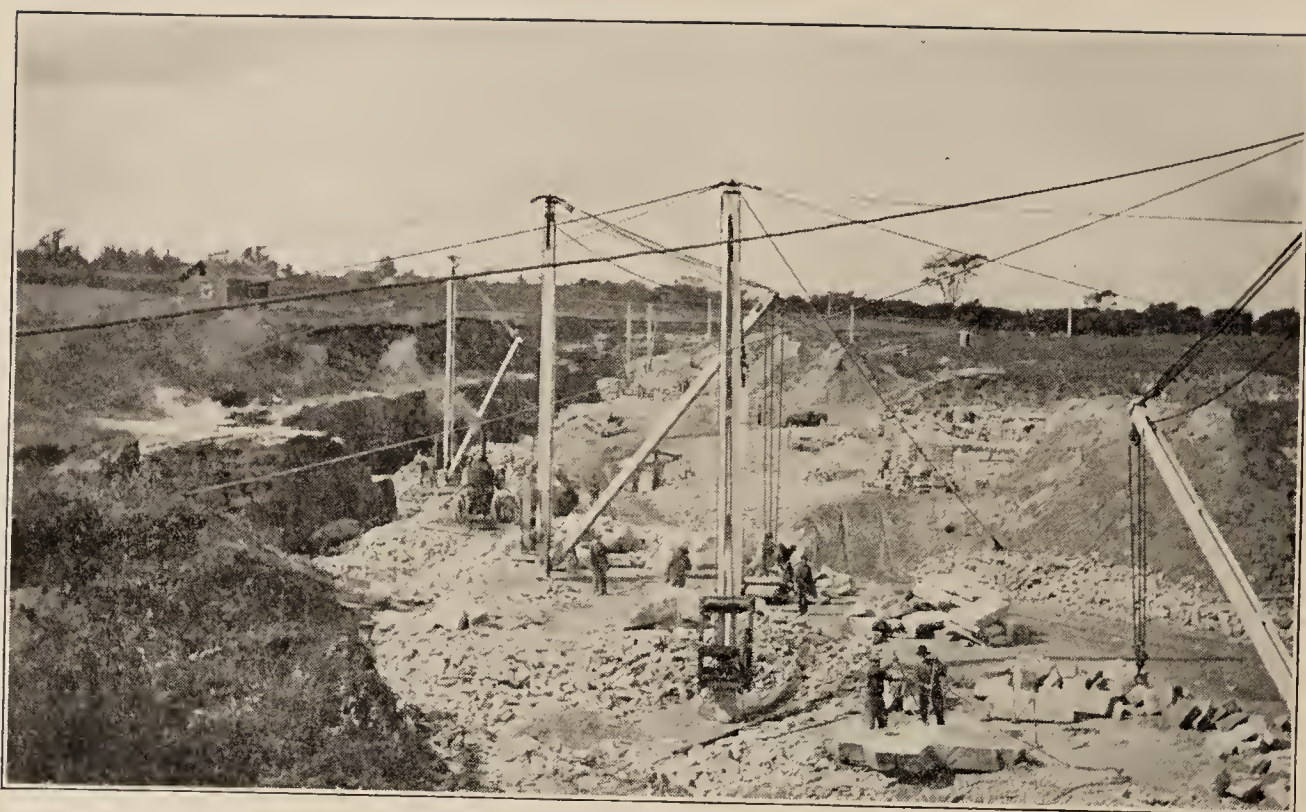
The close of the Trenton limestone epoch was due to change in the geography of this part of the continent, which exposed the area of western New York to the inwash of land waste. The clay swept in by the sea currents made the water unfavorable for coral and other lime-secreting animals, and the deposition of limestone was changed to that of clay rock or shale. The great thickness of nearly black shale must have required an enormous length of time. The fossils show not only evolutionary progress but adaptation to the muddy waters.

The Ordovician limestones and shales are very widely developed, eastward to the Hudson and westward through the Mississippi basin, thus indicating that the Genesee region was part of extended marine conditions. The source of the clay supply, or the wasting dry land, was, for this region, probably on the north.

SILURIAN PERIOD.

(Plate 3.)

This very interesting division of old geologic time has its type record in the Genesee Valley. The Rochester canyon is the classic section, made such by James Hall in his famous report on this district, published in 1843 (paper No. 1). The Rochester canyon with its display of the three classes of sedimentary rocks, richly colored and in distinct groups, is one of the handsomest rock sections known. The succession, passing upward, begins with the red Medina sandstone and shale, capped with three feet of white Thorold sandstone. The Clinton strata include four distinct divisions, two shales and two limestones. The lower shale, 24 feet thick, is of an olive-green color, and the upper shale, of



MEDINA SANDSTONE (Plates 10)
 Upper view: Brady's quarry at Albion, in 1899.
 Lower view: Horan's quarry at Medina, in 1899.



CORALLINE REEF IN CLINTON STRATA, NIAGARA GORGE (Plate 11)

The view is a cross-section of the reef, which is an up-growth of the subjacent limestone, into the overlying shale. The lime-secreting organisms survived for a time the rain of clay particles, which finally destroyed the life.

similar thickness, is green and purple. (See plate 6, and paper No. 18.) Above the Clinton the dark gray Rochester shale has a thickness of about 80 feet. The top of the canyon is in the lower beds of the Lockport, and the Lockport and Guelph magnesian limestones (dolomite) underlie the city and appear in the bed of the river southward to South Park.

The three Rochester cataracts, equivalent to the single fall at Niagara over similar strata, are an effect of hard strata overlying weaker ones. The crest of the lower falls (plate 8) is the hard "gray band" of the Thorold sandstone. The middle falls, now obscured by dam and structures, is on the lower of the two Clinton limestones, while the upper fall is produced on the lower, hard beds of the Lockport limestone, which is underlain by 80 feet of Rochester shale (plates 2, 7).

The Rochester shale is wholly displayed in one-half mile of the canyon below the upper falls. Wide areas of this formation carry the name of Rochester into the arctic region of America (plate 3, map 2).

Rochester City is fortunate in having a solid foundation in the Lockport (Niagara) dolomite. The upper beds are more highly magnesian, and in the many solution cavities are found a great variety of minerals in beautiful crystals, as dolomite, gypsum, sphalerite, galenite, pyrite, fluorite, quartz, etc. (paper 25). These cavities and the contained minerals are an effect of leaching waters and concentration of substances by the weathering and removal of one or two thousand feet of formerly overlying rock. At Lockport one bed is a buried coral reef.

In succession above the Lockport occur the Salina shales, in several groups, the upper members containing thick beds of salt and gypsum. The Bertie is a clayey limestone, named from a Canadian locality.

Some of the Silurian strata may be seen in almost any stream ravine in the wide belt of country facing Lake Ontario.

The history of the Silurian is more varied than the Ordovician, due to the more rapid changes in the geography and physical conditions of this part of the continent, and probably these were caused by up-and-down movements of the land surface. The story begins with shallow-water conditions in western New York, producing the sands and sand-reefs of the Medina (plate

10), so richly stored with the beautiful inscriptions produced by fickle winds and waves of that ancient time. The characteristic fossil of the Medina is the work of marine worms that burrowed in the sand. The filling, or casts, of the more common burrows are named *Arthropycus* (jointed sea-weed) because they were at first thought to be impressions of fucoids.

The Clinton strata (plate 6) of two distinct shales and two limestones, represent sharply changing sea conditions. Such relatively rapid alternations of lime and clay deposition are unusual, and must necessarily be local. Through western and central New York the Clinton is very variable and the Rochester section is peculiar. When the sea currents reaching this locality came from some neighboring land area the land-derived silt that was swept in produced the shale. Some change in the geography of this part of the continent and change in direction of the currents brought in detritus from some coral reef or other lime-producing source, and limestone was accumulated.

The Rochester shale, the Lockport dolomite and the thick Salina shales represent variable conditions, but not so rapidly changing as the Clinton time.

At the base of the lower limestone of the Rochester Clinton is a foot of red iron ore, or hematite, shown in plate 5. Eastward this ore occurs at different levels or horizons in the Clinton, and so abundantly as to be an important supply of iron. The precise manner of its origin is yet uncertain.

While the present surface rock at Rochester is the Lockport dolomite (plate 12) and southward is the Salina shale, it must not be supposed that these represent the original land surface, when the region was finally and permanently lifted out of the oceanic waters. Atmospheric decay and rain and stream erosion have eaten deeply into the rock strata. At Rochester it is estimated that over 1,000 feet, and possibly 2,000 feet of rock have been removed. Rocks which were once deeply buried are now exposed at the surface. This subject will be considered later.

As the salt and gypsum of the Salina strata are confidently believed to have been formed as precipitates in confined bodies of evaporating salt water (plate 3, map 4) they are regarded as proofs of arid climate, and therefore of desert conditions over considerable areas of the continent. This is one of the evidences that the climate was variable in different parts of the world in



LOCKPORT LIMESTONE (Plates 12)

Upper view: Quarry west of Lockport, in 1899.

Lower view: Quarry on North Goodman Street, Rochester, 1899. The overlying mantle of glacial drift shows clearly.



ONONDAGA LIMESTONE (Plates 13)

Upper view: Gehre's quarry, at Buffalo, 1899.

Lower view: Cut for Lehigh Valley Railroad, one-half mile northwest of Honeoye Falls, 1899. Two men are pointing out the break in the rock series that represents the lower Devonian of the Syracuse region. Above the break is Onondaga, below is Salina.

Paleozoic time, as it is today; and also that world climate has greatly varied throughout all of geologic time.

Professor Charles Schuchert has depicted nine stages in the changing paleogeography of Silurian time, as he conceives it, and four of them are reproduced here as plate 3, by his kind permission. Four stages of his Devonian are shown in plate 4.

GREAT EROSION INTERVAL.

Above the Salina formation in western New York is a discontinuity or break (disconformity) in the rock succession, for the reason that the area was for a long time above the ocean level, as shown in plate 4, map 1. This erosion interval covers the time of the Lower Devonian as well as the later Silurian. During that time with no record left in our area a great thickness of rock was deposited in central and eastern New York and other parts of the continent. Of the beds missing here the impure limestones, Rosendale, Cobleskill, Rondout and Manlius, are regarded as the top of the Silurian system, while the Helderberg limestones are the bottom of the Devonian. Above the Helderberg formation lies the Oriskany sandstone, 60 feet thick and the Esopus-Schoharie group of shales and grits.

Some idea of the lapse of time represented by this inconspicuous break in our record may be had when we learn that at Gaspé the Helderberg limestones are 1,000 feet thick, and that the Oriskany is represented by limestones of 800 feet thickness.

We do not know what amount of these several formations may have been deposited here and subsequently eroded. The only remnants are traces and thin lenses of Oriskany sand, and sometimes a seam of greenish mud along the line of the disconformity. The break in the rock series, or the disconformity, is indicated in plate 13, figure 2, by the two men in the photograph.

DEVONIAN PERIOD.

(Plate 4.)

Overlying the gap in the record described above is the Onondaga limestone (plate 13), which is our lowest Devonian, but not the lowest in other districts. This represents widespread

marine conditions, and its coral reefs are evidence that the waters were warm and pure. The buried coral masses may be seen at Lime Rock, east of Leroy. On the belt of outcrop of this limestone, from Buffalo to Syracuse, are some of the best upland farms. Being pure calcite, except for the masses of flint, this limestone has been much used for burnt lime, and is now ground for fertilizer.

With the abundance of marine life, corals, crinoids and mollusks, which produced the lime skeletons that were triturated and distributed to form the rock, there also lived a profusion of other animals, and plants, which secreted silica and supplied the material for the black flint. In some places this flint exceeds the lime in amount. The old name "Corniferous" for the limestone, referred to the flint or "hornstone".

The Onondaga, about 90 feet thick in the Genesee Valley, thickens westward to nearly 200 feet at Buffalo. It is abruptly overlain by the black Marcellus shale, which thickens eastward and replaces the limestone. This shale was a black mud swept in from some land area on the east. The limestone at Stafford, Genesee County, is a layer interbedded in Marcellus shale, being only a finger or projection from the thick Onondaga on the west.

Above the Marcellus, in the vertical series, and southward in the areal distribution at the surface, is a great series of shales and sandstones, with some limey layers, all classed as Hamilton. The thin limestone beds are slender prolongations from the great limestone series in the western states which replaces the shales just as the Onondaga there replaces the Marcellus.

The northern and the deeper portions of the valleys of the Finger Lakes, with the Genesee River and streams farther west, expose the Hamilton beds. With their regular and thin bedding, due to considerable depth of water, the Hamilton sandstones yield excellent flagstones, but are now largely replaced by cement.

In central New York 25 feet of limestone, called Tully, lies on the Hamilton beds. In the Genesee region the Tully is represented by a thin and inconspicuous layer of iron pyrites, marking the unrecorded interval. A good locality for observing the pyrite (Tully) zone is in the bed of Fall Brook, two miles south of Geneseo, and east of the railroad. Overlying the pyritiferous layer at this point are 83 feet of black Genesee shale, the next formation in the upward succession.



1



2



3



4



5



6

VIEWS IN PORTAGE CANYON (Plates 14)

1. Middle falls. 2. Below the middle falls, looking downstream. 3. Upper drop of lower falls. 4. Cathedral rock, below the lower falls. 5. In the flume, below the lower falls. 6. Ravine below the lower falls and flume.



UPPER FALL IN PORTAGE CANYON, GENESEE RIVER (Plate 15)

Above the Genesee shale, usually 100 feet or less in thickness, lie the Portage shales and sandstones, of great thickness. These are named from the canyon of the Genesee River where the rocks are handsomely displayed in three cataracts (plates 14-17). Watkins Glen (plate 20) and other ravines in the Seneca Valley, along with those at Ithaca and about the head of the Cayuga Valley, are in the Portage. All the deep valleys of western New York and the remarkable series of parallel valleys in central New York have been carved by atmosphere and stream out of the great plateau formed of Devonian strata.

Rising above the Portage, and lying southward, are the Chemung shaley sandstones, 1,200 feet thick, which cap the highlands of the southern part of western New York, over 2,000 feet altitude. These beds, replaced eastward by the Catskill sandstones, close the long-time Devonian in New York.

The long era of marine submergence, with the deposition of perhaps 7,000 feet of mostly oceanic deposits, ended for New York with the close of the Chemung. A later rock of singular character is a land deposit, and its description belongs in a later chapter.

SUMMARY; LIFE HISTORY.

The reader will now appreciate the extremely long time recorded in the rocks of the Genesee section, and the great changes in geography and physical conditions during the tens of millions of years represented. Yet the strata do not represent nearly all of the duration, for there are long-time lapses or gaps in the rock-record, due to elevation which prevented deposition or caused subsequent erosion. As the strata are parallel and the breaks inconspicuous or even imperceptible probably some minor ones have not been recognized. The best evidence is found by careful comparison of detailed vertical sections at separated localities. Only one great erosion interval is noted in the table, page 29.

Students of geologic history have tried to depict the changing areas of land and sea during the ancient periods. Eight of the suggestive maps from an extended series by Professor Charles Schuchert² are reproduced here as plates 3 and 4.

² Paleogeography of North America. Bulletin of the Geological Society of America. Vol. 20, 1910, pages 427-606; and Text Book of Geology, Part 2, by Pirsson & Schuchert.

The southerly trend in position of the successive deposits during the Paleozoic indicates that the sea margins were retreating or shifting southward. Evidently this was caused by the prevailing rise or uplift of the land on the north. The Ontario district may have been considerably elevated while the southern part of the state was yet submerged in the epicontinental seas.

The organic history, or the story of evolution of life, is humanly more important and interesting. All of our rocks fall within one of the great time divisions, the Paleozoic, ancient-life time. At the beginning of the Paleozoic no vertebrate (back-boned) animals existed, but the greater groups of the invertebrates were all represented. Mollusks and crustaceans were highly developed. The trilobites of the Cambrian have been mentioned.

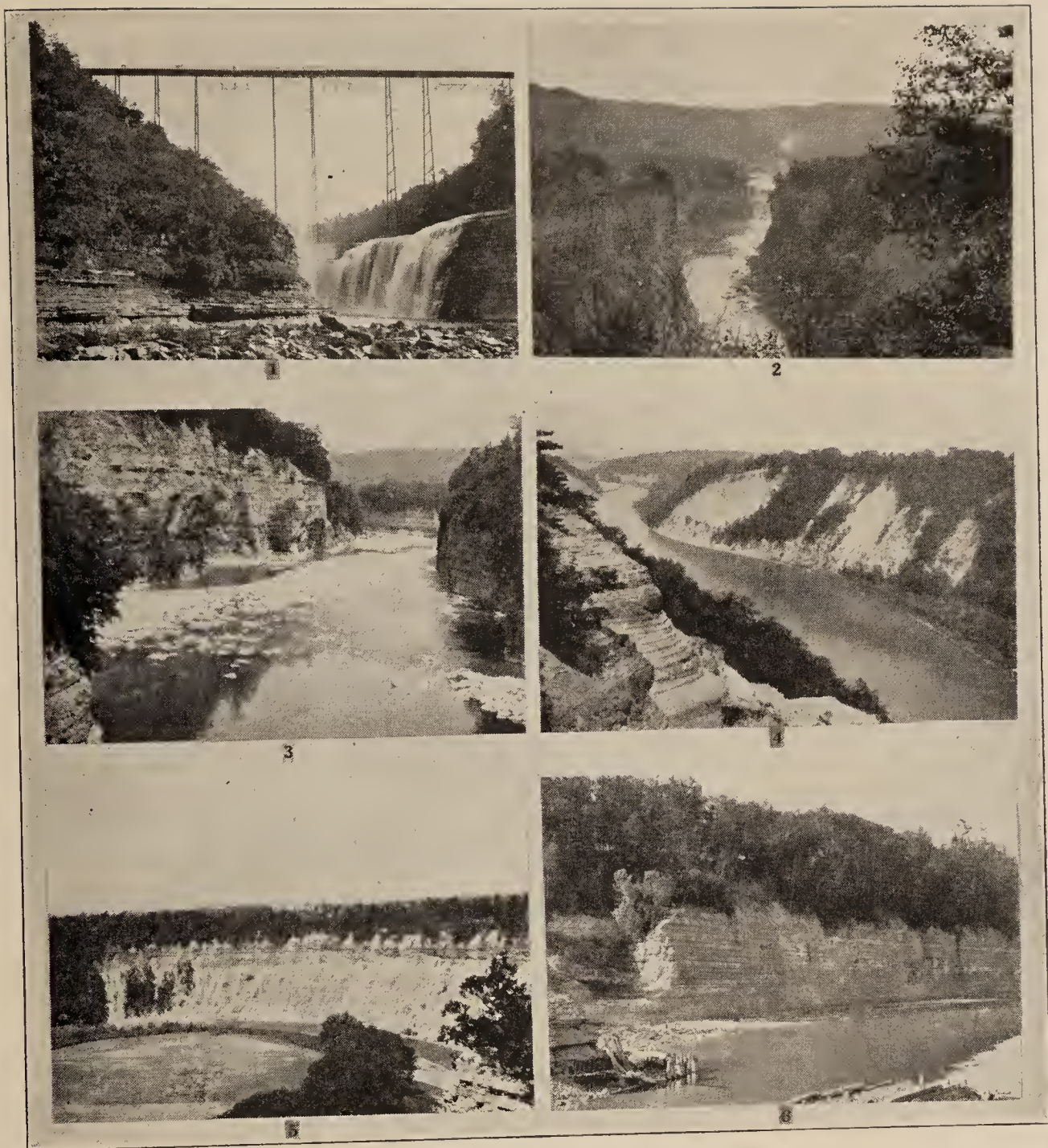
Apparently the earlier animals were all aquatic, or water-breathers. But insects appeared in the Devonian along with abundance of land plants. Perhaps some of the more venturesome crustacea crept out on the land to nibble at the vegetation, and so acquired the faculty of taking oxygen from the air instead of from the water, as some crabs do today. If so, these were the earliest land inhabitants of the Genesee Country.

The fishes of the Devonian were so abundant and varied that the period has been called the age of fishes. Not that they were at their maximum, for they have their greatest development today, but that fishes were the well-developed new group in the life-evolution. Devonian fishes included representatives of a yet-living group of enameled fish, the ganoids (sturgeon and gar-pike), of the sharks, and of the so-called lung-fishes (dipnoi). There were also some huge armored fishes over 20 feet long (*Dinichthys*), which soon passed out. The singular fish-forms, but not true fishes, which began in the Ordovician were characteristic of the Devonian, but then disappeared.

All the Devonian fishes had cartilaginous skeletons, even though many carried heavy bone or enamel armor. No representatives of the prevailing modern fishes with bony skeletons (teleosts) lived in the Devonian, nor until the early Mesozoic, millions of years later. The later evolution of marine life took place while New York was above the sea, and developing by erosion its superb physiographic features.



MIDDLE FALL IN PORTAGE CANYON, GENESEE RIVER (Plate 16)



VIEWS IN PORTAGE AND MT. MORRIS CANYONS, GENESEE RIVER (Plates 17)

1. Upper falls at Portage. 2. View below middle falls, looking south. 3. Looking north, downstream, below lower fall. 4. Mt. Morris canyon, ("High Banks"), looking north. 5. East bank of Mt. Morris canyon below the "Hog Back." 6. Genesee shale at mouth of the Mt. Morris canyon.

A suggestion of amphibians, the connecting link between fish and reptile, is found in a single footprint in the Chemung.

Land plants flourished in the Devonian, of several orders, as ferns, lycopods and gymnosperms (conifers), and of such advanced rank that it appears certain their ancestors lived far back in Silurian or even in Ordovician time. The prevailing marine deposits of those earlier periods did not favor preservation of land life. It is an interesting fact that the ancestors of our most splendid and useful forest trees, the conifers, began so far back in time, much antedating all other forest flora.

The detailed story of the evolution of life forms may be read in any modern text-book of geology.

In the later Devonian strata, Hamilton and Chemung are occasional layers of dark-colored carbonaceous or peaty matter, and even some very thin seams of true coal. These have caused people to expect workable coal and to spend fortunes in the vain search. Nowhere in the world are valuable coal beds found in rocks as old as the Devonian. Biologic and geologic conditions were not favorable until Mississippian time.

B. ERA OF EXPOSURE AND EROSION.

THE OLEAN CONGLOMERATE.

A few hills in the southwestern corner of the state, in Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties, are capped with an unusual rock of white quartz pebbles known as the Olean conglomerate. The famous locality, Rock City (plate 21), just over the line in Pennsylvania, displays the same formation. This rock is regarded as the equivalent of the very thick (over 1,000 feet) conglomerate in east-central Pennsylvania, known as the Pottsville. In time it is early Pennsylvanian. Referring to the table of rock succession it will be seen that the long Mississippian period has left no record in our state, and this conglomerate was laid long after marine conditions ceased in New York, and therefore belongs in the subsequent (and present) era of exposure to the air.

The Olean is a non-marine deposit. It is a continental formation, deposited as part of a vast delta laid by rivers which flowed westward from some high land that has now sunk beneath the Atlantic Ocean. To the reader this explanation may appear far-fetched. No better theory has been found. There is no visible

source on the continent for such a vast quantity of crystalline quartz. The deposit is thickest in the east-central part of Pennsylvania, thinning away west and northwest. All its characters indicate that the material was carried westward in spreading or fan-shaped form.

Geologists are discovering that some formations which were formerly supposed to be marine are really continental, having been laid on lowlands by rivers, or by storm-wash from highlands, similar to present deposition in the Great Basin in the west. It is quite possible that some other strata in New York may belong in this class.

EROSION OF WESTERN NEW YORK.

The slow rise of western New York out of the Paleozoic inland sea did not occur at the same time for the whole of the area. Apparently the rise was first in Canada, and progressively southward. The Ontario district became permanent dry land while the south border of the state was yet under the shallow epicontinental sea. The Ontario district probably was exposed to the destructive effect of the atmosphere in early Devonian time, but the southern area was not dry land until the end of the Devonian. During that period the northern area was suffering erosion, and the materials from the destruction of the rocks was swept southward by the rivers of that time to form the sediments which constitute the rocks of the southern area, and of northern Pennsylvania.

Ever since Devonian time, for tens of millions of years, the entire area of New York has been exposed to the wasting effect of atmospheric agencies. In consequence a considerable thickness of the rock strata has certainly been removed from the original surface, because, however slow might have been the process of erosion, the destructive agency was, as now, always active; and geologic time is long.

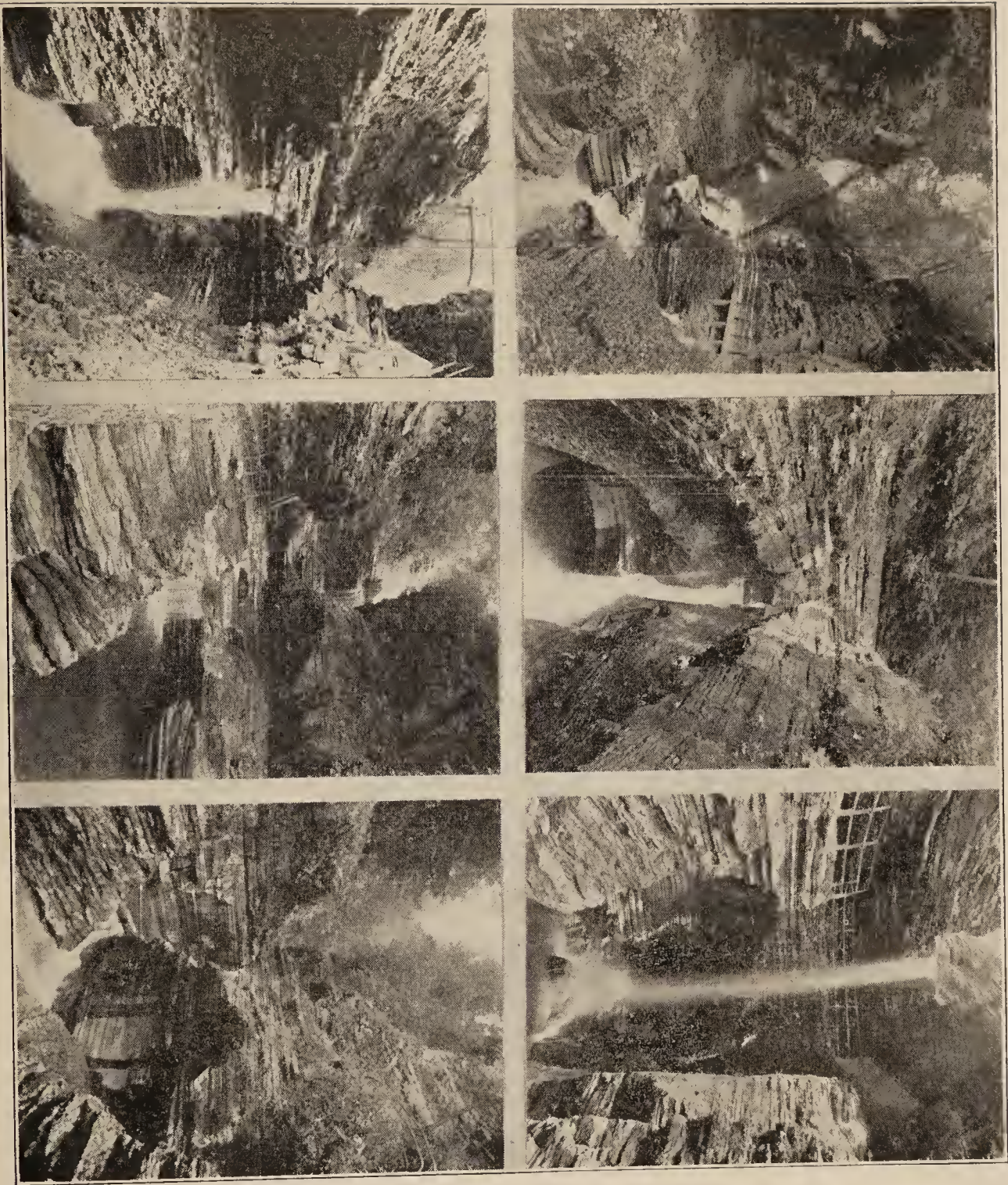
The destruction of the rocks is produced by contraction and expansion due to changes in temperature; to fracturing by frost; to chemical work of the carbon-dioxide of the air; to the organic acids in the soil; to the solvent action of carbonated waters; and especially to the mechanical corrasion and transportation by wind, rain, running water and glaciers. The reader will agree that



MT. MORRIS CANYON, LOOKING NORTH (Plate 18)



MT. MORRIS CANYON, EAST WALL, BELOW "HOG-BACK" (Plate 19)
Lower beds, Cashaqua; upper beds, Rhinestreet.



VIEWS IN WATKINS GLEN (Plates 20)
The rocks are Portage shale and sandstone.

an average of surface erosion, at the present time, of one one-thousandth of an inch per year, or one inch in 1,000 years is not too high an estimate. The length of time since the Devonian is at least 20,000,000 years. At the above rate of erosion the depth of strata removed figures as 1,666 feet. During much of the long time since the Devonian the continent probably was higher above the sea than it is now, and the greater elevation increased the factors of erosion (precipitation, gradient, velocity and transportation of streams). The warmer climate of the Tertiary Period facilitated chemical decay, and probably increased the amount of rainfall and volume of the rivers. During epochs of aridity and of desert conditions, such as prevailed here in Salina time, the winds were effective agents of erosion and transportation, and the torrential rains aided stream erosion (the Grand Canyon district is an example).

Under all possible climatic and physical conditions the wasting of the land was constant, and an estimate of 2,000 feet of rock removed from over the Rochester district appears reasonable. A much greater thickness has been cut away to make the basin of Lake Ontario.

Such depth of erosion over the lower Genesee region implies that the Salina shales, the Onondaga limestone and the Marcellus and Hamilton beds, which now have their abrupt northern edges (outcrops) not far south of Rochester, originally extended northward and covered the Rochester area and Ontario lowland, and some of them perhaps reached over the site of Lake Ontario, or even into Canada.

The important fact to be recognized is that the present topography of the region, the deep valleys and the intervening ridges and the plains and plateaus, were not the original land surface, but are the present result of the long-time erosion and down-cutting of the exposed land. When the region was finally raised out of the Devonian sea it had no features like those of today, but was only a relatively smooth plain (coastal plain), the exposed sea-bottom. This plain sloped gently southward from Canada across the Genesee Country to the receding sea; finally extending into Pennsylvania. Over this south-sloping plain the primitive rivers flowed southward into the inland sea.

The great basin now occupied by Lake Ontario and its bays was carved out of the upraised marine coastal plain through the

many millions of years of continental erosion. The same is true of the Irondequoit and Genesee valleys, and of all the valleys of central and western New York. The valleys are merely trenches cut in the wasting land surface by the concentrated stream erosion. The broad ridges between the valleys, composed of practically horizontal strata, are merely the remnants of the ancient Devonian plain. The valleys are the direct and positive effect of the land destruction, while the intervening ridges are a passive or negative result. As noted above, the earlier drainage passed southward across the former sea-bottom; but in later, certainly in Tertiary time, the river-flow of central and western New York was diverted into northward flow into the great river that was carving the Ontario Valley (Ontarian River), and the river detritus was probably swept into the Mississippi basin (plate 22).

EVOLUTION OF THE PRESENT VALLEYS.

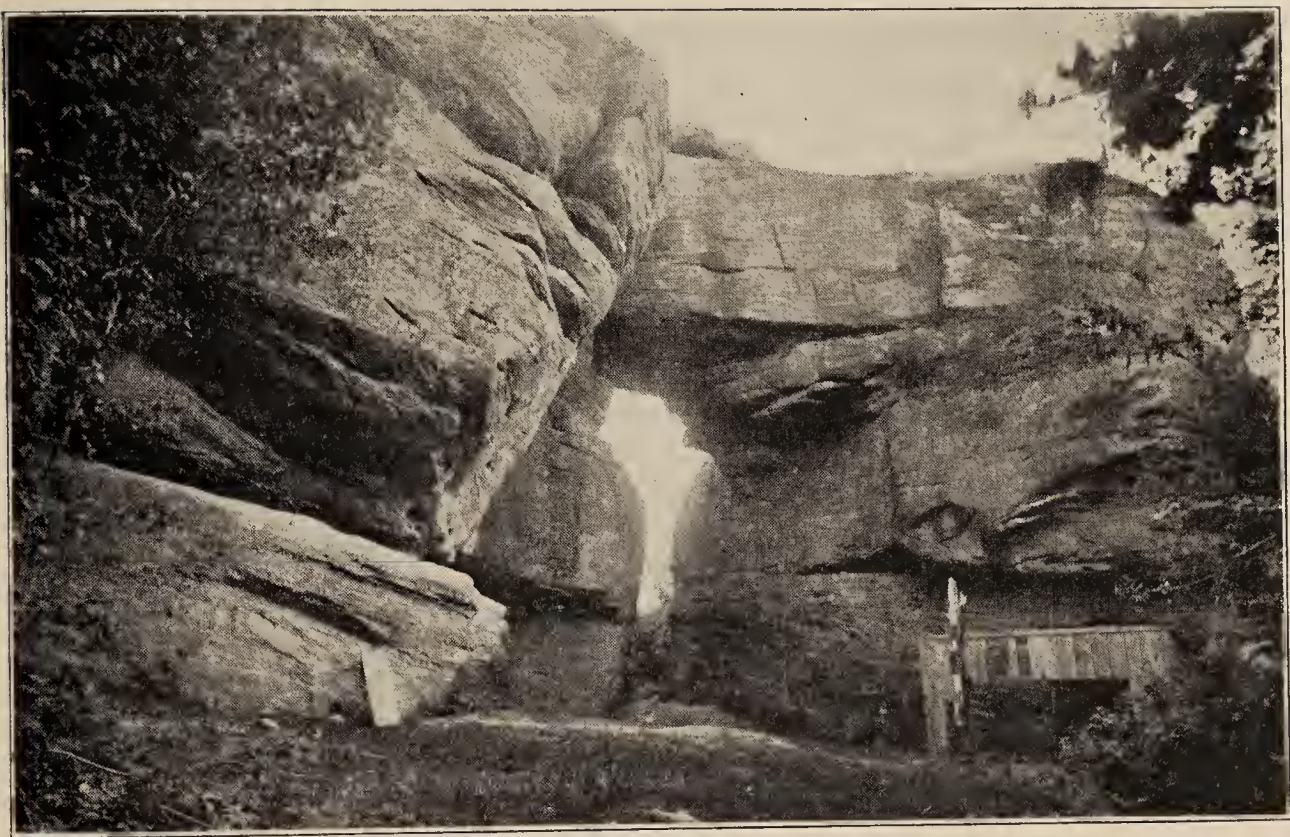
In order to explain the origin and history of the Genesee and other valleys, with their diverse and anomalous directions of flow, more particular description is necessary of the changes in western New York drainage.

Plate 22 gives a suggestion of the direction of the rivers in later Paleozoic time. It is quite hypothetical, yet there are a few wide valleys or depressions with northeast by southwest directions, and with little or no relation to the existing drainage, which are regarded as relics of the more ancient, and primitive, southerly flow.

But the larger part of the present drainage, the Genesee River being the best example, has northerly direction, quite the reverse of the original, primitive flow. The reversal in flow-direction is our present problem.

With the erosion of the rocks of the wide area the rivers in the process of deepening their channels were compelled to pay attention, or to adjust themselves, to the structure and character and the varying resistance to erosion of the rock strata which they encountered.

Plate 1 is a sketch-map of the present areal geology, showing the belts of outcrop of the eroded strata of the several time periods. The shaded belts are the outcrops of the limestone



POTTSVILLE CONGLOMERATE, AT ROCK CITY, PA. (Plate 21)

strata. As described above, each belt originally extended farther north.

The primitive (consequent) south-flowing rivers crossed all these stratigraphic belts. Of course they developed tributaries, many of which flowed east or west along the outcrop (the "strike" direction) of the strata. The tributaries which occupied the belts of weak rocks had an erosional advantage, and sometimes extended themselves by headward cutting until they tapped and captured adjacent river systems. These originally tributary or secondary (subsequent) streams in that manner beheaded some of the south-flowing (consequent) rivers, and so became controlling or master rivers. They have been called "pirate" streams. It was in this manner that the east and west tributaries which lay in the wide belt of very thick and very weak Ordovician rocks developed into the great master stream, the Ontarian River, which occupied the great Ontario Valley. There is no doubt that the Ontario basin is an effect of erosion and not of land warping.

The Mohawk Valley similarly developed as the eastward extension on the Ordovician outcrop.

Two other depressions in western New York represent belts of weak rocks, and hold stretches of east or west stream-flow. One is the outcrop of the Salina shales, lying between the two heavy limestones, in which lie parts of the Oatka, Honeoye and Ganargua creeks, and the villages of Scottsville, Rush, Mendon, Victor, Macedon, Lyons and Clyde (plates 1 and 2). The other depression is in Chemung strata, carrying the east and west stretches of the Susquehanna and Chemung rivers between Elmira and Binghamton.

It will be evident to the reader that the valleys of rivers flowing east or west must have had walls or slopes facing both north and south, down which flowed the tributary drainage. The great Ontarian River, lying in the wide belt of very weak Ordovician strata, became the dominating river and its broad and deep valley the dominating topographic feature, and the focus of drainage of a vast area. As the Ontario Valley deepened it correspondingly widened, and strong north-flowing streams developed on the south wall of the broad valley. These north-flowing rivers, the reverse in direction of the primitive flow, and termed "obsequent" streams, extended themselves southward by headward cut-

ting into the plateau on the south, and eventually captured most of the drainage of central and western New York. Even the Susquehanna is believed to have flowed north through the Seneca and Sodus valleys (plate 22).

The remarkable parallel valleys of west-central New York were excavated by this obsequent northward drainage into the Ontarian River. In sequence from west to east these valleys are: the Tonawanda, Oatka, Genesee, Conesus, Hemlock, Honeoye, Bristol, Canandaigua, Flint, Seneca, Cayuga, Owasco, Skaneateles, Otisco, Onondaga, Butternut, Limestone and Chittenango. Other north-flowing streams farther eastward were, and are, tributary to the Mohawk. Altogether, these valleys make the most extensive series of parallel valleys in the world.

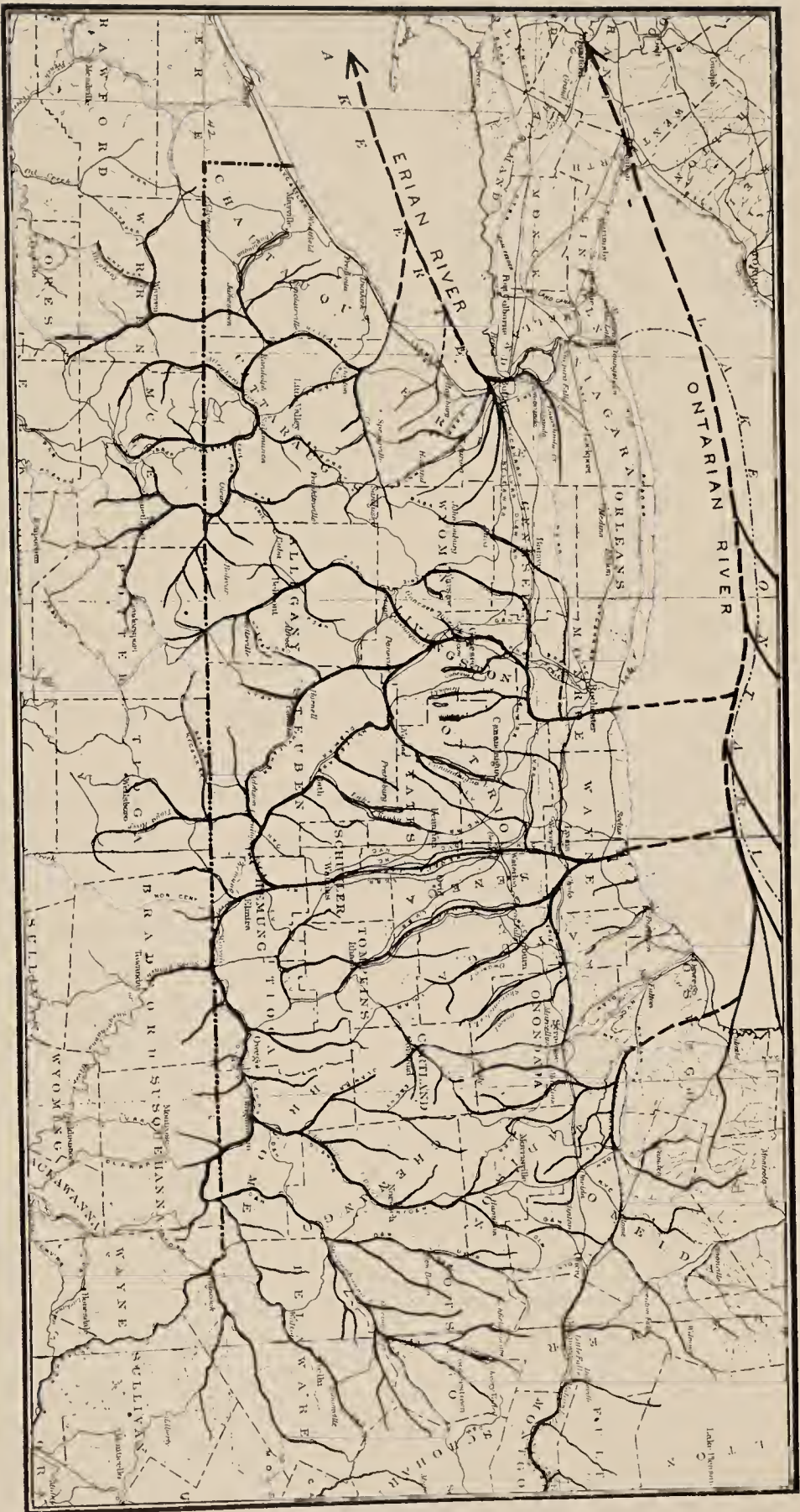
Probably many of the north-flowing streams did not continue into direct junction with the Ontarian River, but united to form east or west streams in the Salina depression. Only a few large streams cut across or breached the ridge of Niagara limestone which formed the north wall of the Salina trough. The most important passes are the Irondequoit and the Sodus Bay Valley. East of Sodus Bay are smaller valleys, but so obscured by glacial drift that the ancient drainage is uncertain. Between St. David's Valley, west of Niagara, and the Sodus Valley there is only one break in the Lockport limestone ridge, namely the Irondequoit Valley. This was certainly the Preglacial path of the Genesee River. It must be clearly understood that the canyons of the Niagara, Genesee and Oswego rivers have been wholly cut since the removal of the Quebec Glacier.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GENESEE RIVER.

The Genesee River (plate 23) is the fine example of the ancient north-flowing (obsequent) rivers tributary to the Ontario Valley. The blocking and extinguishing effect of the continental glacier was not able to radically change its course. It persisted in its northward flow, and cut new channels where the old path was blocked by glacial drift.

Rising in Pennsylvania at altitudes much over 2,000 feet, it yet flows across the whole width of western New York, and has the most complex and dramatic drainage history, it is confidently thought, of any valley in the world.

The development of the river, mostly during Tertiary time, is not entirely clear. It is the product of many changes in the



LATE TERTIARY, OR PREGLACIAL, DRAINAGE OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN
 NEW YORK (Plate 22)
 Glacial drift has so obscured the ancient river courses, especially over a wide belt near
 Lake Ontario, that the mapping is partially hypothetical.

drainage, and the aggregate of several originally distinct streams. The full story cannot be read. If all the glacial drift could be removed from the valleys so as to expose the old Pre-glacial surfaces, we might hope to decipher and translate the history. However, some bolder topographic features suggest some important elements in the history.

It appears certain that the Preglacial flow of the Genesee River was northward, the same as today. The interfering and blockading effect of the advancing ice-sheet tended to change northward river flow into southward flow. Such reversing effect was successful with the Susquehanna, Chemung and Allegany rivers. Morainal damming has in places changed the path of the Genesee River, but the glacial blocking could not permanently reverse the general northward direction of flow.

It also appears certain that the Irondequoit Valley was the lower, or northern, part of the river valley. This is the only wide breach in the ridge of hard Niagaran strata anywhere within reach of the river which is comparable in dimensions with the valley at Avon and Geneseo. The course through Rochester is Postglacial and very recent.

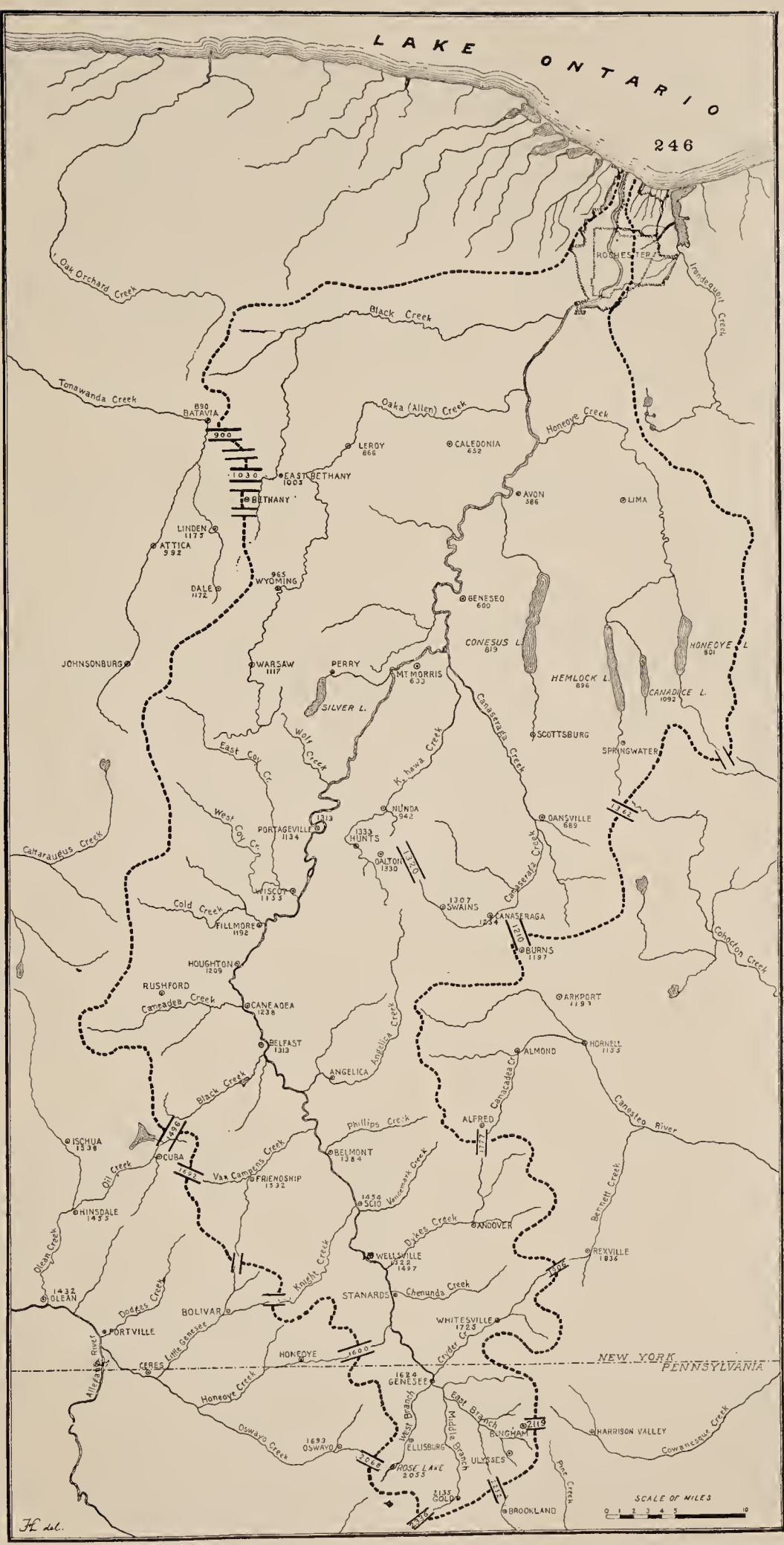
The wide and deep Irondequoit Valley and the capacious Dansville Valley suggest by their form that they are very old, and the courses of ancient heavy drainage. It is probable that they were the earliest of the component parts of the Genesee system. As the Ontarian River deepened its valley the early Genesee River, in the Irondequoit Valley, did the same, tending to preserve its graded relation to its master river. This implies that the rock floor of the Irondequoit Valley must be buried under a great depth of glacial and lake deposit, for Lake Ontario is now over 700 feet deep.

The deepening of the ancient Irondequoit Valley increased its northward downslope, or gradient, with the result of increasing the stream velocity. And this facilitated rapid erosion, with extension of the headwaters into the highland or plateau on the south. Such headward extension enabled the river to capture other streams on the south, and so increase its volume and its power for further pirating. We must realize that the captured streams had the original southward flow, and the piracy by the energetic and ambitious Genesee turned the direction of flow from southward to northward.

The drainage area, or "basin," is bounded by the heavy, broken line. The parallel lines which lie across the boundary line, with figures for elevation above ocean, mark the outflow channels or passes of escape of the glacial-lake waters that were held up by the Quebec ice-sheet. The ice-front melted back from south to north, opening successively lower passes.

The passes on the east side of the valley carried the overflow to the St. Lawrence River. Those on the west side, at and south of Cuba, led to the Ohio-Mississippi. Those at Bethany and Batavia led through Chicago to the Mississippi. The long-time escape of the Genesee waters eastward to the Mohawk-Hudson was by channels between Rochester and Rome. The later escape through Lake Ontario was into the Champlain-Hudson. Yet later the Genesee poured into sea level waters (Gilbert Gulf); and now through Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence Valley. Boundaries of Rochester are shown for 1895 and 1923.

GENESEE VALLEY (Plate 23)



It must be kept in mind that this early drainage was high above the present valleys, up possibly a thousand feet. And it is likely that greater elevation of the continent, along with possible tilting, influenced the changes in drainage.

Before the Glacial Period the headward cutting by the Genesee had established its course clear across the state in Pennsylvania. The effects of the ice-sheet did not seriously change the river valley above Portageville, although it caused serious diversion at and below Portageville.

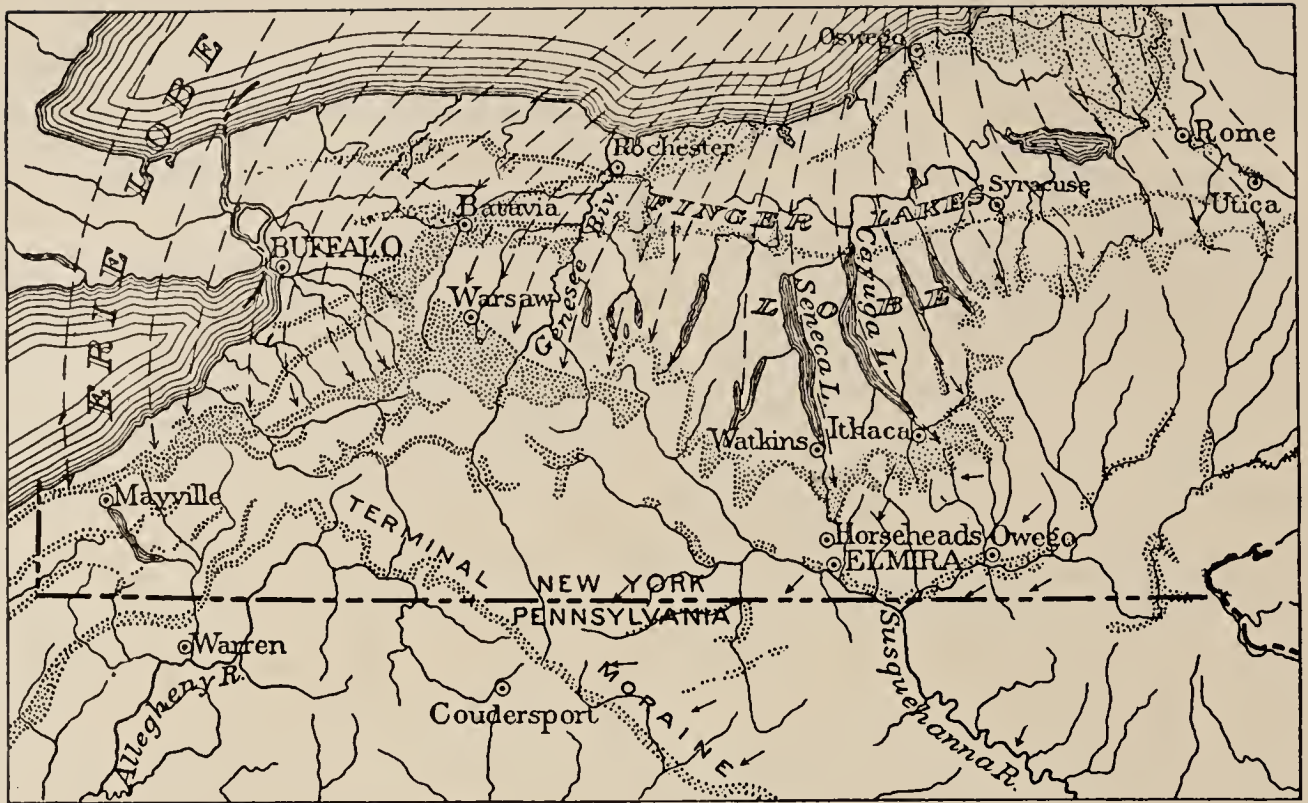
EFFECTS OF GLACIATION.

A full description of the glacial episode in the history of our region would require a large book, and the story here must be very brief.

It is certain that climates have varied since the earliest recorded geologic time, and effects of glaciation are found in very ancient rocks. The causes of changes of temperature are not fully known, but they are involved in geologic processes, such as the evolution of the earth's envelopes, the ocean and atmosphere.

Before the Glacial Period, during Tertiary time, the continent of North America appears to have had a climate much warmer and more uniform than today. Beds of coal are found in Greenland that were produced by the growth of plants requiring the warmth of our southern states. Some changes in the throbbing globe and in the character of its atmosphere produced a slightly lower world temperature, sufficient to change some rainfall into snow; and fields of snow-ice were produced in areas of heavy precipitation.

One of the areas of snow accumulation, and the latest in America, was in southern Quebec. There the ice-field grew until it overspread all of New England, all of New York and part of northern Pennsylvania (plate 24). In its slow advance the Quebec Glacier filled the Ontario basin, and advancing it blocked the Genesee and all other north-flowing rivers in the state. The waters of central and western New York were forced to escape either eastward to the Mohawk-Hudson or westward to the Mississippi, and finally southward into the Susquehanna in Pennsylvania. A great series of lakes, with their outlet rivers, were produced, and as the ice advanced were forced from lower to higher



GLACIAL DRIFT (Plates 24)

Upper figure: Map of the heavier moraines in central and western New York. The terminal moraine marks the extreme reach of the Quebec ice-sheet.

Lower view: Glacial drift mantle, resting on Lockport limestone. Rochester, 1899.



MORaine TOPOGRAPHY (Plates 25)

Upper view: Three miles south of Dansville, looking west from Stony Brook school house.

Lower view: In Highland Park, Rochester, looking southeast.

levels. For tens of thousands of years there was no Genesee River, nor any streams in the state, because some thousands of feet of ice covered all of the state.

With a slight change of climatic conditions the Quebec Glacier diminished, and the south front of the ice-sheet backed away or receded northward. The receding dam held up a remarkable series of glacial lakes in the valleys that sloped northward, toward the ice barrier; while rivers, flowing past the ice front, drained these lakes. These waters of ice-recession fell from higher to lower levels, the reverse of the lakes of ice-advance. The story of these glacial Genesee waters has been told in several writings (32, 45, 46, 52). The glacial-lake phenomena are very prominent in central-western New York, and some of those in the Genesee region are described in papers 28, 32, 33, 36, 41, 45, 46, 52. The map of the Genesee Valley, plate 23, shows the out-flow channels of glacier-impounded waters where these crossed the boundaries of the basin.

The rubbing, transporting and filling work of the spreading ice-sheet did not greatly change the topography of the region. The gross topography or the larger relief features were not altered. The old notion that the continental glacier had great eroding power, planing off the hills and excavating deep valleys, is a mistake. The effects were different from those of alpine or valley glaciers. The erosive work here was a sort of sandpapering of the land surface. The greater work was transportation, the gathering up of the loosened rock materials from millions of years of weathering, and drifting it southward. The chief modification of the land surface by the ice-sheet was constructional, the deposition of the rock-rubbish ("glacial drift") in ridges or masses as moraines and drumlins (plates 24-27, and papers 42, 44, 55), and its most important effect was the diversion of drainage by drift-filling in the valleys. The divides at the south heads of the Finger-Lakes valleys are all made by heavy moraine filling (plate 34). In the Genesee Valley the drift blockade at certain points has caused the diversion of the river from its Pre-glacial course into new paths, with the production of canyons and cataracts. Very old valleys become wide and flaring. The narrow, steep-walled channels, with or without falls, are relatively young. By this test alone we would know that the ravines

at Portage, Mt. Morris and Rochester are very recent, speaking geologically.

The old valley of the Genesee led northeast through Nunda (paper 45). It was blocked northeast of Portageville by a massive moraine filling, and the morainal lake thus formed, covering the village site, found its outlet near the west wall of the old valley, but soon encountered the sandstones. Being unable to change its path, the outlet stream, the continuation of the Genesee River, was compelled to saw down on the rocks. The result is the very handsome Portage canyon and cataracts. At the Mt. Morris "High Banks" the river found another rock barrier and the St. Helena Lake was drained by cutting the ravine in Genesee and Hamilton shales.

North of Avon the eastward course of the ancient river, in the Salina depression, was so filled with drift that the old valley is obscured. The Postglacial river could not reach the Irondequoit Valley, and hence took its present course, excavating the splendid Rochester canyon.

In similar manner the diversion of stream courses has forced new channels and produced the numerous ravines which beautify western New York, such as Stony Brook, south of Dansville; Watkins, Montour and Hector in the Seneca Valley; and Fall Brook, Cascadilla, Enfield and Taghanic in the Ithaca district.

The history of the Genesee Country closes with the happenings since the ice-sheet disappeared. Of course the canyons, cataracts and lakes belong to this Postglacial episode, of only some tens of thousands of years. But there are some other interesting elements in this recent time. While the waning ice-sheet yet lay over the St. Lawrence Valley a succession of glacial lakes were held in our region (papers 43, 52). The latest and largest of these ice-dammed waters was Lake Iroquois (plate 33), which had its main outlet at Rome to the Mohawk-Hudson. The gravel beaches of the lake carry the "Ridge Roads"; and the extensive sandplains north of Rochester, between the Genesee River and Irondequoit Bay are remnants of the vast delta built in the lake by the Genesee River (paper 52, plate 2).

And between the lifetime of Lake Iroquois and that of Lake Ontario another interesting water-body existed. The great weight of the many thousands of feet of the ice-cap, lasting for scores of thousands of years, had depressed the land, so that when the



KAME-MORaine TOPOGRAPHY (Plates 26)
Views in the Mendon Ponds kame-area, Monroe County. The knolls are all gravel;
surrounding deep kettles.



DEPOSITS OF GLACIAL GRAVEL (Plates 27)

Views in two gravel pits, north side of Cobb's Hill, Rochester, 1903-1904, looking about southeast. The sites are now covered by the north embankment of the Cobb's Hill Reservoir.

ice-sheet melted away it left this part of the continent so low that ocean-level water took possession of the Ontario basin for some thousands of years. The Gilbert Gulf, as this sealevel water is named (paper 43), has left series of heavy beaches at the east end of Lake Ontario and in the St. Lawrence Valley. When the district of the Thousand Islands was raised above sealevel, by the slow rise and recovery of the land, Lake Ontario was initiated; and the continued rise since Gilbert Gulf time has lifted the surface of Ontario to 246 feet. Since the ice-sheet was removed from the site of Rochester the area has been lifted 250 feet (plate 35, papers 49, 51, 52.)

We are indebted to the work of the glacier, direct or indirect, not only for the canyons and cataracts but for all the lakes, for the beautiful drumlins (plate 28) and morainal hills (plates 25, 26), for the fertile alluvial and lake areas, and for the rich soils of the uplands. If there had been no glacier the region would now have been simply one of deep valleys with the intervening ridges. There would be no lakes, since these are ephemeral features and not produced by normal stream-work. The soils would be only residual, well leached and relatively poor. The country would be comparable to the lands southward, beyond the reach of the ice-sheet. Our fertile upland soils have been derived in part from Canada, where areas of bare granitic rocks testify to the work of the glacier in removing the product of rock weathering during the long Preglacial eras.

The special fertility of the Genesee Valley is partly due to the pulverized crystalline rocks, rich in plant food, swept down from Canada, and in part to the work of the glacial lakes in depositing the plains of silt and sand. The difference in fertility of the uplands between the northern and southern belts of western New York is chiefly due to the difference in lime content. The limestones lie in the northern belt, with no lime outcrop south of that of the Onondaga (plates 1, 2). Another cause is the less amount of crystalline-rock material in the glacial drift on the south.

Most of the very interesting and beautiful physiographic features of western New York are due to the work of the ice-sheet. As noted above, the canyons, cataracts, lakes and lakelets belong in this category; also the moraine (plate 24) and kame-moraine (plates 25, 26) areas with their varied and singular forms and structure; also the winding gravel ridges, or eskers, which were

formed as gravel deposits in the beds of overloaded subglacial streams; and also the anomalous basins, or kettles, found in moraines, in delta plains and in river plains, produced by the melting of buried ice-blocks (plate 29).

A glossary of glacial terms, with brief definitions or description of the various glacial features, is given in paper 55.

LIFE HISTORY.

Of the life of the era of submergence we have some record, preserved in the rocks, as already described. But of the long era of exposure no deposits with fossils were produced. Yet we may be sure that the region had its inhabitants of land plants and land animals, and we have knowledge of the life of that era from the remains found in other parts of the world where deposits occur of the several periods.

Undoubtedly the plants of the later Paleozoic (Carbonic time), which formed the peat beds that are now changed to coal, also lived in the Genesee region. These plants represented the ferns, horsetails (*Equisetæ*), club-mosses (*Lycopods*), Conifers, and many groups now extinct. During the early and middle Mesozoic the Cycads became dominant. In the later Mesozoic our modern flowering plants (*Angiosperms*) appeared, with our forest trees and palms. This was the great event in the evolution of the vegetable kingdom, and the Genesee region must have been a field for that process.

In Carbonic time the highest land animals were amphibians, the modern diminutive representatives being toads, frogs and salamanders, the forms connecting fishes and reptiles. Those of the coal period were very large, with powerful teeth, and some with heavy armor.

In Mesozoic time the amphibians yielded dominance to the reptiles, which ruled the world during all of that long era. The remarkable saurians of the sea could not visit our region, but the wonderful land reptiles and the flying reptiles must have possessed this territory. The vegetarian Dinosaurs were among the largest animals that ever walked the land. Some of them, along with the carnivorous Dinosaurs, stalked about on their hind legs, and left three-toed tracks like birds. Some of the flying reptiles (Pterodactyls) of the west had spread of wings



DRUMLINS (Plates 28)

Examples of the thousands of oval hills of glacial drift between Rochester and Syracuse.

Upper view: Drumlin west of Skaneateles Junction; looking west.

Lower view: Drumlin two miles west of Savannah; looking northeast.

Wave erosion of Lake Iroquois has cut away, or notched, the south end, forming a cut terrace for the house and barns.



VIEWS OF KETTLES (Plates 29)

Upper view: Ice-block kettle three miles southwest of Owego, by roadside, in deserted flood-plain of the Susquehanna River.

Lower view: Large kettle-basin in a gravel delta at Potter Center, Yates County. The delta was built by a stream which drained the Canadaigua glacial lake.

of 20 feet, and those early flying machines must have used our region for landing fields. In Jurassic strata in Europe there has been found the real connecting link between reptiles and birds, a small reptile (*Archeopteryx*) covered with feathers. We are not sure whether it made any American visits.

True birds, of aquatic types, appeared in the west in Cretaceous time, and probably waded and swam the rivers of western New York.

Mammals began in the Mesozoic, and in early Tertiary they displaced the huge and bizarre reptiles. Probably this region witnessed the conflict for supremacy. During the millions of years of the Tertiary the evolution of mammalian life was completed. One of the most remarkable and perfect examples of the development is that of the horse family. Beginning in early Tertiary as a diminutive creature with the normal five digits, through many stages of slow evolution it became in late Tertiary the modern horse, with its highly specialized hand and foot of a single digit. We may believe that it roamed the forest and savannas of our region, along with the camel, rhinoceros and many other strange mammals now extinct. There were no humans here then to challenge them.

The colder climate of the approaching ice-sheet sent the mammals southward, while the musk-ox and reindeer came down from the north. Finally the Quebec Glacier drove away all life and took forcible possession of the whole state for many thousands of years. When the glacier finally waned and its south margin reluctantly backed away northward the migratory animals followed, and the warm-climate mammals pushed the musk-ox, the deer-moose and the reindeer into their northern range.

Since the ice-sheet passed away from New York two species of the elephant family, the Mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*) and the Mastodon lived in western New York and left their remains in the marshes and peat-bogs. It is possible that the early aborigines in our region, as they crept along their trails, met the huge elephants face to face.

The vegetation, like the animals, followed the receding ice front, and repopulated the region with splendid forests, until the axe of the white man appeared. And man himself is truly a part, the latest comer, of the geologic history.

COMPARISON WITH PENNSYLVANIA.

The long era in New York of comparatively calm and undisturbed erosion was contemporaneous with violent changes in territory on the south.

At the close of the Paleozoic the thick strata of Carbonic time in Pennsylvania were mashed and crumpled into a parallel series of sharp folds, constituting the Appalachian mountain belt. The coal in the eastern part was metamorphosed into anthracite. Some slight folding reached into New York.

Then, during the long and quiet Mesozoic, the mountain folds and the northern area, including the southern part of western New York, were planed off by atmospheric erosion to a near-plain, or "peneplane", graded with gentle slope to the sea, and the rivers sluggishly meandering over its surface to the ocean on the south.

During Mesozoic time crustal stresses accumulated in the earth, and in the Tertiary another crustal disturbance occurred. This lifted eastern North America, but without much crushing and mountain making. The elevation encouraged the rivers, which promptly went to work and cut the valleys of New York and Pennsylvania to the present form. In the folded Appalachian belt of Pennsylvania the weak strata have been removed to produce the parallel valleys; while the hard, resistant strata stand as the even, level-crested mountain ridges. The latter represent the old surface of the upraised peneplane.

The highland of our New York region, over 2,000 feet elevation, is the northern part of the upraised Mesozoic peneplane, and known as the Alleghany Plateau.

The Appalachian Revolution at the close of the Paleozoic, that crushed into mountain folds the strata of central Pennsylvania, appears to have reached into New York and to have slightly bent the Devonian strata. Some flexures or undulations of the strata which are quite pronounced in northern Pennsylvania are traced into central New York. The axes of the flexures have direction somewhat northeast by southwest.

These bendings of the Devonian strata account for the differing inclination from the horizontal, the "dip", which is often conspicuous, and which varies decidedly in both direction and amount.



LAKE WARREN SHORE (Plate 30)

One-half mile south of Smithville station on West Shore Railroad, Genesee County,
looking east. The erosion cliff is Onondaga limestone.



GLACIAL DELTA PLAIN (Plate 31)

The delta was built in the Dansville glacial lake by the work of Stony Brook. Three miles south of Dansville, looking north, 1895.



CHANNEL OF A GLACIAL RIVER (Plate 32)

Outlet of the Naples glacial lake, the highest waters held in the Canandaigua Valley. Two miles north of Atlanta station of the Erie and Delaware, Lackawanna & Western railroads. View at head of ancient river channel, looking southwest.

PHYSIOGRAPHY.

If we could restore all the strata which have been removed from western New York it would extend the high plateau of the southern counties northward into Canada. All the valleys would be filled, even Ontario and Erie. The present land relief or topography is a product of land uplift with wastage and erosion of rocks of unequal resistance.

The general physiography or larger relief is familiar to the reader who knows his state. On the north is the lowland, 20 to 30 miles wide, facing Lake Ontario, but narrow along Lake Erie. As explained above, this is due to erosion of the thick and weak Ordovician and Silurian strata, during all time since early Devonian. The plateau on the south, of younger and stronger rocks, is deeply trenched by river erosion, chiefly since Mesozoic time. This high Alleghany Plateau extends south into central Pennsylvania. Farther south it is represented by the straight crests of the series of parallel mountain ridges of the Appalachian belt, noted below.

We are very fortunate in having nearly complete the topographic survey and mapping of the state by the United States Geological Survey, in coöperation with the New York State Museum. Plate 37 shows the divisions, or quadrangles, of western New York, based on astronomic lines, with the dimensions being 15 minutes of both latitude and longitude. The sheets for these quadrangles are the finest product of engineering, engraving and printing, and show all the features of drainage, land relief, etc., that can be shown in two dimensions. The intelligent reader will surely get the sheet for his district, which will answer all questions in geography. The sheets should be on sale at any up-to-date bookstore, or may be had by writing to the United States Geological Survey, Washington, D. C. The price is ten cents (not postage stamps) each, or three dollars for any 50 sheets.

The sheets of the topographic map will show that the hilltops of the Alleghany Plateau in western New York are about 2,000 feet elevation. West of Canandaigua Lake, the Gannett Hill (Naples sheet), is 2,256 feet (plate 33) and a hill six miles southwest (Wayland sheet) is four feet higher. The maximum elevation is in the district of Salamanca and Olean, where sev-

eral hills rise to 2,400 feet, and "White Hill" on the Belmont quadrangle is 2,500 feet above mean sealevel.

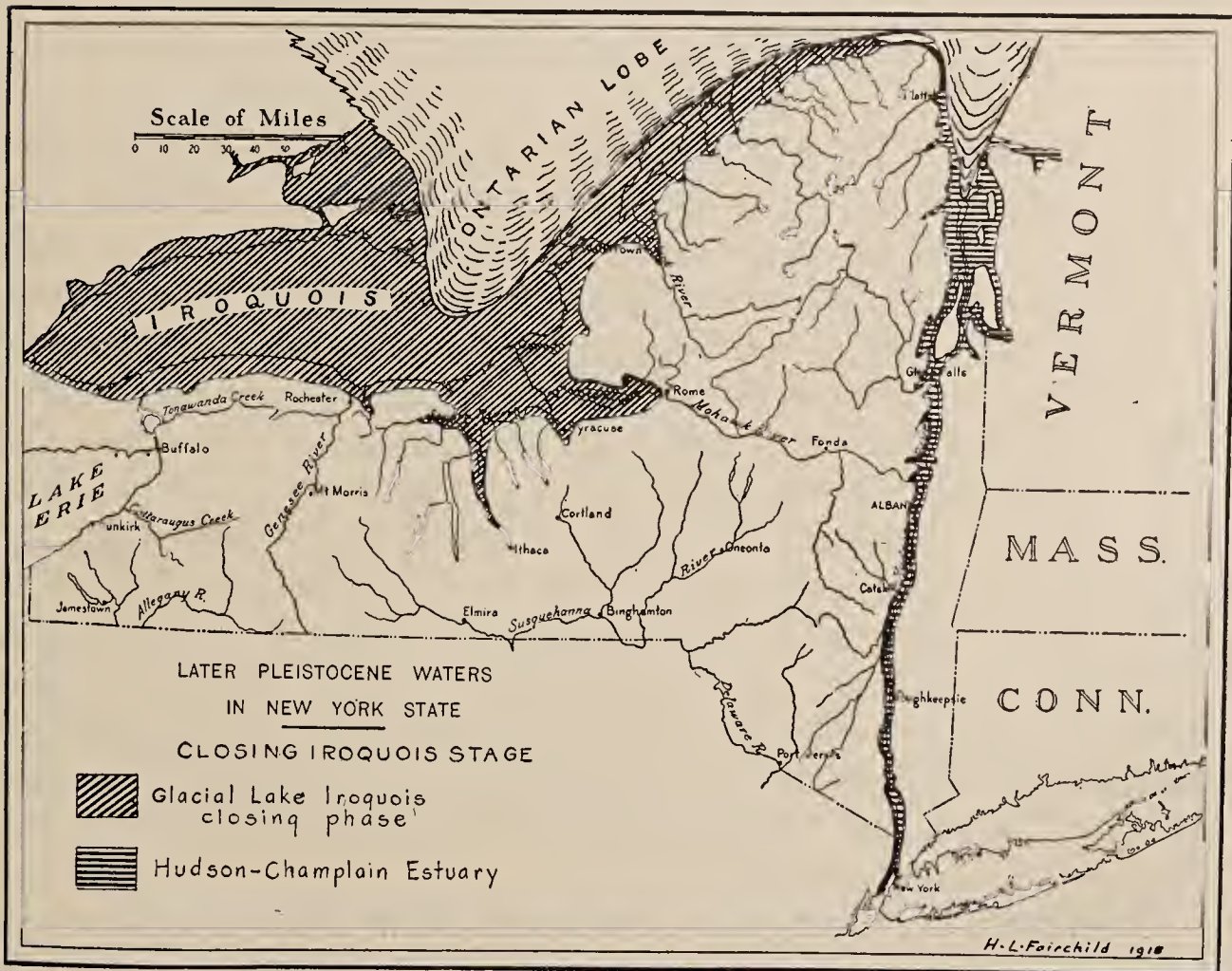
LENGTH OF POSTGLACIAL TIME.

The duration of geologic time, as noted in a former chapter, must be counted in scores of millions of years. Glacial time, the Pleistocene, probably covers some hundreds of thousands of years; and time since the glacial must be reckoned in tens of thousands. A brief consideration of the later geologic events that have transpired in this region will give a basis for time estimate.

After the Quebec ice-sheet, the latest of the American glaciers, had melted off from New York, the wide glacial water, Lake Iroquois, occupied the Ontario basin (plate 32). Its long-time outlet was through the Mohawk Valley to the sea in the Hudson-Champlain Valley. Its later escape was by a capacious channel, the Covey Gulf, cut in hard Potsdam sandstone, which lies on the Canadian boundary some 25 miles northwest of Plattsburg. Lake Iroquois had a life history longer than that of Lake Ontario at its present level, judging from the work done on the shores by waves and currents.

Following Iroquois the ocean-level waters of Gilbert Gulf held possession of the Ontario and St. Lawrence basins, because the land had been depressed by the weight of the ice cap. During the existence of Gilbert Gulf the land was slowly rising, in tilting manner (plate 35, papers 49, 51), and the vigorous waves heaped heavy gravel bars and embankments at successively lower levels (plate 5 in paper 54). The time required for this land uplift and the bar construction must have been long, but it is undetermined. At Covey Gulf the earliest marine shore has been raised 740 feet, some of which was since the birth of Ontario. The amount of uplift at Charlotte since Iroquois time has been about 155 feet, nearly one-half of which was during the marine episode of Gilbert Gulf (paper 52, pages 16, 23).

Lake Ontario was initiated when the Thousand Island region was lifted out of the sealevel waters. How long has Lake Ontario existed? Judging from its work on the primitive shoreline, cutting back the headlands and filling embayments, and building bars across the deeper embayments, like Irondequoit Bay, it must have been at work some thousands of years. The



TWO STAGES OF LAKE IROQUOIS (Plates 33)

geologists have said 10,000 years. But the visible shore work is only that which has been done since the lake attained its present level, 246 feet. We have to add for the life of the lake all the long time during which the lake surface was rising from sealevel.

If we take the life of Ontario as our unit, and call it 10,000 years, then we should count Gilbert Gulf and Lake Iroquois as 20,000 years, and so we have a guess of 30,000 years since the close of glaciation in western New York. As yet no one has any better basis of calculation. The former estimates, using the recession of Niagara Falls, are fallacious, because the complex history of the river and canyon was unknown.

Western New York holds abundant visible proof that Post-glacial time is very long. It is understood that our canyons have been carved out of the rock strata, by the streams which occupy them, since the ice-sheet disappeared from New York. All the rock ravines of central and western New York have been recently cut by the small streams which now trickle through the glens. Probably the Portage and Mt. Morris ravines began while the glacier yet lay over the northern part of our area, but Niagara and Rochester canyons are younger.

HUMAN OCCUPATION.

In western Europe the glacial deposits contain abundance of human implements, with some skeletal remains. And the remarkable paintings in the caves of southern France show that the artists were familiar with the great mammals of glacial time. Naturally this fact encouraged American students, and properly so, to seek for evidence of glacial man in America. Several discoveries in the United States of flint tools and of skeletons have been assumed or claimed as being in glacial deposits, or of Pleistocene time. But thus far all the "finds" are regarded by the geologists as recent, and attributed to the present Indian race. No positive evidence of glacial man has been found in America.

If the American continents were inhabited in the Glacial Period it would appear that the people remained in the warmer latitudes and kept away from the inhospitable areas near the ice-sheets. The very old civilizations of Peru, Central America and Mexico are as yet undated.

However, the aborigines in western New York probably saw

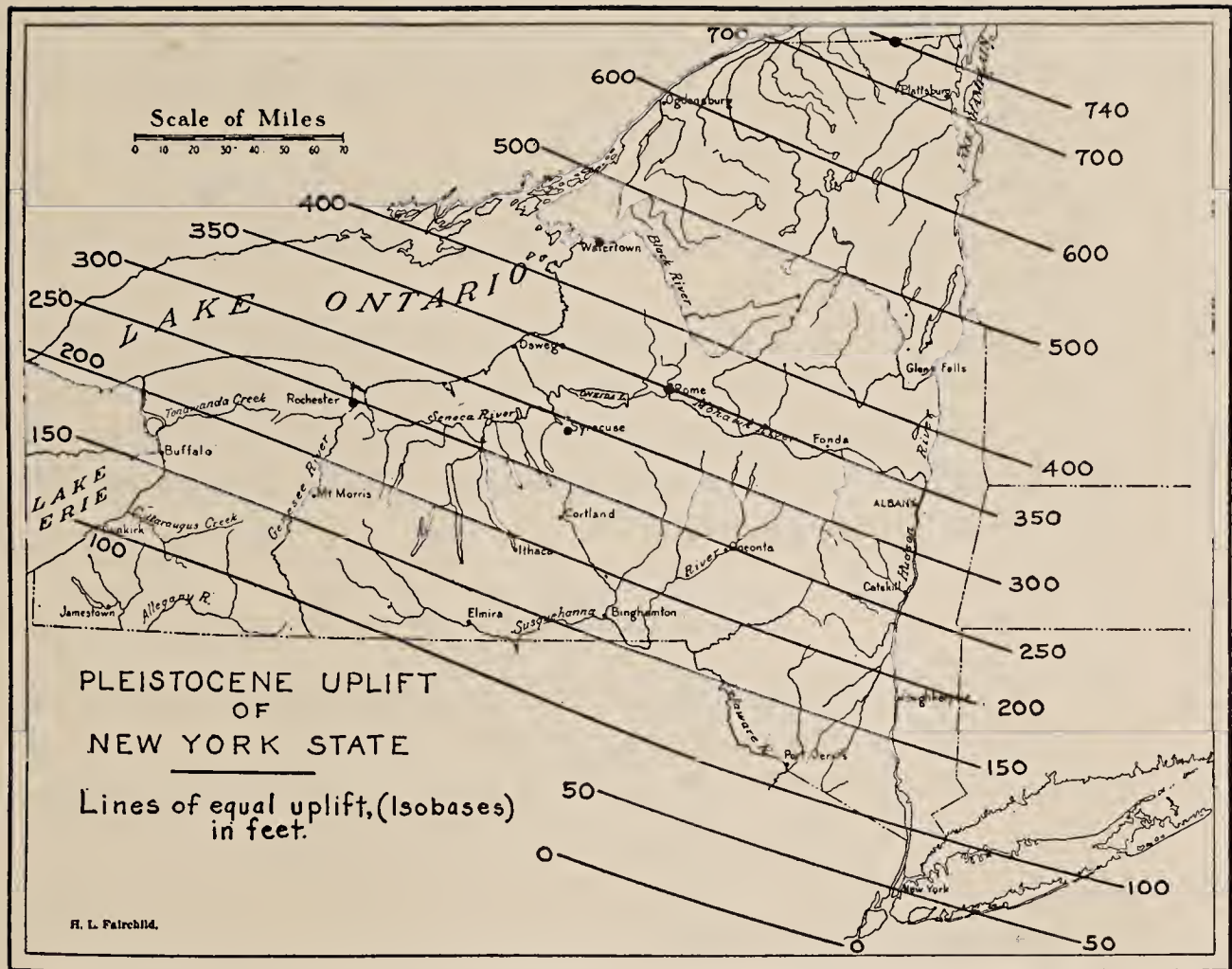
the huge elephants, Mammoth and Mastodon, which roamed over the district long after the Quebec ice-sheet disappeared. The bones of these proboscidiens are frequently found in the superficial swamp deposits and peat-bogs of New York and northward. It is quite possible that these noble creatures were exterminated in America by the savage cruelty of the early Americans.

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POSTGLACIAL LAND UPLIFT OF NEW YORK (Plate 35)

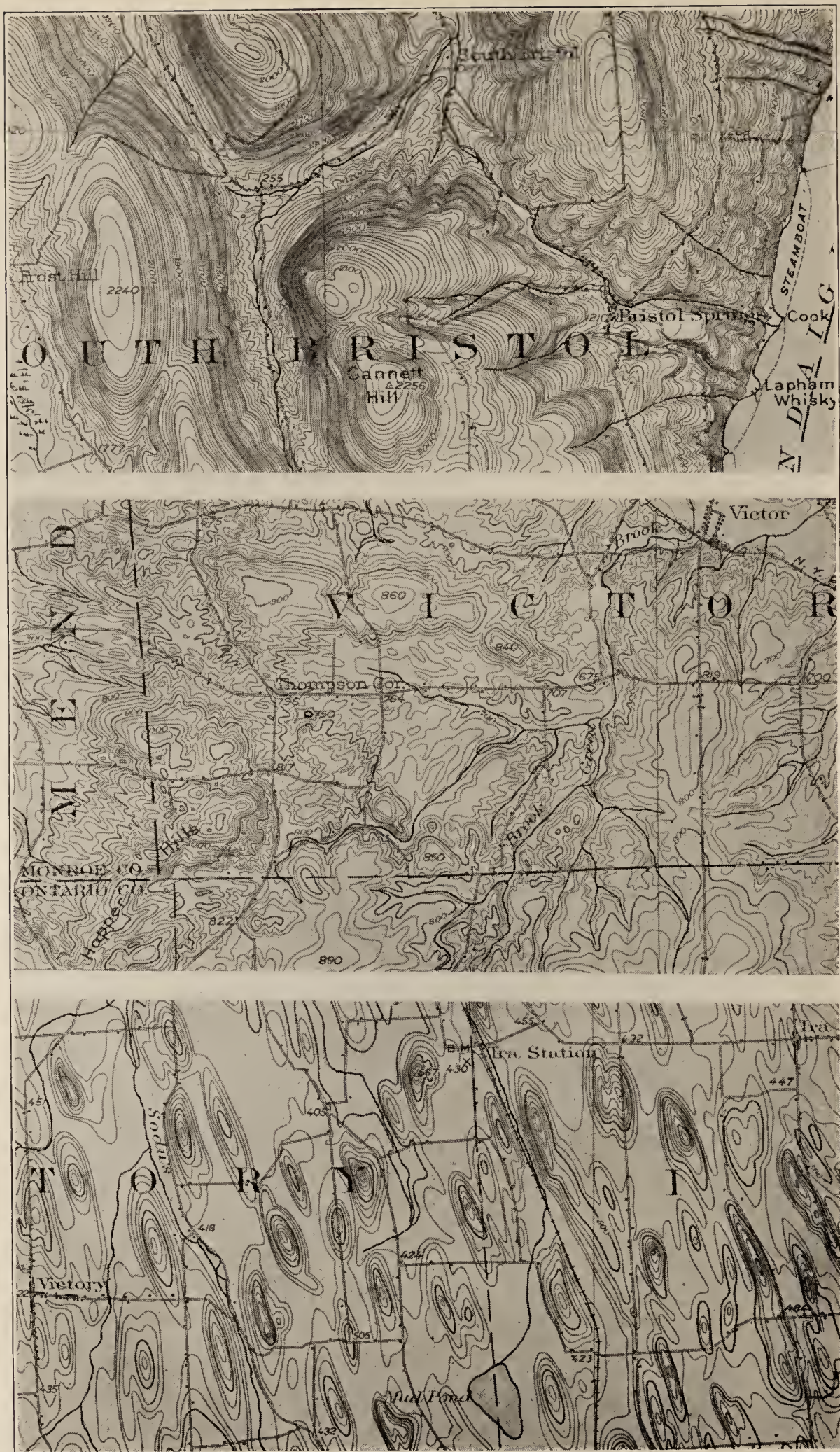
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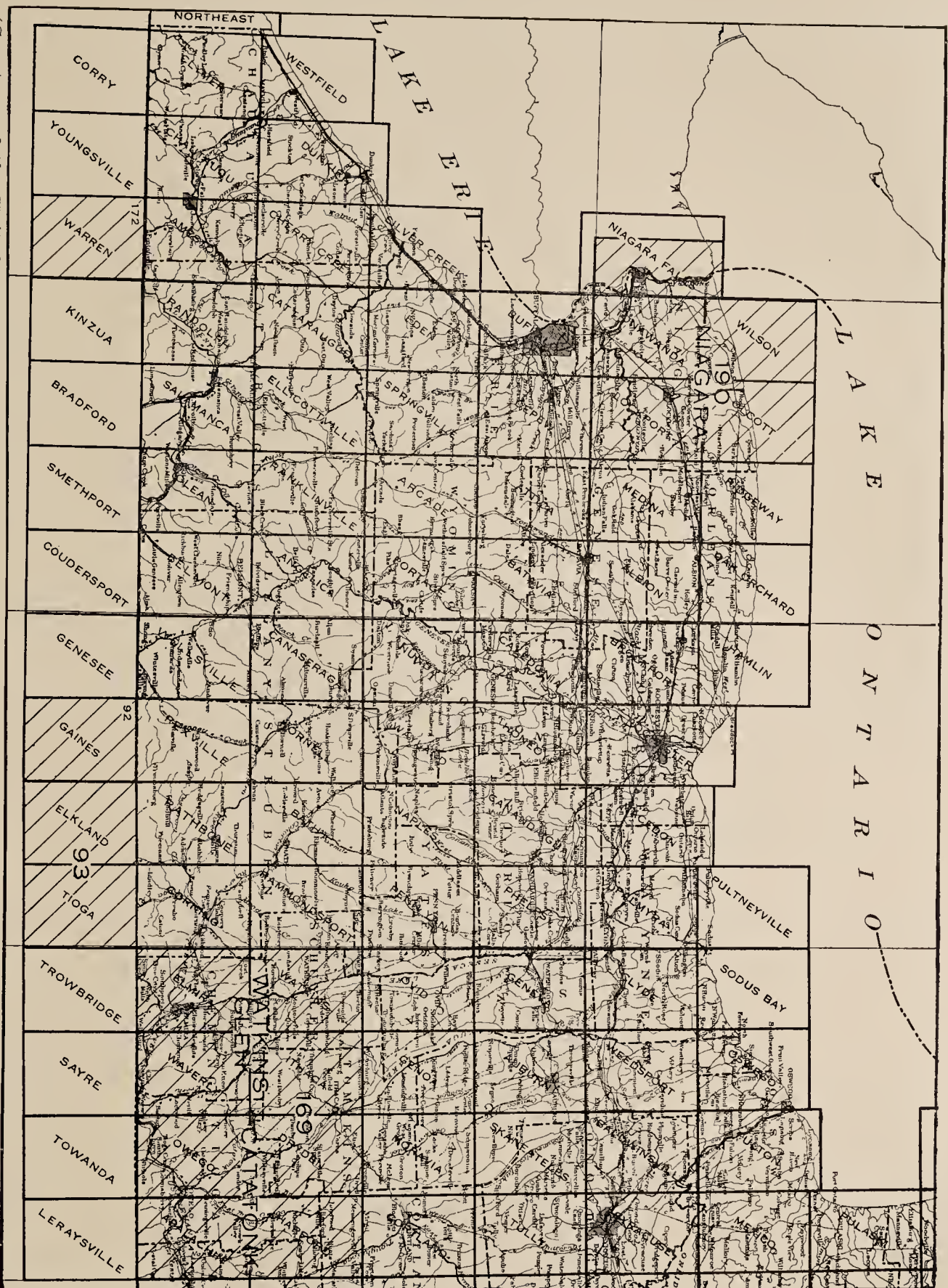
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COMPARISON OF ROCK AND GLACIAL TOPOGRAPHY (Plate 36)

- Figure 1. Hills of stratified rock, produced by erosion of the Alleghany plateau. Portion of the Naples sheet.
- Figure 2. Morainal topography. Portion of the Canandaigua sheet.
- Figure 3. Drumlin forms. Portion of the Weedsport sheet.



(Courtesy of the United States Geological Survey)

QUADRANGLES OF THE NEW YORK STATE TOPOGRAPHIC MAP (Plate 37)

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CHAPTER II.

ANCIENT LAND OF THE GENESEE.

BY ARTHUR CASWELL PARKER, M. S.

West of a line drawn from Sodus Bay to Tioga Point, on the Susquehanna, lies the fair country known to the aborigines as Nun-da-wah-ga-geh. It is the land of the People of the Great Hill, the Senecas. When the white man came with his compass and transit, he drew the line straight southward from Sodus Bay to the Pennsylvania line and called the region the Genesee Country,—and in all the world there is not a place like unto it for human habitation.

Here lies an empire of opportunity, which, for its intrinsic excellence, is unrivaled. It is not a land in whose sterile rocks are found gold and silver, the values of which are largely man-made, but a country of fertile soil, of natural waterways, of delightful waterfalls, of wondrous scenery and of salubrious climate. It is to possess these things, and the advantages that flow from them, that men toil and sweat.

Climatically the Genesee Country lies within the isothermal belt characterized by the world's most virile people. The contrasts between heat and cold, due to seasonal changes, have schooled the blood of those who live here and produced a people whose mental energy is abundant and eager; physically able to cope with the rigors of any clime; with nerves and muscles which thrive on the stimulation of a climate that pulsates with vibrant life.

This land attracts those races of men who are keen for conquest and find joy in striving. It is not a land for the enervated denizen of the tropics, but for those brave races whose ancestors have been born of like climes in Nordic Europe. It is a land that keeps alive those racial qualities that make men seek the fullness of life and holds them responsive to its opportunities. The historian who seeks statistics will find an abundance of evidence to prove this assertion, if he but looks.

The superiority of the Genesee Country rests largely upon its lakes and waterways, for these contribute to its fertility and modify its climate. All along the north lies Lake Ontario, while to the westward is the wide Niagara, and the heel of Lake Erie. They flank the country with a water-shield and give it pleasant shores, wide beaches and convenient harbors. A part of the chain of Great Lakes, they afford the means of reaching the very heart of the continent and, by the northeastern route, of reaching the Atlantic. Then, as if to cause men to pause, that they might establish a midway stopping place, the most famous waterfall in all America breaks the link between Erie and Ontario, and gives us an unrivalled spectacle, matchless Niagara!

Bisecting the land is the Genesee River, whose cliffs and canyons have inspired many a poet to pen undying lines. For ninety miles the river flows northward and, dropping again and again, affords beautiful falls and the promise of useful power. The lower reaches of the Genesee are bordered by wide and extensive plains of amazing fertility. These are capable of sustaining great fields of food plants and of grazing countless herds of cattle. On either side of the river are numerous streams that feed it and water the surrounding country. It is a peculiar fact that the Genesee Country is so situated that it is possible to follow a stream to its source and then, by going over a watershed a mile or two, to find another stream flowing in exactly the opposite direction. Thus, by following the Genesee to Black Creek, and westward up this stream, one may portage over a low ridge to the headwaters of the Tonawanda and follow it westward, down stream, to the Niagara River. From portages near the headwaters of the Genesee the explorer will find trails to the Cattaraugus, flowing westward, or to the Allegany, flowing southward. On the east side he can follow the Canaseraga trail up the creek that flows northwestward, and discover an overland route that goes down the Canisteo or the Coshocton to the Tioga River and the Chemung, flowing to the southeast into the Susquehanna. From the Irondequoit one may go eastward to the Seneca River, and thence, if he desires, to the portage on Wood Creek, leading to the Mohawk, after which there is an unbroken waterway to the Atlantic.

All these water trails are natural routes for travel. Indeed, each lake and stream seems to reach out in invitation, calling

man to the enjoyments of the Land of the Genesee. *Our highways and our railroad routes have been predetermined for us by the very nature of stream and valley.* We merely follow and improve for our use what we have found. But, lake and stream, hill and escarpment, plain and plateau, all had their beginnings in mighty geological movements. These things the geologist will describe in a detailed way, and show how nature foreordained that this land should be a paradise for man. We are told of the great ice age during which the ice sheet, in places two miles high, moved slowly over western New York, planed down its mountains, scoured its hills, filled up its old stream beds, dammed up the lakes, deposited hills where there were none before, changed the flow of rivers, and then, melting, built great dams of boulder-clay and gravel, created new lakes and rivers, creeks and ravines, and swelled the waters of the Great Lakes so that they washed shore lines and beaches far from their present levels.

The glacial period did much for the Genesee Country, for it gave it a new beginning. When the ice melted, the climate moderated, and wind-borne seed again made the land green with trees and verdure. Ponds and lakes filled with sphagnum and water plants, building up as the ages went on great bogs that eventually dried, or when drained quickly did so, making a soil of incomparable richness. Trees grew in rich profusion so that there were great stretches of forest. Here thrived oak, chestnut, hickory, black walnut, butternut, beech, elm, maple, cherry, birch and other hardwood trees. Here grew the linden, the sassafrass, the tulip, the sweet gum, the sour gum, the poplar, the aspen and the ash. Here, too, were boundless areas of pine, hemlock, cedar and spruce. Wild fruit could be found upon the black wood cherry, the juneberry, the pawpaw, and upon many shrubs and bushes. The land was blessed by its trees and bushes.

Nature had been kind in providing immense clearings where tall grasses grew, while along the swamps and streams were natural beds of food plants whose roots were edible. The Genesee Country was not a land of milk, but its trees were filled with honey made by swarms of wild bees. Berries grew in wild profusion in their season, and we discover that there were strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, huckleberries, blueberries, cranberries, and others almost as palatable. Wild rice grew along the western streams, as at the mouth of the Cattaraugus; Jeru-

salet artichokes grew on every open flat; mushrooms sprang up in profusion from spring to autumn; food was everywhere. To this great source of sustenance came every form of animal, bird and fish life that could withstand the climate and the onslaughts of natural foes. The forest teemed with elk and deer, bears, wolves, panthers, wildcats, martins, beavers, and many other furbearing creatures. Hither came the buffalo in search of salt, for there were salt-licks here and there; but the buffalo preferred to range farther west, and sought here only salt or fresh feeding grounds when the prairies were sunburned or winter-killed. The trees were filled with birds; grouse and quail fed through the underbrush; ducks and geese were upon the waters; fish of many kinds were in stream and lake. The Genesee Country did not lack for life in great abundance. Only a few animals were to be feared, and only one variety of serpent, the rattlesnake, which fortunately warned before it struck.

During the spring months, when the lakes and larger streams abounded with waterfowl, wild pigeons came in mighty flocks, so thick that they darkened the sky like a cloud, and alighting upon the trees, broke the branches by their very weight. They were here by millions, and here they reared their young in suitable nesting places. Hawks, falcons, eagles and great horned owls found them tender morsels, but there were never enough birds of prey seriously to diminish their number. It remained for another animal, a white-skinned biped, who came in later years, to do this. It was he also who made the buffalo retreat.

In our appraisal of the blessings of the land of the Genesee we must never forget the part played by the beasts before man appeared upon the scene. To the great game animals, the deer, the moose, the elk and the buffalo, we are indebted for the first roads. They were the first highway engineers. In their migrations from one feeding ground to another, they followed the waterways, and their nimble feet cut paths which others might follow. When it became necessary to strike inland they found the best routes, and quickly discovered the overland line between stream heads. Their paths were safe and direct, and led to clearings where grew succulent grasses. It is not difficult to conjecture that the first men who came into the Genesee Country did so by following deer and elk paths, either in search of game or because they were pure explorers. Once they found the trails,

they appropriated them, and as they built huts and villages they made other trails that were peculiarly those of human kind. Who these first men were we shall tell in another chapter. Suffice to say they were red men, of what stock we know not.

For thousands of years, how many we dare not say, the red people held this region. Tribes came and went, some stayed and some merely roamed over the land, but at length strong tribes of sedentary people came here to dwell. Others came and coveted the land; they fought and conquered it, and when history dawns we find the Genesee Country the home of the Senecas and called *Sonnontouan*. So the French writers tell us, but if you ask a Seneca he will say that his people knew it as *Nun-da-wah-ga-geh*.

If we are to credit French accounts, the first white man who penetrated the heart of the Genesee Country was Etienne Brulé, Champlain's interpreter. His mission was to go from Canada to Tioga Point (at the confluence of the Chemung and the Susquehanna), and there solicit the help of the Andastes in a raid which the Hurons had projected against the Oneidas and their allies. This was in 1615. The Hurons, assisted by Champlain, were to attack the Oneida village, in the present town of Fenner, Madison County. Brulé and the twelve Hurons who were with him encountered a small band of Indians, without much doubt Senecas, and killed several. He then pressed on to the great stronghold of Carantouan and mustered the Andastes, but they did not arrive at the Oneida capital in time to support the attack. Instead, they found that Champlain and his Hurons had been defeated and put to rout. The Andastes returned without giving battle, and Brulé for a long time wandered in the forest, at length seeking refuge in an Indian town, where, discovering his nationality, he was tortured and sent on. For three years he wandered, and at length returned to Champlain to tell his doleful story. Our interest in Brulé lies chiefly in the fact that he must have gone up the Genesee and taken the Canaseraga trail to the Susquehanna. His sojourn in the Neutral Nation of the Niagara peninsula led him to give a glowing description of the land and the people. This induced Father Joseph de la Roche, a Franciscan priest, to visit the Neutrals in 1626-27, and his description of his mission is contained in a letter to one of his friends in Angiers, France. As the Neutrals had villages and hunting grounds on both sides of the Niagara, we may consider De la

Roche's account to be the first portrayal of the Genesee Country. Later he came into the very heart of the Seneca domain and established a mission among his Huron converts at Gandougarae (near East Bloomfield, Ontario County).

Many years passed before white men wrote descriptions of the country, though its frontiers were sometimes mentioned. We have the accounts of La Salle along the Niagara in 1669 and at Irondequoit Bay. But even earlier than this, Father Chaumonot (1656) had visited the Seneca villages in the hope of establishing missions. Twelve years later Father Fremin, schooled by his experience among the Mohawks, came to the Seneca town of Gandougarae, four miles south of Gandagaro (on Boughton Hill, Victor, Ontario County). Because of an epidemic, he summoned Father Garnier from the Onondaga mission, and Garnier settled at Gandagaro, where he established the Mission of St. James.

Father Galinee came in 1669, when La Salle visited the great town on Boughton Hill. His description of Sonnontouan, the land of the Senecas, is one of the most satisfactory which we have of the earlier accounts. "The Seneca Nation," he writes, "is the most populous of all the Iroquois. It comprises four villages, of which two embrace about a hundred cabins each, and the other two about thirty each, containing in all perhaps one thousand or twelve hundred men capable of bearing arms. The two larger are about six or seven leagues apart, and each six or seven leagues from the shore of the lake, and the easternmost of the larger villages to which I went consists for the most part of fine large meadows, in which the grass is as tall as myself, and in places where there are woods, the oaks predominate. They are so scattered that one can ride among them on horseback. We were told that this open country extends toward the east more than one hundred leagues. The Indians who have visited those localities say that they produce very good fruit and Indian corn extremely fine." Galinee continues his account and then tells of a trip "to see a very extraordinary spring. Issuing from a moderately high rock, it forms a small brook. The water is very clear, but has a bad odor, like that of the mineral marshes of Paris, when the mud on the bottom is stirred with the foot. I applied a torch and the water immediately took fire, and burned like brandy, and was not extinguished until it rained. The flame among the Indians is a sign of abundance or sterility, according as it exhibits

the contrary qualities." This is without doubt the same "burning spring" which the Earl of Belmont ordered Colonel Romer to examine in 1700. We thus catch a glimpse of the first experience of white men with a gas fissure, producing a "burning spring". There were others not far away, one of them at the Indian village site near Richmond Mills, about seven miles directly west of Bristol Center.

Two years before Father Galinee visited Gandougarae, a Dutch trader had visited all the important towns of the Senecas, and described them. He was Wentworth Greenhalgh, from Albany. His statements are substantially borne out by the Jesuit accounts, but one came to pray and preach, and the other to trade and observe political conditions, and for these reasons both accounts are scanty in their references to the type of country in which they found themselves.

It is only when we find the records of later comers, who were home hungry, as Sullivan's soldiers were, that we get geographical descriptions of the Genesee paradise. The priest and the trader were to blaze the trail and not to settle, but to them we must offer up our tributes of gratitude. The fear of God and the love of his precepts point the way to the universal brotherhood of man, and this was the mission of the priest; the love of gain, and the need of industry to secure the advantages of gain, make men tolerate their fellow men and work with them, thus stimulating coöperation and civilization, and this was the result of the trader's influence. It was this joint work that helped the Senecas to understand the white man when he came among them. It was not until the closing years of the eventful eighteenth century, however, that many white men ventured among the aborigines of the Genesee Country, for it had been agreed that this was to remain in the undisturbed possession of the Senecas.

Rumors of the beauty of the lands west of Seneca Lake had spread slowly through the English and Dutch settlements of New York, but it was not until the returned soldiers of Sullivan's expedition extolled the country that pioneers began clamoring for settlement. This necessarily had to follow the extinguishment of the Indian title, and to effect this measures were at once taken. These were complex proceedings, involving several treaties, but at length they were consummated, and in 1790 the legislature of New York formed the county of Ontario, taking

in all the lands of the state lying west of the eighty-second milestone on the Pennsylvania line. Following this came other Indian treaties, particularly that of Canandaigua during the closing months of 1794. The Genesee Country now was within the grasp of the white settler.

By 1798 hundreds of enterprising families from New England, Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Jersey had treked over the muddy wagon trails to the new settlements, and soon flourishing frontier towns sprang into existence. Enthusiastic observers began to print their sketches of the region, and one of these, Charles Williamson, whose book, *A Description of the Genesee Country*,¹ appeared in 1798, says, "The success of every individual who has emigrated to the Genesee Country has stamped a greater value on the lands than ever was known in any country so recently settled and so distant from the old settled country; but this has in a great measure been owing to the convenience and security afforded to the settlers at the earliest period of settlement. In most instances, roads, mills, stores and blacksmith shops preceded the settlement, and the best mechanics in America have been employed. By the efforts of men of property and information, the latent powers of the country, which by the ordinary process of improving new countries, might have lain dormant these twenty years, have at an early period been brought into view, and in many instances into actual operation."

Earlier, in this same letter, Williamson describes the topography of the Genesee Country and says that it is not entirely flat land, full of swamps and stagnant pools, but that the opposite is the case. He describes the fertile uplands covered with hardwood timber and then mentions the enormous tracts of naturally open land which the settlers at first thought to be unproductive. Oddly enough, this land, though absolutely clear, was shunned, and the settler with his axe preferred to clear his own farmstead. Necessity, however, compelled certain pioneers to plant on the open land, and, to their agreeable surprise, they found it most fertile and productive. This brought about a land boom, and farms on the open advanced from twenty-five cents an acre to ten dollars an acre, and even more.

¹ Description of the Genesee Country, its Rapidly Progressive Population and Improvements: in a series of letters, From a Gentleman to his Friend. Albany, Printed by Loring Andrews & Co., 1798.

"It is difficult," writes Williamson, "to account for these openings, or the open flats on the Genesee River, where ten thousand acres may be found in one body, not even encumbered with a bush but covered with grass of such height that the largest bullocks at thirty feet from the path will be completely hid from the view.

"Through all this country there are not only signs of extensive cultivations having been made at some early period, but there are found the remains of old forts, where ditches and gates are still visible; they appear to me in general to be well chosen for defense; from the circumstance of swords being found in them, with French inscriptions, it is concluded that they are of French origin. I do not recollect that the French had ever so great a force in this part of America at so early a period; for these forts, from very large decayed timbers lying in them, and large timbers growing over, the others falling down, must be at least two hundred years old; the forts are, besides, too numerous for mere stations, and great collections of human bones are found in them, which shows that they have been occupied for many years. *An examination of this part of the country by men of observation and science might throw some light on the history of this part of America so little known.*"

We have italicized these last lines, for we have here one of the first references to the antiquities of the region. Williamson must have seen some of the ruined towns of the Senecas, destroyed by Denonville more than a century before. Concerning these things we shall speak in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIELD OF ARCHEOLOGY IN THE GENESEE COUNTRY.

BY ARTHUR CASWELL PARKER, M. S.

When the first white settlers made their way over the military roads and branched off upon the uncertain by-paths of the Genesee turnpike they found everywhere about them evidences that races of men had lived here before them. Indeed, early travelers recorded their interest in these things and described some of them.

Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who had long lived with the 'Oneidas, and who had some knowledge of Indian antiquities, was particularly interested in the earthworks and ancient tumuli of the Genesee Country and took occasion to visit a number of the most important of these. During his journey to the Senecas in 1788, he penetrated the forest and with Seneca guides found the earth-works along the Genesee River and traced them westward from Canawaugus over the watershed to the valley of the Tonawanda. The Seneca Indians for the most part professed ignorance as to the origin and antiquity of these tumuli. They had known of the mounds and the walled enclosures for many years, but could not, or would not, tell who built them. They appeared to be very ancient, for both walls and areas within were covered with great forest trees and huge stumps, green with moss, which proclaimed that several centuries at least had elapsed since these walled fortifications had been finally abandoned.

As the settlers began to hew down the forests and penetrate the country they found more of these "Indian forts," as they called them. When these were plowed over the plowshare turned up quantities of animal bones, potsherds and implements of stone and pottery. Little was thought of these things then, though an occasional fine specimen may have been picked up. As a rule the

settlers had no love for things Indian, for these objects reminded them of their struggle against the native red man; they bespoke the red man's bloody warfare—an unpleasant recollection. It was not until the writings of Squier and Davis and Schoolcraft had become generally circulated that much interest was manifested in collecting "Indian relics". This is so far true that it is a difficult thing to find in any large archeological collection a single specimen collected before 1850, though the most favorable opportunity to acquire these things existed before this date when the virgin soil was rich with Indian artifacts that had become embedded in the top-soil and leaf mold. Tales are many of plowing through heaps of relics, pottery, jars and piles of arrowheads, not to mention ossuaries, where scores of skulls and other bones were ripped from the earth and strewn through the tilled ground to become food for the growing fields.

Though few only of these objects were then preserved, they excited curiosity and discussion, and many theories were developed. No people have greater interest in Indian relics and remains today than those of the Genesee Country, for traditions regarding these things have come down to them from their grandfathers. Now every specimen discovered is saved with great care and systematic search is made for them.

One of the earliest theories advanced to account for the numerous mounds and earthworks in this region was that the mysterious Mound Builders had once lived here and that the Iroquois had driven them out and exterminated them. Every earthwork was thought to have been the stronghold of this "vanished race". It was believed that the dispirited Senecas, who showed scant inclination to work at such things, were lacking in the initial energy to produce them. Indeed, all Indians were thought to be somewhat lazy and incapable of the sustained effort that the building of walls and ditches of earth demanded. The hypothetical Mound Builders offered an explanation, but then came the question "Who were the Mound Builders?" This seemed a reasonable question, but one that could scarcely be answered, because it was supposed the Mound Builders were utterly exterminated, and thus beyond the possibility of discovery.

Thus the first investigators groped in darkness. To them all Indian implements were simply relics of one similar culture.

The day of systematic investigation and careful discrimination had not yet dawned.

In the year 1848 the Smithsonian Institution published as its first volume, "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," by E. G. Squier and Dr. E. H. Davis. This was the first great work on American archeology and it created a sensation not only in America but in Europe. It was followed by another notable work, "Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York," by E. G. Squier, which included diagrams and maps of many noteworthy earthworks.

Other writers, like Schoolcraft in his "Notes on the Iroquois" (1847), had mentioned mounds and tumuli, but it remained for Squier to make accurate observations. The scientific circles of the state were now thoroughly aroused to the possibilities of archeological research. While interest in the Indians themselves was stimulated by the publication of biographies of Brant, Mary Jemison, and Red Jacket, between 1838 and 1842, it was not until the appearance of "The League of the Iroquois" (1851), by Lewis H. Morgan, of Rochester, that it became fixed. Intelligent research now commenced, though it was naturally confined to a few experts. The first serious attempt to make use of this new knowledge was by Morgan, who began in 1850 to collect the implements and utensils of the Seneca Indians for deposit in the New York State Museum. Visiting the reservations at Allegany, Cattaraugus and Tonawanda, he brought together a collection whose worth has not since been surpassed. The systematic collection of archeological implements did not start until a much later date, though many collections were brought together, it is true. As a rule, however, these were without much significance, as will later be seen.

As accounts of the settlement of western New York began to appear and county histories were published, the first chapters were devoted, in most instances, to the Indian occupation and to the earth monuments which were scattered throughout the region. There was much speculation about these remains and but little definite information other than mere description.

It was not until the list of William M. Beauchamp appeared in the State Museum Bulletin on "Aboriginal Occupation" that any serious attempt was made to enumerate all the sites. Dr. Beauchamp described two hundred and sixty-eight in the Genesee

Country, and as a result of this pioneer work, other investigators began to make similar records. The State Museum made another survey in 1912-13 and gave seven hundred and forty-eight sites within this area, six hundred and twenty-three of which were described in the second part of "The Archeological History of New York". If every camp site and field where arrowheads might be found were included, the list would embrace more than one thousand locations where the aborigines had lived or where their influence was manifest. Within the counties of Monroe, Genesee, Ontario and Livingston, the heart of the Seneca territory, nearly five hundred sites have been charted by one collector alone, Mr. Harrison C. Follett, of Rochester.

Investigation has revealed that in the Genesee Country there are nearly one hundred fortified hilltop strongholds, a like number of burial sites, and nearly fifty true mounds. It thus appears that long before the coming of the white man, this region was settled by active and vigorous peoples. Their villages were along the rivers, creeks and lakes, their camps upon the hills, their fortifications in strategic places difficult of assault. There is not an area of like size in the United States, east of Ohio and north of the Mason and Dixon line, where the evidences of aboriginal occupation are so abundant.

Beginning with Chautauqua County, let us read these evidences as they spread eastward to Seneca Lake.

All along the shore of Lake Erie from the state line to Cattaraugus Creek are scattered remains of camps and villages. Two trails ran along the shore, one near the water's edge and a main trail along the ridge made by the lake when it had a much higher level. Not far from the Pennsylvania line, in the town of Ripley, is a village and burial site of major importance. It was excavated by M. R. Harrington for Harvard University in 1904, and by the present writer in 1906 for the State Museum. The first published account of a systematic and scientific exploration of an Indian site in this state, describing the Ripley excavations, was issued soon after by the State Museum in a special bulletin.¹

Both Mr. Harrington and the writer concluded that the site was that of an important Erie settlement. It may have been the Geutaieuton mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations*.

At Westfield, a little way up Chautauqua Creek, is another

¹ Bulletin 117, Excavations in an Erie Village and Burial Site, by A. C. Parker.

location. It is a village site within which was an extended earth walled enclosure of undoubted antiquity. Farther east is an important site near Portland. Other sites are near Silver Creek, along Walnut Creek. Farther south, in Sheridan and in Fredonia, are important works, ossuaries and mounds.

The Cassadaga Valley from Lilydale to Gerry is filled with signs. At both Sinclairville and Gerry are several earthworks, burial sites and mounds, while across the hills to the east, in the town of Ellington, are some of the most noteworthy fortifications in the entire state.

Chautauqua County is a mine of archeological localities, and archeologists will find here a range of occupations worthy of a detailed and prolonged study. Here once lived outer tribes of mound-building Indians and, before them, roamed bands of the archaic Algonkian peoples. Later came other Algonkian tribes with a higher culture, and then came the Iroquois. Chautauqua County antiquities were studied by T. Apoleon Cheney and by Obed Edson, the veteran historian of the county, and A. W. Young in 1875 published an excellent account. In this county are found true mounds, though most of them have been destroyed. One large and conspicuous mound still remains on the old Cheney farm, in the town of Poland.

Cattaraugus County presents evidence of having been occupied from remote times, and here, as in Chautauqua County, there are numerous sites of camps, villages, burial places and mounds. Some of the village sites are so extensive that they cover many acres and merge one with the other. This is especially true along the Allegany, where there are mounds and earthworks. One of the most interesting group of sites is in the town of Randolph. This was the home of Dr. Frederick Larkin, who was so impressed by the antiquities about him that he explored the surrounding region and wrote an interesting book called "Ancient Man in America". It was in this region also that Cheney in 1859 made his investigations, published in the 13th Report of the State Museum.

Along the Cattaraugus, from the county line in Perrysburg to Otto, are important and interesting earthworks and mounds. Here along Big Indian Creek is the Burning Spring fort which the writer explored in 1905, and the double walled fort on Castile Creek, explored by Mr. Harrington in 1904. Above Gowanda,

in the town of Persia, is the famous Point Peter site. In the southern portion of the county, in Carrollton, are mounds at Vandalia and an important earthen enclosure at Limestone. Cattaraugus County, with its several occupations and ancient cultures, will stand considerable study and yield a vast amount of archeological data.

As the nose of Lake Erie is rounded we find another archeological area of major importance in Erie County. Here is a natural field bounded on the north by Tonawanda Creek and on the south by the Cattaraugus, while to the west is Lake Erie and the Niagara River. Beginning at the southwest corner of this region, we find a vast array of Indian localities along Cattaraugus Creek from its very mouth to Gowanda. This particular stretch of land is even now Indian territory, being a part of the Cattaraugus reservation and belonging to the Seneca Nation. At the mouth of the creek is a large tract of several hundred acres strewn in every direction with flint chippings, arrowheads, net sinkers and hammer stones. There is abundance of evidence that numerous tribes from most remote times have lived here, for one finds not only places where the crudest of specimens are to be discovered, but also the finest specimens of the mound builder's art. Following the creek to the southeast, we find sites continuously all the way to the mouth of Clear Creek and then, scattered more thinly, to Versailles, and several along the creek to the village of Gowanda.

Every creek valley along the lake to Buffalo has its sites, but not so abundantly as in the vale of the Cattaraugus. This creek with its fertile flats on the Erie County side must have been a veritable Garden of Eden to many shifting tribes of red men, and it is today. One of the earliest expeditions sent out by an institution for systematic work in western New York was that of Harrington and Parker, who in 1903 explored and excavated the Silverheels site on the Cattaraugus reservation, for the Peabody Museum of Harvard. More than thirty entire pottery vessels were taken from graves here, which with seventy from the Ripley site made more than a hundred from western New York in a period of three years. This record has never been equalled.

Almost equal to the Cattaraugus is the valley of Buffalo Creek, where there are numerous sites from the mouth fifteen miles inland to East Elma, and along Cazenovia Creek from its

confluence with Buffalo to East Aurora. Cayuga Creek and its branches also have their groups of sites. Other important clusters of earthworks are found near Clarence, Williamsville and Akron. Upon Grand Island are also sites, one of which was explored by Frederick Houghton, of Buffalo, with excellent results; these are reported in the publications of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences.

Erie County was once inhabited by bands of people with a culture similar to the Eskimo. The archaic and intermediate Algonkian peoples lived here also. Later came various branches of Iroquoian people, and when history opens her sure pages we find the names of the Eries, the Neutrals and Wenroes associated with this region. Here, too, came bands of mound-building Indians and many strange wanderers from the west. The country was inviting and fertile, but its very attractiveness made it a battlefield.

Niagara County has its share of earthworks and mounds. Perhaps the most interesting group is in the town of Lewiston against the limestone escarpment on the Tuscarora reservation line. This is the site of the Attawandaronk or Neutral Nation village of Ga-yen-no-ga, the capital of that famous people. Here tradition tells us dwelt Jikinsaseh, the Mother of Nations, the powerful arbiter of peace. Her nation kept peace with all the Iroquoian people and preserved neutrality in all wars. The location is a commanding one where even now the sites of ossuaries and burials may be discovered.

Another interesting group lies at the headwaters of Twelve Mile Creek, in the township of Cambria. Here is an earthwork, a village site, a burial place and a mound. This site has received much attention, and Schoolcraft, Turner, Reynolds and General Lincoln have all described it in greater or less detail.

The aboriginal remains of Genesee County are extensive. The best known is the great earth-walled circle near Oakfield. Since the days of Kirkland, who examined it in 1788, it has attracted attention and speculation. Squier made a detailed survey of it and gave its dimensions as an oval, six hundred by eight hundred feet, with five gateways, deep outer ditches and plain evidences of a palisade. Another site of considerable importance is at the confluence of Fordhams Brook and Allens Creek, in the town of LeRoy, being three miles north of LeRoy village. Unlike the

Oakfield site, which is on the lowlands and completely enclosed, the LeRoy site is upon a hill which projects, like a thumb, into the valley. Three sides are bordered by deep ravines, making it necessary to erect a wall and ditch only on one side, to cut it off from the rest of the hill, though the wall is fifteen hundred feet long and nearly straight, but curving down the hill at the ends. This site was surveyed by Squier, who represents it in an engraved map in his "Aboriginal Monuments of New York". It was described by Lewis H. Morgan and by Rev. C. Dewey, of Rochester. Alvin H. Dewey, of Rochester, has a number of interesting specimens from this site and he placed others in the New York State Museum, one of which was a double-faced pipe with the facial effigies of a man and woman side by side in front of the bowl, which appears like a basket upon their backs.

Sites of former Indian occupation are numerous near LeRoy and occur along Oatka Creek as far south as Pavilion and run over the county line into Wyoming. There is another group on Black Creek near Stafford, where some unusually fine specimens have been found by John Gilliard. Sites are numerous along the Tonawanda Creek, in the township of Alabama. These sites extend from Indian Falls all the way through the present Tonawanda Seneca reservation to Akron, in Erie County. Several cultures are represented, and mingled with the soil are relics of the Neutrals, the mound-building Indians and Algonkian tribes of the second period. Batavia has its quota of sites and they run up the creeks that flow from the south. The Archeological History of New York mentions several in this vicinity.

Orleans County has few well defined Indian sites, but there are traces all along Oak Orchard Creek, a considerable village site at Lyndonville and mounds at Carlton, according to old records. The most notable earthwork of this county, however, and the one that makes it unique, is the circular fortification near Shelby Center. This lies just north of the Alabama group in the county of Genesee. Squier first described this work in 1851 and it was afterwards excavated by Frank Hamilton Cushing, who recorded his discoveries in the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1874. This work is nearly circular and its center is at the intersection of two fence lines that cross at right angles. A portion of the circle has been obliterated by cultivation, but the sectors still in the woods show well defined walls and deep

ditches. At one portion of the wall are two large boulders. The unique features of this earthwork are: First, its almost circular form; second, the *two parallel embankments, one within the other*, and third, the fact that the openings or gates are not opposite each other. Excavations within this fortification show that it is of Iroquoian origin and that it probably was built by a band of early Neutral Indians.

Wyoming County, south of Genesee, seems to have been a land of passage rather than settlement. It is high and hilly and in its well watered highlands the Tonawanda, the Cattaraugus, Cayuga and Oatka creeks have their sources, while to the east is Silver Lake, and to the southeast flows the Genesee. In the extreme northwest corner, at Cowlesville, in the township of Bennington, on the headwaters of Cayuga Creek, is an interesting fort site, but its relation is rather with the Erie County groups to the west. In Java, along the headwaters of the Cattaraugus and the Tonawanda, are many evidences of occupation, and there is a village site near Java village. There are two village sites on the headwaters of the Oatka, one near Oatka and one near Warsaw. Just south of Portageville, along the Genesee, is a prominent hilltop stronghold. It has been described several times and outline maps are shown in the Bureau of Ethnology report for 1880, in the State Museum Bulletin 32, 1900, and in the American Anthropologist, No. 4, 1916, in an article by Frederick Houghton. Near this fort, the wall of which is some four feet high, is a mound on the flats. There are also several sites in Perry and a village site in Arcade.

Let us now journey up the Genesee, commencing at the mouth of the river at Charlotte. In this manner we can make a rapid survey of Monroe County, though, if we wished to linger, it would take us many weeks to fully inspect the more than one hundred sites that cover the county. From Charlotte to Rochester are sites on both sides of the river, but most of them Algonkian in character. We must go far up the river and into the town of Rush before we strike any prominent Iroquoian site. In Rush Township are more than a score of places where Indian relics and remains may be found. This is particularly true along the banks of Honeoye Creek, where Joseph E. Mattern, of West Rush, has conducted many excavations. The relics here are abundant and cover every cultural type found in the state. Here we discover

the relics of the later Seneca, of their remote ancestors, of the second period Algonkians, of the mound-building Indians and even of the Eskimoan wanderers.

East of Rush, in the town of Mendon, are two highly important sites, one at the bend of the river at Rochester Junction and one farther south on the John Dann farm. Both of these sites are of the historic Seneca and the first named is definitely known in historical annals as the Seneca town of Totiacton. The Jesuits who established a mission there called it La Conception. The site itself is situated at the sharp bend of the Honeoye and upon elevated ground. It covers some thirty acres. The land has been plowed for many years, but it is still strewn with beads, scraps of brass, bits of iron, broken trade pipes, native terra-cotta pipe stems, and now and then native implements of stone. Numerous collectors have sought specimens here and all have met with some measure of success. Among them are J. E. Mattern, Samuel P. Moulthrop, Harrison C. Follett, George and Henry Selden, and Alvin H. Dewey. Greenhalgh visited this site when the village flourished and says that it contained one hundred and twenty houses, mostly large. Archeological appearances bear out this statement, for not only have evidences of the houses been found, but also three cemeteries, from which many fine pottery pipes, antler combs, beads and shell articles have been taken. The site was destroyed in the French raid under Denonville in 1687.

The Dann site is south of Totiacton and lies along Spring Brook but near the Honeoye. It is an extensive site and the burial ground has yielded more than three hundred graves. Raymond Dann, who excavated most of them, found great quantities of wampum, thousands of glass and shell beads, a score of antler combs, several pottery vessels, about thirty stone and terra-cotta pipes and many other rare specimens. It may be that this village was established after Totiacton had been destroyed and that it is also one of the Totiactons of the Senecas, for it is a well known fact that the Iroquois removed their villages at stated periods and reestablished them, frequently under the same name. About Irondequoit Bay is another group of localities presenting certain complexities and representing several cultures. This was a favorite landing place for parties that came by canoe with an inland destination. It was this route that Denonville took in 1687 when he moved against the Senecas. On the bluffs above

the bay in the town of Penfield were mounds, one of which had a depression near by from which the earth to form it had been taken. On the west side of the bay and above it are sand plains upon which are several sites. Here large quantities of human bones have been found and caches of flint blades stained with iron oxide. In the town of Chili is an interesting group of localities where some unusual specimens have been discovered. Indeed every township has its full quota of camp, village and burial sites, save Hamlin and Parma, from which little has been reported.

Going south from Monroe County, we enter Livingston, the very heart of the Seneca Nation of historical times. It was here that the pioneers found the Senecas in their full glory when the Genesee Country was opened for settlement. But here, as in other counties of this area, other tribes and stocks had preceded them, and not every site is to be credited to the Senecas by any means. In Livingston County, after the destructive raids of the French culminating in 1687, the Seneca Indians found a refuge and pushed their villages against the Genesee, moving westward from Ontario County, where they had earlier dwelt. Forty years before this date the region had not been so safe, for the Eries and Neutrals had their hunting grounds against the western banks. By 1655, however, the trans-Genesee tribes had been destroyed and the region became an inviting refuge. Here, as history opens, were the Indian villages of Geneseo, Canawagus, Little Beard's Town, Big Tree, Duydosot, Ganyuhsas, Keinthe, Ganadachioragou, Squawkie Hill, Ohagi and Ganasegago, and several other sites, plainly of historical occupation, but not identified with any name.

Before the Senecas came the mound-building Indians had established themselves in many localities throughout the county. The site on Squawkie Hill is one of their strongholds, and there are three mounds on the hill. Here, as in other localities, however, there is a mixture of artifacts plainly showing traces of both Algonkian and Iroquoian occupations. From the Squawkie Hill mounds, on the farm lately occupied by John F. White, have come beautifully polished and shaped monitor pipes, copper implements and pearl beads. In the area about the mounds have been found bell pestles and grooved axes.

The sites in Livingston County cluster about certain spots, as if these places had some particular attraction for the red men.

In the north there is the Caledonia group; at Lima is another where fine celts, gouges and pestles have been found; another is along the river at Avon and Canawagus, and another at East Avon. At Lakeville, near Conesus Lake, is still another group of sites, and to the east several important localities just north of Livonia. Going back to the Genesee, we find camps, villages and burial places southwest of Geneseo and east of Cuylerville and Moscow, thence south to the Groveland town line. Here this group merges with another south of East Groveland, and following up Canaseraga Creek to the Spartas. In Nunda interesting relics have been discovered. In Dansville are sites about the Seneca town of Ganasegago. Here clay vessels, pipes, stone articles and bone implements have been found in large numbers. The very general occupation of Livingston County makes it difficult to describe, for there are so many highly important and interesting sites here that only an extended description would suffice. The county will well repay special investigation, and even a superficial survey of its sites reveals more than one hundred and fifty localities where the red man has written into the soil the evidence of his one time presence.

Still pursuing a southerly course up the Genesee, we enter Allegany County, where we discover most of the definite sites along the river, few, with the exception of a small group at Alfred, straying more than a mile or two from the Genesee. In this county are several historic Seneca villages, including Canoa-dea, Gaoyadeo and Owaista. There are evidences of an older Iroquoian people also, especially between Transit bridge and Belmont. This region was explored by George L. Tucker, of Buffalo and Belmont, resulting in a collection of many thousands of fine artifacts. Mr. Tucker reports a conspicuous fort site a mile and a half below Belvidere, with two others nearby, from one of which he procured an unusual stone pipe having the affigy of a human face with the mouth wide open forming the bowl. The stem perforation was so near the top or upper side of the stem that time or accident had caused it to break in. If the owner had stopped the original hole with a bit of wax, it would have been difficult to discover how the pipe was smoked. There are several Indian burial places along the river; one is connected with a village site near Fillmore, another is near Houghton. The latter was exam-

ined by John S. Minard of Cuba. Traces of occupation are found all along the river to the state line and sites are reported near Wellsville.

We are now to push our way northward again over the Dansville trail into Livingston County, thence northeast through Springwater over the hills into Ontario County. Here we reach the picturesque Bristol Hills, where there are several very old Seneca sites. It looks as if the ancestors of the Senecas had done just what we have done and come from over the highlands between the Allegany and the Genesee and entered the hills of southwest Ontario County. At any rate, we find here on the Sears, Jackson and Andrews farms three prehistoric Seneca village sites. Not far away are many other sites of major importance. From this point the swing of settlement, in one direction at least, was a bit westward to the south side of the outlet of Hemlock Lake, in the town of Richmond. Here upon an imposing hill on the George Reed farm is the location of the most important pre-colonial Seneca site known at the present time. It has been locally described for many years as "The Old Fort," but its real significance was not known until it was examined by the State Museum in 1905, and ten years later by the Morgan Chapter of the State Archeological Association. Chapter members, headed by Alvin H. Dewey, Harrison C. Follett, Walter Cassabeer and Rodman C. Mills, spent much time in excavating the refuse deposits along the edge of the ravines that bound the site, securing more than two thousand fine specimens, including pipes and bone implements. So important were the results of this exploration that the first bulletin published by the Chapter related to this prehistoric site.²

Another site farther down the outlet near Factory Hollow, in the town of West Bloomfield, has received considerable attention from collectors. It seems to have been a later settlement of the Richmond Mills people, and here we discover evidence of contact with the white man, for there are many articles of glass, brass and iron from the graves. A little farther down the valley, in the flats near West Bloomfield station, is the Augustus Warren site, excavated for its relics by R. Marvin Peck. Many wonderful terra-cotta pipes and pottery jars were found here, but the

² Researches and Transactions of the N. Y. State Archeological Association, Morgan Chapter, Vol. 1, No. 1, A Prehistoric Iroquoian Village Site, by Arthur C. Parker.

unmistakable traces of European influence are evident in the quantities of colored beads and brass trade kettles discovered.

It is quite apparent that the Seneca Indians were living in Ontario County and the adjacent territory when the French explorers first came through the region. Indeed, French records definitely describe and enumerate the Seneca towns here. This fact makes possible a sure means of identifying specimens of Seneca art. We are enabled to trace the Senecas both backward into history and forward well into the Colonial period, just as positively as we might trace the progress of the English language, as revealed in a collection of books, from the time of Chaucer to Robert Louis Stevenson. Ontario County has within it the keys to Seneca archeology.

With the destruction of the Erie and Neutral nations by the Senecas and their allies, they had little need of fortified towns, for their great aim had been attained,—namely, the establishment of peace whereby their villages were secure from attack by other Indian tribes. Thus, when Greenhalgh visited the land of the Senecas in 1667, he wrote: “The Senecques have four towns, viz., Canagora, Tiotchatton, Canoenda and Keint-he. . . . None of their towns are stockaded.” Note that the explorer mentions Canagora, which is only another name for Gandagora, a French attempt to spell the Seneca name Ga-o-sa-eh-ga-aah as pronounced by the Mohawks. Canagora or Gandagora is situated on the northward slope of the present Boughton Hill. It is one of the most sightly of the later Seneca strongholds and has excited the interest of numerous students of antiquity. For many years the iron refuse of this site furnished material for hinges and nails in the village of Victor, a mile and a half away. This great town of the Senecas was the objective of Denonville when he set forth on his expedition against the Indians. It was destroyed together with a neighboring fortification to the westward. Graves and refuse heaps of this site have been excavated by William B. Moore, of Victor, on whose farm the most important portion of the site lies, by G. R. Vail, also of Victor; by Alvin H. Dewey, Fred H. Hamlin, H. C. Follett and Samuel P. Moulthrop, all of Rochester; by Frederick Houghton, for the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, and by the writer, for the New York State Museum. The State Museum expedition, covering portions of two years, was highly successful and many interesting articles were discovered.

including native terra-cotta pipes, shell and bone implements and ornaments and a series of unique antler combs.

South of the Boughton Hill site is another of major importance, but in reaching it we must pass the Fox, Appleton and Beal sites. Then moving eastward we come to the banks of Mud Creek. Here, on the farm of George and Jesse Marsh, is a site of particular interest. It is the location of the village of Gardougarae, destroyed in 1687. Here dwelt the captive Hurons and Neutrals, victims of the Seneca wars of 1651-54. Many unusual objects, somewhat different from the normal Seneca types, have been discovered in excavations here. Frederick Houghton describes some of the specimens found, in his monograph on the "Seneca Nation From 1655 to 1687".³

We have scarcely touched upon the sites of western Ontario County or done more than suggest their significance, for we must pass on to another group near Canandaigua. Here are many camp sites and two fortifications, one known as Fort Hill, just outside the city, and the other a mile east on a hillside overlooking the lake. Schoolcraft and Squier both paused to describe these works and to give maps of them. The original site of the Seneca village of Canandaigua has not been exactly determined, but we may be reasonably sure that it was not far from the present city of the same name. It may have been the site above described, for it has a walled enclosure, oval in shape. It is likely, however, that the village known as Onaghee was one of the Canandaiguas. This we find located on lot 20 in Hopewell. Alvin H. Dewey has many fine specimens from this site. The cemetery was discovered a few years ago and excavated by amateurs, there being no record made of the work. The site is late and of the Sullivan period. Not all sites in this region are Seneca; we find many evidences of an earlier people of the mound culture, of Eskimoan characteristics and of unmistakable Algonkian stamp. One of the most important of the non-Iroquoian sites is at the south end of Canandaigua Lake. Here, covering more than one hundred acres, is an extensive Algonkian site that has yielded several thousand specimens. D. D. Luther, of Naples, presented nearly three thousand to the State Museum. A Seneca cemetery at Naples became a part of the cemetery of the whites as they came in, and frequently

³ Publications of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences.

in digging graves there now Indian relics are discovered. Another site of mound culture is on the Rose farm, a mile north of Manchester. Graves opened here by Follett yielded polished stone implements and copper articles; he found a copper axe of unusual type on this site. In the vicinity of Geneva and southward along the lake are many interesting sites, ranging from early to recent periods. Here we find the sites of Kashong, seven miles south of Geneva, destroyed in 1779; Canaenda, on Burrell Creek, and Kanadesaga, or Seneca Castle, just west of the city of Geneva. This last named site is one of the most important and historic in the group burned by General Sullivan in 1779.

North of Ontario County is the county of Wayne, in which is situated Sodus Bay, marking the starting point of the Preemption Line that sets off the Genesee Country from the rest of the state. With more than a dozen large brooks and creeks flowing into Lake Ontario, one would expect to find traces of the Indian occupations along the shore, but this is not the case, for the only marked evidences are upon the west side of Sodus Bay. There is a village and burial site near Walworth and two villages near Marion. All along Wolcott Creek there are traces, and at Wolcott village there is a village and burial site. Farther up the creek, at Butler Center, is a large camp site at a point where a smaller stream joins the larger. A trail must have led over the hills through South Butler to Savannah, for there are traces along the stream all the way to Crusoe Lake, and a large cluster of sites around the lake and southward through the southern portion of Savannah Township, culminating in a conspicuous earthwork on Fort Hill, south of Savannah. Just to the west, on Howland Island, are other sites of interest. W. C. Soule, of Savannah, has given considerable attention to the antiquities of this region and assisted in reporting them. An examination of these sites definitely proves that various peoples have lived on them and that some of the sites represent a very early culture.

Southward of Ontario County lies Yates County, closely hugged like some fair prize between three beautiful lakes. To the west is Canandaigua, to the east Seneca, and to the south is the forked Keuka. These lakes all mark the presence of interesting and highly important Indian sites. At Penn Yan is a village and burial site and to the west is a mound. Several circular earthworks have been reported in this neighborhood, and Cleveland in

his history of Yates County mentions stoned-up fortifications. On lot 43, in the town of Milo, is a village and burial site where many arrowheads have been picked up. An earthwork is reported on lot 34, a mile east of the lake, which is said to enclose six acres. Bluff Point must have been an inviting spot for the Indians, and exploration reveals that it has a number of archeological features. Here is an interesting mound with relics in the fields about it. Places called "graded ways" have been described by Dr. H. S. Wright, and visitors have frequently inspected them. Eastward of Penn Yan, at the mouth of the outlet on Seneca Lake at Dresden, is a village and burial site. At least two occupations have been mentioned here. Farther south at Glenora and at Rock Stream are other small village sites, and near Bellona is the site of the historic Seneca village of Kashong. A village and burial place has been reported at Crystal Spring, a fort at Benton Center, and a village and earthwork at Friend. On Italy Hill is a large village site, and in the valley of Flint Creek to the westward are two village locations. South of Canandaigua Lake, are other sites adjoining the considerable group just over the county line in Naples.

It is at Vine Valley, however, that the archeologist must pause to examine the evidences of antiquity. Here, just east of Bare Hill, are several sites of the old Algonkian occupation. The hill itself, though reputed to be the mother mountain of the Senecas, does not show the slightest trace of anything of Seneca origin. It is to be doubted that this is the sacred hill at all, while it may have been a place where beacon fires and sacrifices were made. We must spoil a pretty legend, but in doing so we are to reckon with the traditional sagacity of the red man. Bare Hill was the abode of the mound culture Indians and their village covered the flats of Vine Valley Creek. Relics may be found even now in the plowed land on the McComb, Robinson, and Boat Company properties. During 1922 the writer made a detailed examination of this section and excavated the burial site on the south slope of Bare Hill. The graves were pocketed in the steep hillside, and all the relics were similar to the mound-building types of Ohio. Gorgets, banner stones, copper articles and large notched points were the rule. There was nothing whatever Senecan. Where then is the sacred hill?

Through the kindness of W. A. Rozitsky, we made an exam-

ination of Genundewa or South Hill and there found what seemed to be a Seneca site worth while. It is this long rugged South Hill, with its deep gullies and forested slopes, that hides the secret of the sacred hill. The Senecas who visited the region up to twenty years ago went up the West River valley and turned south over South Hill for their real visitation, though their fires on Bare Hill sent up columns of smoke to confuse the unsuspecting. This conclusion is further substantiated by the story told the writer by Edward Cornplanter, in his version of the legend of the great serpent that rolled down the hill and made it bare,—whence its name.

The western border of Schuyler County lies within the Pre-emption Line, and thus the county must be included in the Genesee Country. Geographically this is legitimate enough, for the trails of the Senecas lay southward and along the Cayuta thence to Elmira and on to Tioga Point. There is a village and burial site in Watkins, south of Seneca Lake, and others along the inlet five miles south of the lake. Camp sites are to be found in Hector along the streams that enter the lake. Professor Crosby, of Cornell, reports some unusual sites south of Perry City and another south of Mecklenburg, near the creek. Another important group of fishing camps is located along the east shores of Lamoka and Little lakes, between Wayne and Tyrone. Some most interesting sites are reported near Havana Glen and Montour Falls. The latter seems to be on the site of the historic Seneca town of Sheoquaga.

And here ends our tour of the archeological sites of the Genesee Country. We have touched some of the high spots only, and have but faintly hinted at the archeological importance of what we have described. Enough has been said, however, to indicate that this is one of the richest fields of antiquity in the United States. Numerous collectors, many of them inexperienced, have dug into mounds and burial sites seeking but one thing,—relics. As a result, this important source of knowledge concerning aboriginal man in America has been all but destroyed. We now seek not the relic, but the information that goes with it. This information systematically collated forms the foundation upon which the trained archeologist rears the science of archeology, a science by which the culture of ancient man is made known. What a vast

storehouse of knowledge we might have had if each collector had known how to collect and why, and then have sent his carefully recorded notes to some central bureau, such as the State Museum or the State Archeological Association! If this had been done, we should have been able to sift out the various cultures represented and charted each locality and site with a degree of certainty. Each site is a chapter in the story of aboriginal man; each specimen is a word, each pit or grave a sentence. Only a few have understood this; others lacking guidance have torn to pieces a vast library of pre-history and scattered its pages and its individual letters to the four winds.

The student who finds the remains and artifacts of the aborigines scattered through the soil of this region will find it of help to know just how to identify the things he has discovered. Indeed, a specimen without information is of little value, and unless the collector records his information, he might better leave it in the ground. We have mentioned four specialized cultures in the Genesee Valley and the contiguous territory. Beginning with the latest we shall endeavor to describe each briefly. The Iroquoian occupation, of which the Seneca is a part, may be recognized chiefly by four things. Hilltop strongholds with or without walls and ditches; compact pottery with the edges decorated by parallel lines in triangular plats; pottery pipes with ringed bowls, square topped bowls or effigy bowls, and triangular arrowheads, to the exclusion of notched forms. Iroquois pottery is seldom marked over its entire surface, but has either a flaring lip which is serrated or notched, or it has a wide collar decorated with lines drawn on with a stick or bone marker. The pull of the marker can generally be plainly seen. Iroquois sites almost always have refuse heaps upon them or on the edge of the hills on which they stand. These refuse dumps or pits leave a dark stain in the soil and are frequently filled with broken pottery, cracked animal bones and bone implements, like awls and beads. Sometimes pottery articles, such as pipes, are found in them.

Later Iroquoian sites which were occupied after the white man had appeared, have upon them scraps of metal, such as brass, iron and copper. Beads of glass, bullets, triangular brass arrow points and parts of guns are frequently found. On such sites innumerable shell beads have been picked up. Many are small disks perforated in the center, others are effigies of flying birds

with long bills, and still others are crescents. Most of these are of European manufacture. Burials of this period generally have objects with them, as brass kettles, antler combs, quantities of wampum beads, shell ornaments, iron knives and other articles made and traded to the Senecas by Europeans. Earlier burials have only aboriginal artifacts, but the earliest, as at Richmond Mills, have nothing with them. All Seneca burials of the purely aboriginal period were made directly in the ground without a wooden box or coffin. The body was enclosed in skins and blankets and sometimes wrapped in bark. All such burials are in the *flexed position*, that is to say, the body is on one side with the knees drawn up, as if the person were sleeping. Generally the hands rest under the cheeks. It has not been the fortune of any scientific observer to find any Iroquoian skeleton "sitting up," that is, with the head erect and the feet far below in the soil. The flexed position has often been described as "the sitting posture," but this is a grievous error. Unless the body is placed in the soil as if sitting in a chair, the position is not the sitting posture.

Common Seneca implements found on sites are, discoidal hammers, flat mealing stones, celts (ungrooved hatched heads), net sinkers, anvil stones, drilled teeth (of animals, such as bears and wolves), and disks made of broken pottery (rarely). Some articles are not found on Iroquoian sites. Of these the following may be mentioned: Polished slate articles, such as two-holed gorgets, banner stones, bird stones, grooved axes, gouges and implements of hammered native copper. Such articles indicate another culture. Roller pestles are not found on Seneca sites save on some of the very earliest. They did not use the bell pestle.

The Algonkian occupation, which preceded the Iroquoian here, may be recognized generally by the lack of fortifications. Their sites were most frequently along the streams and upon lowlands. Algonkian pottery is often inferior to the Iroquoian. It is *stamped* all over with marks that look like cords or fabric, and sometimes these marks go well down inside the lip of the pot. The Iroquoian pot on the contrary has generally a very smooth outer surface. Algonkian sites are characterized by grooved axes, notched arrow points and large spear heads. The Iroquois did not use spears. On such sites are found gorgets and other articles of polished slate, together with implements of copper (native) and, on early sites, soapstone (steatite) vessels or frag-

ments of them. Pipes are rare and when found generally have a sharp "elbow bend" where the bowl starts from the stem. Stone mortars and long "roller pestles" are Algonkian. Algonkian sites are usually scattered, or, when concentrated, are small compared with the Iroquoian. Probably every Algonkian site in the Genesee Country is prehistoric, that is, older than the coming of the white man by perhaps seven hundred years and even more. Some may be many thousands of years old.

The Mound Builder culture as represented in the Genesee Country indicates an influence from middle or southern Ohio. Like the higher Algonkian, it is characterized by polished slates, as the bird stone, banner stone and gorget. Its arrow and spear points are symmetrical and have notches. Copper implements are found in this cultural range and also articles of mica and of fresh water pearl. One of the peculiar characteristics is the monitor pipe. Sites of this culture are not numerous, but here and there throughout western New York they are to be discovered. One important site in this classification is on the White farm on Squawkie Hill, near Mount Morris. But there are also evidences here of an Algonkian and a later Iroquoian (Seneca) occupation. Mr. White found two large mounds south of his house. In one of them was a remarkable grave containing copper ornaments, pearl beads and a beautiful monitor pipe. Fred H. Crofoot, of Sonyea, opened another mound grave near it and found similar articles. Erie and Cattaraugus and Chautauqua counties have been particularly rich in mound culture artifacts. It should be noted that mounds are not always associated with sites of the mound builder culture, and if not found, it may be suspected that they once existed but were torn down by the leveling process of agriculture, for in this state mounds are often as low as eighteen inches, though they may be a hundred feet around, and even larger. Earth walls protecting fortifications are not mounds, and graves must not be called mounds, unless, indeed, they are in true mounds. If the amateur archeologist is careful with his descriptions, he will assist materially in helping the professional scientist, who has often been confused and led to erroneous conclusions by trusting to the descriptions of untrained observers.

The Eskimoan occupation is the most elusive of all, but it may be recognized by the presence of semi-lunar knives and by rubbed slate arrow points and knives. These are similar to those used

by the Eskimo of the north today. Sometimes broad chert points are found on sites yielding semi-lunar choppers, or ulas. Steatite pottery and effigies made of soapstone or other soft stone are also sometimes found. In general, however, this culture blends into the archaic Algonkian, just as the higher Algonkian blends with the mound culture in certain particulars. The Iroquoian alone seems unique.

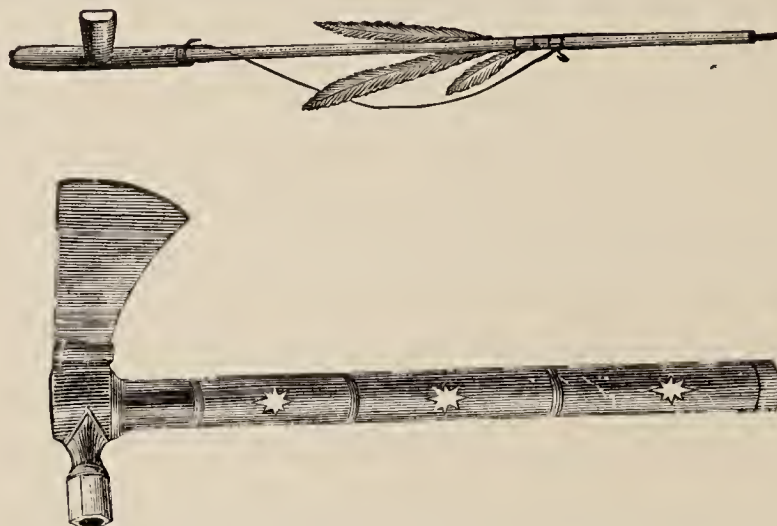
We must understand thoroughly that only the beginning has been made in the scientific study of archeology. What we know of the antiquities of western New York is the result of only twenty years of systematic study. Differences in culture were not appreciated until recently. It was Dr. William M. Beauchamp, of Syracuse, who blazed the way, and he was followed by such men as M. Raymond Harrington, Alanson Skinner, Frederick Houghton, Alvin H. Dewey and the archeologists of the State Museum at Albany, directed by Dr. John M. Clarke, whose natal home was Canandaigua. Thus, students of archeology found the Genesee Country a mine of buried history, but the discovery has been made almost too late. Hundreds of sites of vast importance have been ruined by careless relic hunters—men who cared more for relics than for the facts about them. This appalling fact led to the organization of the State Archeological Association, whose Genesee Country chapter (Lewis H. Morgan chapter) has done so much to promote systematic research. Out of hidden graves, dusty refuse pits and the blackened soil of Indian village sites, members of Morgan chapter have drawn forth a vital story of the life of aboriginal man. So well has this work been done that the attention of scientists the world over has been called to the researches and results of this remarkable group of men and women because of the light that has been shed by the active workers in the society and by the backing given by those who find satisfaction in supporting worthy effort. This light is that of *archeology*. It has required work and sacrifice to bring this torch to the fore, and it is so dazzling and strange that men are not yet accustomed to it, and fear its revelations. We use the term archeology in its broad meaning, including with it anthropology and ethnology—all that belongs to the science of man. In this sense we have a basic science, shedding light on man's physical, mental, cultural and moral evolution. Archeology presents material evidence of human thought, in the early ages of man's evolution. This is

tremendously important; for thoughts lead us on. The masses of mankind are followers, and thoughts once emphatically stated, by dynamic suggestion find a ready acceptance. The mass mind is too indolent to examine evidences, accepting what is apparently so, and believing it. It is more convenient to believe than to think exhaustively, for thinking constructively is the most exacting effort of which man is capable.

For the salvation of humanity, in a cultural sense, it is providential that here and there in the world's history there have been thinkers. One of the greatest inventors the world ever knew, and soon forgot, was he who out of the lash of necessity discovered how to chip sharp flakes from flint and other hard stones. This was the beginning of industry and through this discovery it was possible to hew, to cut, to engrave, in fact, to produce a change of form. The discovery of the method of producing fire was another fundamental factor in man's development. Without it he would still be only an ingenious beast. Thus, in examining an archeological specimen, found perchance in our own garden, we catch a glimpse of the thought processes that molded man and stimulated him to progress. Out of a knowledge of the artifacts, we discover what promoted and what retarded true progress; we see what was right and what was wrong, what was useful and what was obstructive. Through these basic things we are enabled to draw conclusions regarding the trend of modern things.

A faithful study of our subject in its widest application throws the light upon the causes of man's physical development; it explains the beginning of industry; it reveals the origin of tribalism and the rise of nations; it traces the causes of migrations and group movements; it illuminates the dark arcana of that mass murder we call war; it discloses the causes of international jealousies and competition; it explains the problems of sex, society and inter-group relations; it solves the problem of caste, of capital and labor; it pours a flood of light upon religion itself and depicts its origin, its evolution and its age-long search for a consciousness of Deity. Through the light of archeology the world, if it wishes, may discover the erroneous premises upon which it has built up faulty systems of thought; it may trace back its mistaken conclusions, and it may set itself aright—if it dare. I say, *if it dare*, for the chains of precedent and inbred error, sanctified by long usage, that have imported falsehood into the finer fabric of our

institutions, have changed our picture of reality. Archeology bids us seek the truth that underlies history, and the facts concerning man's development, and, indeed, archeology points out these truths. Let mankind face them as realities and real progress will ensue in an age of enlightenment: let mankind turn away, and the statue that we build will be as far from reality as the distorted images of Egypt or Babylon, and we shall worship them even as their votaries did—as gods.



CHAPTER IV.

ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS.

BY ARTHUR CASWELL PARKER, M. S.

One thinks of the Genesee Country as the land of the Senecas, and indeed, the Senecas still hold small, shrunken areas that they call their own in the valleys of the Tonawanda, the Cattaraugus and the Allegany. They have given up forever all the land in the valley of the Genesee and the country to the east of it. So deeply impressed upon the region is the former presence of these ancient lords of the soil that the names they left behind for creek, river, lake and village are still retained to enrich our stock of place names and make our region distinctive. This domain of the Genesee was a land they loved, and deep was the heartache when they left it and retreated to sheltered spots farther west. To them it was a holy land where the bones of their ancestors were buried and where they dwelt in their greatest glory. Even to this day, the Senecas wander back over these sacred places and dream of the good old days when their nation was a power with which to reckon. Alas, now, when they come in their automobiles to camp on our hillsides and in our glens we know them not. Yet the Senecas were not the first to roam this region. Other tribes had their camps and villages here, and even mighty nations had their council fires along the streams and upon the hills.

It is difficult to say what people first lived here, whether the archaic Algonkian or the Eskimo-like people. It is certain that the Algonkian tribes came very early, and it is equally true that some northern people with implements like the Eskimo roamed the hills and upper terraces. Then came the second period or intermediate Algonkian tribes. These people began to use crude pottery which they made from local clays, although they still used to some extent steatite or soapstone dishes, as did their predecessors. The third period Algonkian tribes spread in every direc-

tion throughout the Genesee Country, for they seem to have been a numerous people. They were bold and busy hunters and well acquainted with the arts of the forest. While they roamed afar, they also had settled villages and fields of corn and beans. Their flint workers were expert, and many of the finest specimens of chipped flint, jasper and chalcedony must be credited to them. They were makers of grooved axes, roller pestles, notched choppers and hoes, gouges, gorgets, bird-stones, banner stones, bone implements (as harpoons and awls), and a well developed type of pottery decorated over its entire surface with the impression of cords or imitations of cord markings.

These people were culturally rich but were frugal. They did not waste their artifacts like the later Iroquois, and thus they did not write their history so deeply in the soil. Nevertheless, they present ample evidence of having lived here for an extended period of time. It is quite likely that the various Algonkian occupations of western New York cover an era of more than five thousand years and perhaps nearly twice as long. The Algonkian tribes of various periods and cultures did not hold this region undisputed, for again and again other stocks intruded and gained footholds for periods of time, greater or less. Among the strange people who came were those who in certain phases of culture resembled the Eskimo. They made broad, crudely chipped arrow points, semi-lunar choppers and double edged, rubbed slate knives or spears. We do not know when they came, but we can place them somewhere between the advent of the archaic Algonkians and the second Algonkian period.

At some stage in the third Algonkian period a new cultural influence began to manifest itself. It apparently came from the west or southwest. The people who brought it were builders of mounds and they brought with them a new appreciation of finely made articles of stone. They brought copper implements, monitor pipes and polished implements and articles of Huronian slate. They made large shell beads and cut disks from iridescent shells and they used the banner stone, the bird stone and gorget. Apparently they did not build stockaded fortifications or, if they did, very few were set in walled bases of earth. Who these people were we do not know. They may have been an Ohioan Algonkian people and they may have been of other stocks. Their methods of interment were various. When they buried in mounds they some-



ALGONKIAN POT

times walled up the burial with slabs of stone, as at Napoli, Poland Center and Squawkie Hill. In some of the stoned up graves have been found finely made stone tubes, some of them filled with a curious black powder. Again, not all the walled graves are in mounds. Where individual graves are found or groups of them, the same sort of artifacts are present. At Vine valley on Lake Canandaigua, in 1922, were discovered more than thirty graves of this culture and careful notes were made describing them. Among the implements from this site are awls of bone and antler, copper celts and nails or rivets, shell beads, bird stones, a bone bird stone, bola stones, and several gorgets. One of these shows plain evidence of having been made with precision, the ends being arcs of circles the centers of which are the holes in the gorget.

From the evidence furnished by the sites of the Genesee country alone, not to mention the testimony of other localities, we are warranted in stating positively that the so-called Mound Builders were no more than energetic Indian tribes, who during a period of peace were able to develop their native arts. There is no evidence whatsoever of any mysterious race of higher civilization that has been blotted out by the later Indians, at least in the sense that the mound building tribes were not Indians themselves. There is nothing that the Mound Builders had or did that the Indians did not have and do, for, indeed, all were Indians. If we wish to pursue the subject further, we will find accounts of French and Spanish explorers who actually saw Indians building mounds. Our earlier antiquarians, lacking information, built up strange theories that later investigations proved erroneous. In the popular mind the Mound Builders remain an entertaining myth, but American anthropologists long ago branded it as a fable, shelving it along with the story of tempered copper, the Israelitish origin of the Indians, Atlantis and the making of arrowheads by heating flint and dropping on water. The light of science may be cruel in spoiling our fairy tales, but facts are not entirely devoid of romance, and in truth we find real satisfaction.

At some point during the height of the third Algonkian period, and at a time when the mound culture still prevailed, another people began to enter this region. They were a distinctive people with habits, tastes and prejudices all their own. More than this, they were a people of greater mental energy than had heretofore

occupied the region. It may be that they were less skilled in some of the material arts, but their skill took other directions. They were a persistent people of great ingenuity and possessed the racial vigor to persevere in their desires until they conquered. They were the Iroquois. Some historians, basing their statements on an early account of the shifting of the Mohawks, have tried to make us believe that the Iroquoian tribes came out of the north from the region about the mouth of the St. Lawrence, but when we examine the discoveries of both archeology and ethnology we will find all the evidence against this. The Iroquoian people came from the west and southwest, and not from the north. When we speak of the Iroquois we mean the group of tribes that afterward became the Five Nations Confederacy, sometimes called the League of the Iroquois. But the Iroquoian stock itself included a much larger group of linguistically related people. In the north, between Georgian Bay and the St. Lawrence, and southward along the northern shores of Lake Ontario were the Huron tribes; in the Niagara peninsulas on both sides of the river were the tribes and allies of the Neutrals or Attiwendaronks; southward of Lake Erie and extending down the Allegheny and between it and the territory of the Conestoga tribes was the land of the Eries, a populous tribe; along the Susquehanna to its mouth were the several tribes of the Conestogas, and Susquehannocks; in the south, in the hills of the Carolinas and westward into Tennessee, were the tribes of the Cherokees, and farther east in North Carolina were the Tuscaroras, the Nottaways and the Meherrins. All these tribes were surrounded by other stocks; in the north by the Algonkian, in the south by the Muskhogean and Siouan. The Iroquoian linguistic stock was not widespread, and everywhere it was hemmed in by hostile and alien peoples. It was distributed in three great geographical groups, and the alliances of its constituent tribes were frequently to the great disadvantage of its own blood kinsmen. But for the innate genius of the Iroquois, they would have been destroyed either by themselves through internal strife or by their unrelenting outside foes.

Archeological evidence points out the movement of the Iroquoian tribes from some mid-Mississippi valley point, perhaps beyond the mouth of the Ohio in Arkansas. Here they were in contact with the Caddo tribes and at the mercy of the Sioux. We know not what started the migration, but groups of Iroquoian

tribes began to push up the Ohio, and others farther up the Mississippi, perhaps to the mouth of the Missouri, then overland through Illinois, where they began a northeastward journey along the Great Lakes. One or two large groups pushed southward again and crossed the Alleghenies, to occupy its foothills and the valleys to the east, forming the Cherokee division. Others pushed on south of Lake Erie, and still others crossed the Detroit River and occupied the region between Lake Huron on the west, lakes Erie and Ontario on the south, and then along the St. Lawrence Valley nearly to the mouth of the river. The tribes that pushed across the Detroit later drew together and formed the Huron-Wyandot group, the Neutral group, and the Mohawk-Onondaga group. Those who chose to push along the south side of Lake Erie and move across Ohio became the Eries, the Conestogas and the Senecas. One of the northern groups pushed across the Alleghenies or down the Susquehanna to form the Tuscarora tribes. Other smaller divisions split off as time went on. There was a spirit of race pride among these people and they called themselves the Ongweh Howeh, meaning Surpassing Men, Real Men, and the Most Truly Human Race. They believed themselves the "chosen people" and acted accordingly.

Among the groups of tribes along the lakes was one, already mentioned, called the Attiwendaronk or Neutral Nation, so named because it would not wage war upon any of its kinsfolk. Just why this was so we have no sure means of knowing, but we may conjecture that it was because within the Neutral Nation, and ruling at least a part of it, was a woman known as "the Mother of Nations", sometimes called "the peace queen." According to Iroquois tradition, the original Mother of Nations was a woman called Djikonsaseh, the first woman born on earth. Her eldest daughter was her successor, so that the line came down in perpetuity. She was the arbiter of peace, and the nation in which she dwelt must preserve peace with all the brother nations that had grown from the great mother's brood. Thus the Neutral Nation occupied both the western and eastern peninsulas of the Niagara, having many towns on the west side of the Niagara and four large villages on the east side, one of which was the capital of the nation, wherein dwelt the great mother. This capital in early historic times was at Ga-yen-no-gah, on the Niagara escarpment above Lewiston and the boundary of the present Tuscarora reservation. It was

America's first Peace Court and the first Hague. The Neutrals were sedentary village dwellers and had large fields of corn, beans, squashes, melons and other garden produce. There is little doubt that the earthworks in northern Erie County and in Genesee, Orleans and Wyoming counties were built by them, but by far the greater number of their works are across the Niagara in the Province of Ontario. The Neutral Nation has a tragic history and one of great interest to those who look for romance in the annals of races. The French missionaries pushing their way down the St. Lawrence heard of the Neutrals, and as early as 1626 the Franciscan friar, La Roche Dallion, visited their villages and began to make converts. He was followed by Fathers Brebeuf and Chaumonot, who established missions among them. For a considerable time they were the concern of the valiant Catholic priests, who braved the forests for the sake of saving the souls of men. Eventually, as we shall see, the Neutral Nation was destroyed. The year 1651 saw the end of these people as a distinct nation, and just why, we shall discover later when we trace the rise of the Iroquois League.

The Jesuits in their *Relations* tell of another tribe, and lingered to see its downfall and to describe it. This tribe was the Erie or the Cat. It was a powerful group of people with the common Iroquoian features in its organization. Its territory extended from the region of the Neutrals and south of it, along the Cattaraugus to the Allegheny, thence along the creeks and valleys far inland from Lake Erie and covering western Pennsylvania and northern Ohio. The Hurons of the north, from whom they probably separated, called them Yeñresh, and from this the name Erie is derived. It means "long tailed" and probably alludes to the robes of panther skin worn over their heads and shoulders by these people. The Senecas called them Jigonsasehonoh, or the People of the Fat Face, this term referring to the wild cat. The Jesuits hearing this term frequently called them *Nation du Chat*. The Eries occupied a portion of the land once held by the mound building tribes, and indeed, with the Senecas, may have absorbed some of these extirpated people. We know from archeological research that Erie pottery sometimes resembled that of the Ohio mounds and that their pipes of stone frequently were identical. Their villages and camps, their fortifications and fields covered nearly every part of Chautauqua County, extended through Cattaraugus,



ESKIMO KNIVES

Allegany and Wyoming and even into Erie, Warren, McKean and Potter counties in Pennsylvania, thence westward through northern Ohio.

It has been the privilege of the writer to examine scores of Erie village sites and fortifications throughout this region and to dig deep into the graves after their hidden records. The earthworks along Clear Creek in Chautauqua County are theirs, the wonderful site at Ripley excavated in 1906 was a stronghold of the Eries; the hilltop defences in Cattaraugus County are the result of their efforts, as perhaps are some of the forts along the Genesee in Allegany County. Like the Neutrals they had a tragic history and it was brought to a close by the Iroquois, who lived east of them across the Genesee. The faithful Jesuit record of their passing is as vivid a chapter as we can find in the entire *Jesuit Relations* (1655-'56). As we record the history of the Senecas we shall review this story, for it reveals much of interest.

Before we proceed we should gain a better understanding of the Hurons to the north, for their alliances have much to do with the flow of history. The fate of the Genesee Country hinges upon their action. The Iroquoian people whom Cartier found along the St. Lawrence in 1534-43, were the northeastern Hurons, or Wyandots (Wendat). He learned that these people were engaged in combat with another people living south of them, whom they described as cruel and warlike, and called Trudamani and Agouionda, meaning "they who attack us." Later Champlain mentions these enemies of the Hurons, and Loscarbot, in 1603, in his *Nova Francia*, writes of the destruction of the Huron people along the St. Lawrence by the Iroquois, who, he says, appeared " * * * to the number of 8,000 men, and discomfited all their enemies whom they surprised in their enclosures." Thus, at this early date, we have an account of the Huron-Iroquois war, a war of great significance in history. The Hurons were a confederated group of four independent tribes and several smaller bands. The Relations of 1636 give us the names of these tribes as the Attignaountan or *Bear People*, the Attigneenongnahac or *Cord People*, the Arendahronon, *Rock People*, and the Tohontaenrat or *White Eared* or *Deer People*. The independent tribes were the Bowl People, Ataronchronon, and the later Wenroe People, refugees from Iroquois wrath. The Bear and the Cord People were the oldest and most influential, and they gave refuge to the Rock and

Deer People in the latter part of the 16th century, about 1590 to 1600. For political reasons and for protection, a confederation seems to have been formed, an organization to which Huron government was particularly adapted. The amalgamation of the Rock and Deer People, and their migration from the St. Lawrence to the region between Lake Huron and the Bay of Quinte, seems to be one of the reasons why some early historians believed that all the Iroquois people came down from the north, as if they might not have gone north and then moved south and westward again, which is precisely what happened. The Hurons consolidated, and the Mohawk-Onondagas crossed the St. Lawrence and occupied the lands to the south.

All the Huron people were sedentary and agricultural. Their villages and palisaded towns were numerous and populous. The fortified villages were surrounded by triple palisades from sixteen to thirty-five feet high, and a fighting platform ran entirely around the inside. Upon this were piled stones, arms and buckets of water with which to extinguish fire should it break out from the enemy's fire arrows. The tribes were governed by the general Iroquois system of clans, and women had a large share in the government, possessing the sole right to nominate the civil chiefs. With the coming of the French, missions were established and many converts were made, though not without much opposition from the native priesthood. Nevertheless, the Huron chiefs, seeing the advantage of having a point of contact with the French and fearing their enmity, frequently encouraged and even invited the ministrations of the self sacrificing Fathers. The reason is quite apparent: the advantages of trade and the desire to enlist powerful allies against the Iroquois to the south. At the very beginning of the contact the Hurons poured into the ears of Champlain the story of Iroquois aggression and enlisted his aid. Thus on July 30, 1609, Champlain with two French soldiers armed with guns and sixty Indians attacked two hundred Mohawks. This was the first Iroquois experience with guns, and awed by their power they gave way and were defeated. This was the encounter at Ticonderoga. The next year there was another battle, in which the Iroquois resisted valiantly but in the end nearly one hundred of them perished. Five years later came the expedition against the Onondagas, but Champlain only reached one of the large

Oneida strongholds. This he could not take and returned wounded and disgusted.

Now let us consider just what the French were doing in attacking the Iroquois. True, they were punishing the people who harassed them at every turn, but through Iroquois eyes the French were doing more than fighting them. They were espousing the cause of the Hurons and joining with them as allies. Thereafter the fate of France in the new world hung upon the outcome of the Huron-Iroquois war, though the French supposed all along that it was a French-Iroquois war in which the Hurons had lent their support. But the Iroquois could woo allies as well as the Hurons, and the Iroquois chose to court the enemies of France, the Dutch and the English. Thus, it was not long before the balance began to shift and Huron power commenced to wane, and with it all the hopes of New France. Of this we shall speak later, and show that with the breakup of the Huron tribes, after a frightful and bloody war, the Huron people were scattered like chaff and the Iroquois with their English allies became supreme. It may be wondered why two races speaking the same general tongue did not consolidate and form a great alliance, thus resisting European invasion and domination. We cannot always divine the direction that groups of men will take or say why they act as they do, but we may venture to say that the Hurons were jealous of the rising power of the Iroquois, whom they considered a subordinate or inferior people. The Hurons were willing, however, to ally themselves with outer nations, as groups of the Algonkians, and use them in fighting their own kinsfolk. To the Iroquois this was a fatal and inexcusable transgression. The Iroquois wanted a far flung confederacy of all the people who spoke the mother tongue, but to this the Hurons and their allies, the Neutrals, the Eries and Andastes (Conestogas) would not agree. Friction arose and one act of aggression followed another. We shall not pursue the tale further; all these people have gone and with them the dreams of France. Today we speak English and the Iroquois are still with us. The Hurons became fugitives, their land devastated, and refuge failed them at every turn. A stubborn pride had killed them, when surrender might have meant life and a new home, as it did to the Arendahronon villagers, who yielded and were taken to the land of the Senecas and settled at Gandougarae, in Ontario County.

The Hurons were not the only members of the great Huron-Iroquoian family that looked upon the confederated Iroquois with bitter hatred. Another branch of the family in the Susquehanna Valley feared and warred upon them as well. This was the Susquehannock-Andaste group of tribes, who, like the Hurons, had Algonkian allies. The Susquehannocks or Conestogas dwelt along the Susquehanna River, and, if there were two great divisions of this people, we should say that the Andastes or Conestogas dwelt in the upper valley and the Susquehannocks in the lower, as far as the mouth of the river. Indeed, it was probably the lower river people that Capt. John Smith met in 1608. Smith was much impressed with their physical vigor and the style of their costumes, and described these and their weapons in detail. The Conestogas or Andastes were mortal enemies of the Senecas and their confederates and thus formed valuable allies of the Hurons to the north. In 1615, when the Hurons persuaded Champlain to attack the Iroquois villages, they relied upon the Andastes to come with a force of five hundred warriors and assist in the grand raid. These Andastes were to come from the great town of Carantouan situated just below the present site of Waverly village, at the junction of the Chemung and Susquehanna. Champlain, with high hopes and eight hundred Hurons and Ottawas, reached the land of the Oneidas, began his attack, struggled for several days, looked in vain for the arrival of the forces from Carantouan, and then fled in defeat, wounded and divested of all the glamour and awe which he had formerly inspired. After he had gone the Andastes came, but the victorious Oneidas made the country unsafe for them and they retired as stealthily as they had come. Thus, the millstones of the north and of the south failed to catch the Iroquois and grind them to extinction. The Iroquois were not without some apprehension in the matter, however, for they saw their league and their existence threatened. They, therefore, resolved to have no enemies in the living world, and each Iroquois nation made the common resolve. This meant that every enemy should be destroyed. What followed is an amazing story, without parallel in history.

We cannot conclude an account of the enemies of the Iroquois without mentioning the Algonkian tribes to the east and southeast. These were the Mahicans, or Hudson River tribes, and the Delawares of eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey. These hated the

confederated Iroquois as bitterly as did the Hurons, and with the New England Algonkian tribes and their allies and kinsfolk of the north, the Ottawas, the Abenakis, and others to the farther west, they made common cause against the people whom they called the Nation of Snakes—the Iroquois. The Mahicans hemmed the Mohawks from the Hudson and their Delaware allies controlled the upper waters of the Susquehanna and Delaware. Picture, if you will, the Iroquois as they were situated. The Senecas of the Genesee Country were faced by powerful enemies who were watchful of the Genesee frontier, and ever ready to make war. It took all their ingenuity to preserve peace and avoid complications. Indeed, they endeavored to establish friendly relations with the Eries, the Neutrals and the Hurons, and for a time all was well, though great jealousy was plainly evident. To the south were the Andastes, to the east the Mahicans, to the north along the St. Lawrence were the northern Hurons and their allies. Here was a group of twenty thousand people surrounded by another group of a hundred thousand willing upon any pretext to become enemies. A gloomier outlook no people ever faced!

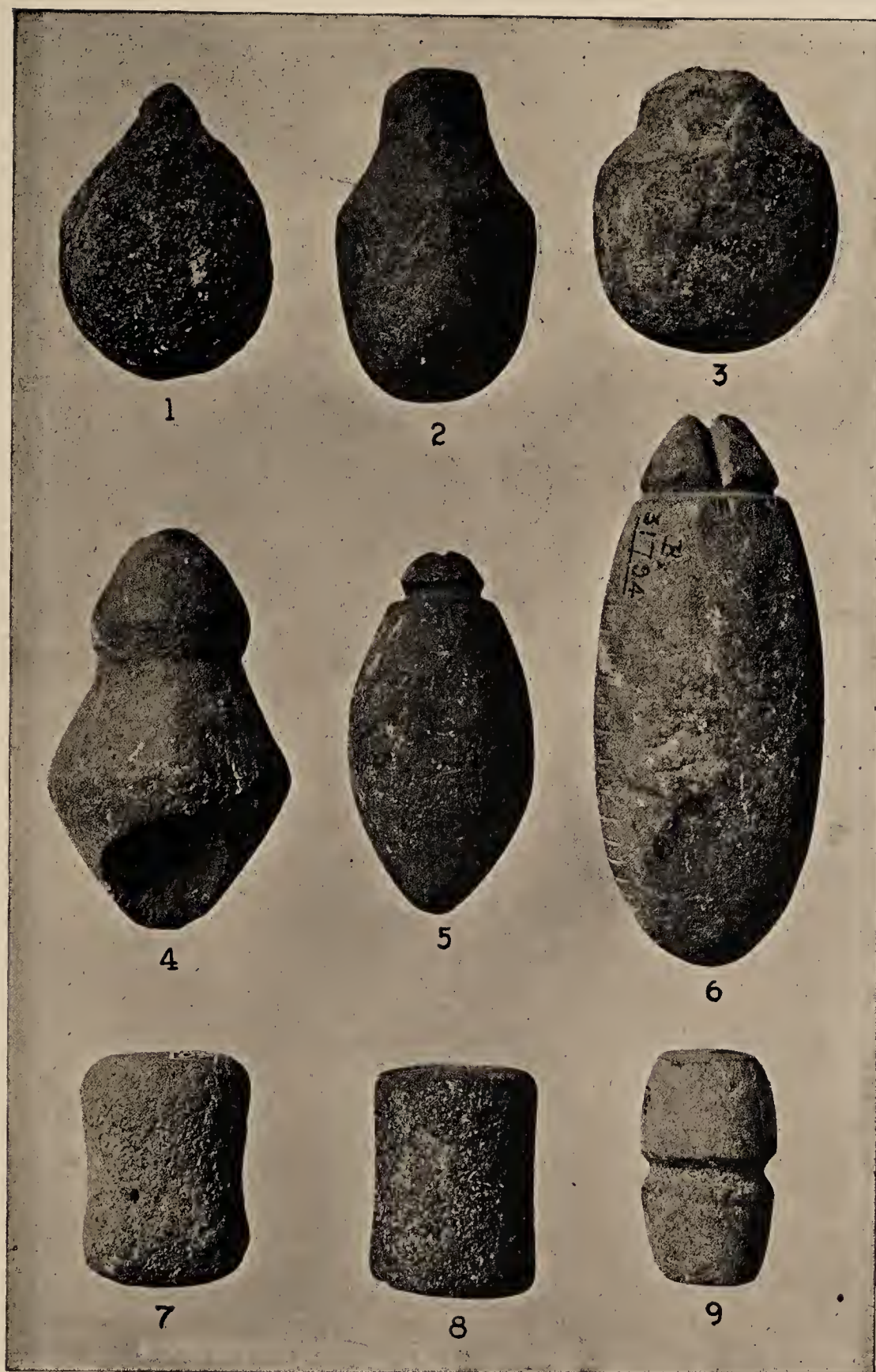
The five confederated tribes of the Iroquois are so well known to history, that no detailed description is here necessary, but for the sake of giving them a proper setting and to review their situation, we shall recount some of the salient features of this remarkable confederacy. We have shown that all the Iroquois tribes were once separated and that each had a more or less independent position. The social organization of the stock, however, tended to induce closer unity of the larger branches, since by their clan system, all clansmen, of whatever tribe or nation, were called brothers. Thus when the pressure of enemies made it necessary for brothers to unite to fight a common enemy, the idea of the confederation began to grow. Tradition tells us that it was Dekanawida who proposed a union with the Mohawks, and that later Hiawatha came from Onondaga with a similar plan in mind. In order to consummate their project, they persuaded Jikonsaseh, the Mother of Nations, the chieftainess of the Attiwendaronks, to accompany them in their tour in behalf of the scheme to combine the brother nations. An invitation was sent to all the nations to assemble about a symbolical tree of peace, but though there was much discussion, in the end only the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the two divisions of the Senecas

came. The story is a long though interesting one, but the League was established.¹

Astonishing as it may seem, this League of the Five Nations, which might as well have been the league of twenty nations, was dedicated to the purpose of establishing and enforcing universal peace. In the code which was drawn up the relations of the brother nations were defined and the laws of peace plainly set forth. The laws of warfare were also laid down and the causes of war given. In this league, as established, the Onondagas were to be the fire keepers, that is, they should preside over the council; the Mohawks should guard the east gate, and the Senecas should guard the west gate, provide the two war captains and control the entrance of other tribes from the west. Each nation of the League was to have a certain number of civil chiefs as members of the League council, but, as the action of this council must be unanimous, an unequal distribution of civil chiefs did not affect the rights of the nations. For example, the Onondagas had 14 representatives, while the two branches of the Senecas had only 8. In all the nations these officers were nominated by the women, and the men simply ratified the choice of the female nominators. Candidates were chosen from a group of young men who had been in training and who belonged to certain *royaneh*, or noble families. It was forbidden that any civil chief become a war captain or warrior while holding office as a "Protector of the Great Peace."

The Iroquois, therefore, had a real government, vested in a council of 50 wise men, but it had no actual president, this office being filled at each session by the election of a moderator. The great Fire Keeper, Adodarhoh, was only the nominal head, for ceremonial purposes, but he had no power to command or to rule. All the acts of the confederated council were ratified by unanimous vote. This was brought about by an ingenious method of voting by nations, each reporting to the Onondaga Fire Keepers the will of their body. In case of a tie the Onondagas had the casting vote, and immediately all the civil chiefs ratified the action and the vote was singly for or against the measure proposed. A strong government meant powerful support when war was declared or when it became necessary to resist invasion. It meant that the armies of five nations would act as a unit. This united

¹ See the Constitution of the Five Nations, N. Y. State Museum Bulletin, 186, by A. C. Parker.



PLUMMETS

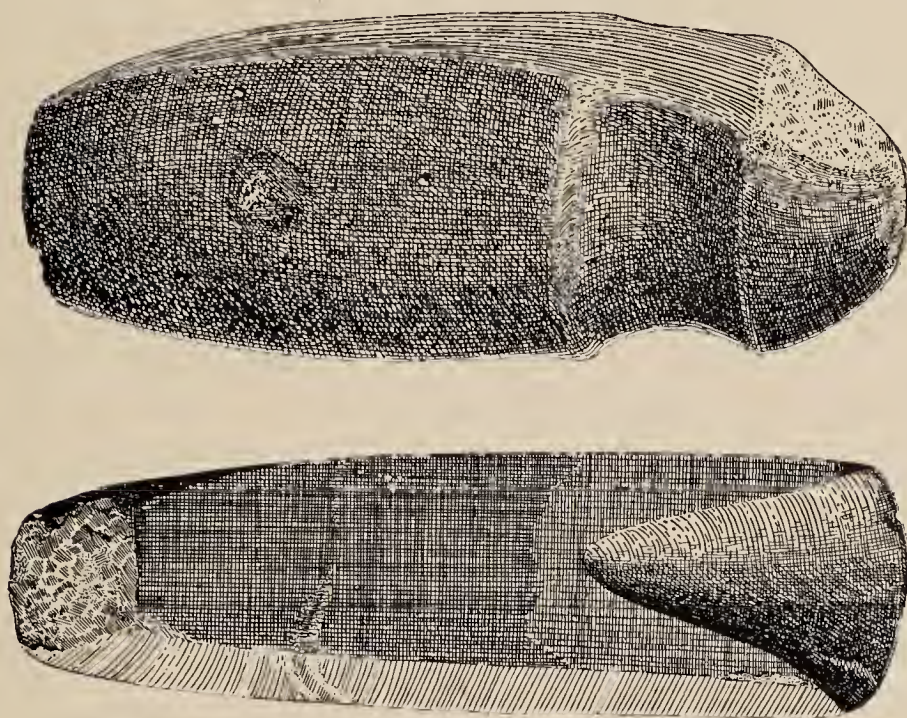
action was especially dreaded, and thus enemies, taking advantage of the independent rights of each constituent to make individual peace, sought at times to estrange certain tribes one from the other in order to weaken the confederacy. It was a well known fact that the Senecas never had any great love for the Mohawks, and that the smaller interior nations, the Cayuga, the Onondaga and the Oneida, were a bit jealous of the military power of the Senecas and Mohawks. The astute leaders of the confederacy were clever enough to use this seeming weakness to great advantage by allowing one of its nations to make peace with the enemy, and then inviting its warriors to enlist under the leadership of one of the warring nations, which left a place of refuge when fighting became too warm for them.

The Iroquois were sedentary, village dwellers and pursued agriculture to an amazing extent. Their first towns were upon well protected hills, having steep precipitous sides and bounded by streams. Upon such locations they generally built strong stockades with fighting tops well stored with missiles and water to extinguish the fires that the enemy might set. Their houses were of bark and poles, and often were from fifty to one hundred fifty feet in length. In the long lodges dwelt families of sisters, or women all of one clan. Their husbands were always of different clans, for under the custom or law of *exogamy* no Iroquois might marry within his or her own clan. Descent followed the mother line, so that the clan of which a person was a member was that of his mother. They had many homely virtues, notwithstanding their rugged culture. They were loyal to their friends and jealously guarded their personal honor. Visitors and strangers were cared for with every regard for their comfort. They loved their children and sought to train them in the lore of the forest, the mothers and the older women instructing them in the way they should go; and when a boy became ten or twelve years of age he was placed in a group of youngsters, similar to a Boy Scout troop, and trained in the useful arts. Their form of education was intensely practical and fitted them to live the life that environment commanded. It seems anomalous to state that their government was founded upon the desire to establish universal peace and that it was called "The Great Peace." Nevertheless, they *did* desire to firmly establish peace, but, as brave and adventurous men, they were jealous of their national honor and not afraid to fight. As

Iroquois government was one of social pressure, resting upon the opinions of the populace, rather than upon the will of over-lords, the young men frequently seized upon a popular complaint as a pretext for war, and, though their nation had not declared war, they went off on aggressive expeditions against hereditary enemies. For these acts the whole nation was sometimes punished, and most of the smaller Iroquois wars were such unauthorized raids. There is something within civilized as well as savage men that makes warfare an inviting pursuit, and these Indians simply followed the common human urge to fight and kill members of the outer groups.

Thus lived the five brother nations, stretching across the heart of the Empire State from the mouth of the Schoharie on the Mohawk, through the region of the Finger Lakes to the banks of the pleasant Genesee. Each nation had its own territory and well known boundaries, each had its villages and principal town, and each had its own hunting range. Their domain was pleasant and fertile and protected by natural barriers. The Genesee Country was primarily the land of the Senecas, or, as they called it, "Land of the People of the Great Hill." Its eastern boundary went down the western slopes of the hills east of Seneca Lake, taking in most of Schuyler County, and skimming the northern boundaries of Tioga and Chemung, though later, as they overcame their enemies, they dipped their line far down into Pennsylvania. The Seneca country first occupied only the highlands of southern and western Ontario County, for the Senecas seem to have come from some locality west of the Genesee, perhaps by way of the Allegheny and thence through the Dansville district. Gradually it spread to the north and to the east, taking in Canandaigua, Keuka, and Seneca lakes. Expansion westward gave them possession of Honeoye, Canadice, Hemlock and Conesus lakes, and finally their towns boldly flourished along the Genesee. Then they were open villages with no stockades to protect them, for the Senecas had slain or adopted their foes, and the might of Seneca arms was enough of a wall to keep at bay the small raids of distant enemies. Such was the setting of the most populous of all the Iroquois. Here they dwelt in as fair a paradise as might be found in all the new world. Their people equalled in number all the other people of the Five Nations, and their warriors were unmatched in endurance and in the extent of their conquests. In another chapter we

will trace the rise of the Seneca Nation and touch upon their wars with surrounding tribes and nations, tell of the coming of the French, the missions of the Jesuits and of the final war with New France, which left the Senecas still a power with wide-flung influence.



CHAPTER V.

THE RISE OF THE SENECA NATION, 1535 TO 1699.

BY ARTHUR CASWELL PARKER, M. S.

The Senecas were the "People of the Hill." Both history and tradition emphasize this, and the Seneca people always speak of themselves in connection with a certain great hill. It is possible that this may have been Bare Hill on the east shore of Canandaigua Lake, but, though many authorities have assumed that this is the one, it is by no means certain that the hill of all their traditions is not the great South Hill that runs along the lake from the valley south of Bare Hill to the flat lands that border the inlet of that body of water, as stated in an earlier chapter.¹ All archeologists who have examined the region in detail and who have studied the situation, feel that Bare Hill is not *the* hill of the Seneca tradition. However, the Senecas are the "People of the Hill," for their designation is *Djiionondo-wanen-aka*, with the meaning given above. In every language of the aborigines about them they were so called; and Cartier (1534-35), the first great explorer who ever saw the Iroquois, heard of them under the name *Trudamini*. Champlain knew of them as *Entouhonorons* and *Chouontouarouon* (*Chonontoua-ronon*), and the earliest of the Jesuit fathers recorded the name as *Tsonontouan* and *Sonontouan*, leaving off the *ronon*, which means people or tribe. The French obtained their name from Iroquoian speaking people, but the Dutch and English received their knowledge of the Senecas through Algonkian sources. The Mohawk name was of Algonkian origin, for their own name for themselves was *Kaniengenhaga*, meaning "People of the Flint-rock," but their enemies called them *Mohowauuck* or *Maghwak*, meaning "man eaters." These same Algonkians called the people beyond the Mohawks the *Sinnekens*, because the Oneidas who lived to the west were known as the

¹ Chapter II, page 111.

"People of the Standing Stone;" thus the Algonkians called them *a'sinni* (rock) *aki* (place), hence *Sinnekens*, but, as each westward tribe in turn denied the name, by process of elimination it was attached to the one farthest west by the Dutch and English.

From the very beginning of the contact period the Senecas were regarded with some degree of mystery and dread. They were known far and wide among the tribes of the middle Atlantic region, and their hostility to European encroachment was something to be reckoned with. As knowledge of them seeped out through occasional explorers and Indian informants, it was discovered that they were a sedentary, village-dwelling and agricultural people, having four principal towns and several smaller settlements. Their early towns were stockaded, but, as they grew in military power through the acquisition of European fire arms, they boldly abandoned their palisades and made open settlements. We have located some of their early towns in a former chapter, but to understand Seneca history we must have a still more detailed description of their settlements, for they are constantly mentioned in all documentary accounts.

Tradition informs us that there were two groups of the Seneca people, and that it required great persuasive powers on the part of the founders of the Iroquois Confederacy to pacify and convince the westernmost division that it should unite with the eastern branch as a member of the League. If we examine historical accounts and maps, we shall see that the Senecas were, indeed, in two groups, one occupying the valley of the Honeoye and its tributaries, and ranging their settlements westward to the Genesee, upon which, when history opens, they had no major towns; and the other division, the valley of the Ganarqua, or Mud Creek, and extending eastward in the territory south of Canandaigua outlet as far as Seneca Lake, and having smaller settlements and hunting ground even beyond. As time went on we shall see how one group pushed east and the other west, until conditions threw them together. The Honeoye-Genesee group had two large towns, the largest of which was Totiakton, at the bend of the Honeoye on the west side of the creek. The smaller town was Gannounta and was situated on or near the present site of Lima. Totiakton was sometimes called Sonnontouan because of its importance, but when the Jesuit missionaries established a chapel there they gave it the name LaConception. Where the earlier town was we do not know,



(Courtesy of Ontario County Historical Society)

BARE HILL ON CANANDAIGUA, REPUTED PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE SENECA
INDIANS

though there are many possible sites in the general region; the later Totiakton seems to have been about three miles to the south on Spring brook. This is the site known to archeologists, on the Dann farm, near Honeoye Falls.

The Ganarqua-Canandaigua group had its principal village on what is now known as Boughton hill, south of the present village of Victor. It seems to have been established here about 1650, probably having moved from some locality at the south, either in the East Bloomfield or Bristol region. The Boughton Hill village received the name Ga-o-sa-eh-ga-aah, but the French took the Mohawk word, and the name has come down to us as Gannagaro, meaning "There the basswood bark lies." This referred to the bark trough through which the water from the great spring flowed, according to O. H. Marshall, who quotes John Blacksmith, an aged Tonawanda chief. The name may have had another signification, however, for Gannagaro was erected as the principal town of the eastern Seneca people. In the metaphorical language of the Iroquois the door of the Confederacy was guarded by sheets of slippery bark upon which the enemy would slip if he sought unwarranted and uninvited admittance. This town was known far and wide among the Iroquois as the capital of the Seneca people, and many important emissaries visited it. When the Catholic missionaries established their chapel there they called it St. James. To the south about three miles from Gannagaro was the village of Gandougaræ, as the French spelled it, though the Senecas called it Chi-nos-hah-geh.² It was a village in which Huron, Neutral, Erie and other captives were being instructed in the lore of the Seneca. It was an experiment in Iroquoization, and a part of the policy that kept the Iroquois numerically powerful, since by it they recruited their losses.

In this forest paradise, teeming with game, fish and birds, lived the Seneca people, secure in the feeling that their vast fields of produce, the natural supplies of wild foods, and forest beasts would afford sustenance; and, after they had expelled the earlier Algonkian people, they lived in comparative safety. Though their government was based upon principles of peace, and their civil chiefs were pledged to strive to secure and preserve it, the forays of their ancient enemies reminded them of their old time grievances, nor is it to be believed that unauthorized parties of young

² Vide Marshall's Writings, p. 139.

Seneca braves did not intensify troubles that might have been avoided. Slumbering in the young was the love of war, and no amount of preaching by their elders could quench the desire to hunt down and kill their enemies. War was in the blood; it was a tradition which the "Great Binding Law of Peace" could not easily overcome. Thus, adventurous young men proclaimed themselves war chiefs and organized expeditions against their hereditary foes. This invited counter-attack, and soon the whole Confederacy found itself involved in wars with many tribes and bands. It must not be imagined, however, that all these wars were brought upon them by their own seeking; certain enemies, as the Hurons, had long assailed them and sought their ruin. It will be recalled that when Champlain first heard of the Iroquois he knew of them as a race against which his Huron friends fought. So the great events of Iroquois history cluster about the episodes of the Huron-Iroquois war, a war in which the French espoused the cause of the Hurons. This war the Senecas probably did not start, it being very likely a feud in the beginning between the Mohawks and lower Hurons; but, for many years, the Senecas bore the brunt of the fray, and in the end they finished it and absorbed the Hurons.

The French, naturally sympathetic with the convert Hurons among whom they dwelt, kept up a desultory war against the Iroquois, killing them wherever they found them. In 1633 the Iroquois turned the tables and began seriously to harass the French, even boarding a French shallop. The next year the Senecas sent out an expedition against the Hurons and defeated them so decisively that the Huron Confederacy made overtures for peace. This was welcomed officially by the Iroquois, who really desired to unite all the nations of the mother tongue, provided they would acknowledge the supremacy of that same "Great Binding Law of Peace" and become constituent nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. This was the entire aim of the Iroquois war, though it was complicated by revenge and by raids of young warriors, who merely wanted adventure where legitimate prey could be found.

Peace negotiations were proceeding during 1635 and the Senecas declared a truce. A young Seneca warrior, being dissatisfied, went to the Onondagas, where he married a young woman of that nation. Here he argued against the Hurons and sought opportunity to take the field against them. Upon a certain occasion he was fishing in Lake Ontario, when he was captured by a Huron.

party and finally tortured and killed. That same year certain Hurons and Algonkian allies burned some Iroquois prisoners and raided an Iroquois camp. The Iroquois were inflamed not only against the Hurons but against the French who upheld them. In 1637 they attacked a Huron party on Lake St. Peter, capturing thirty prisoners. At the same time they sent one hundred and fifty warriors to a nearby French settlement and set up the sign of their presence, a series of sticks attached to a tree. The older and wiser councillors of the Hurons urged their tribesmen to make a permanent peace, for during this year the Wenroh-ronon people had sought refuge with them and spread tales of Seneca power. A band of young Hurons responded by marching against the Senecas and so involving their nation that support was necessary. Two years later (1639) the Hurons defeated an Oneida war party led by Oronkouaia. They captured the chief and tortured him horribly. The account of this affair is one of the most terrible in all the annals of Indian warfare, and we are told that the Oneida chief bore it to the end, defying his captors to make any torture hard enough to cause an Iroquois to cry out in pain.

Revenge followed soon, for the Iroquois by quick, bold strokes, struck here and there with amazing rapidity, coming and going almost unseen, destroying remote Algonkian villages and wiping out an entire Huron town, sparing few and torturing hundreds of luckless captives. Their small companies, quickly handled, were everywhere, and by 1643 the French began to sense that the case was desperate, for now the Senecas and their allies had guns which they handled exceedingly well. Even French prisoners were not now respected, and Father Jogues and his colleagues were frightfully tortured, and his friend Goupil was killed in one of the Mohawk towns (1642). There is no story of missionary effort that reveals a more heroic life than that of Father Jogues, who was later martyred in this same Mohawk country. So successful were the Iroquois, that it was unsafe for any Frenchman to wander far in the woods or to build his cabin away from a fort. As for the Indians, small settlements were wiped out and the inhabitants fled to the larger Huron towns for refuge. Occasionally the Hurons or their Algonkian allies had some small success; one Huron even penetrated the forest and entered Seneca capital on Boughton Hill, cutting his way into a bark cabin and taking several scalps.

War continued, its sordid details being recorded by the Jesuit

fathers from day to day in their annals. Many were the thrilling episodes, many were the displays of bravery, of high character, of treachery, of savagery, of honor and of real humanity. All the play of passions from evil to good was evidenced. The beginning of the end was in sight in 1647, when the Hurons sent deputies to the Andastes in the Susquehanna, pleading for assistance to the dying "mother nation." The distress of the Hurons even impressed the Onondagas, who were disposed to grant peace, and sent Council Chief Skandawati with an escort and fifteen Huron prisoners to the Huron council, to discuss peace. The Senecas and Mohawks objected to any peace proposals that did not mean complete surrender. The Hurons, however, hoping for peace, sent an embassy to the Onondagas, but it was attacked and some of the ambassadors killed. When Skandawati heard of this his heart was broken, for he had pledged his honor, and his kinsfolk had counted it as naught. He brooded over this affront and shortly after sought out a secluded place and plunged a knife into his own heart. Warrior though he was, after the fashion of the day, he would not stand for treachery, nor could he endure life when his honor had been sullied by the acts of his people.

The next year the Senecas attacked a Huron hunting party in which was one of the Onondaga hostages in charge of a prisoner. Instead of being grateful for release, when the Hurons were defeated, he demanded to be sent back with his charge, for, being an ambassador of peace, he said that he would sooner "die than to appear to have acted as their enemy." He was permitted to go his way unmolested. Such was honor among savages.

In July, 1648, the great Huron town of Teanaustate, the mission of St. Joseph, was attacked. A nearby village was also invested and in all seven hundred prisoners were taken by the Iroquois. More than four hundred families were wiped out, scattered or captured, and the splendid mission of Father Antoine Daniel ruined. But the end was not yet, for the cunning Iroquois had yet other plans. During that autumn they collected an army of one thousand warriors who leisurely hunted their way to the Huron domain, enduring the winter and hardening themselves by the rigorous life in the forest. On the 15th of March, 1648, they stealthily encircled the walls of Taenhatentaron, the mission of St. Ignace, and surveyed its strong stockade and deep moat; a weak spot was found and enlarged. Like phantoms, the Iroquois

forces entered the village and began the attack. Ten Iroquois were killed, four hundred Hurons fell and three escaped. It was a characteristic blow—swift, certain and conclusive. At sunrise the Iroquois had marched a league to the mission of St. Louis, a large fortified town, invested it and quickly defeated the eighty warriors who remained to defend it, for all others had fled with the horrifying news that the Iroquois were coming. The victors then went back to St. Ignace to rest and refresh themselves before attacking the Catholic mission building, but found it so strong and well defended that a fight must cost them many lives. The next morning three hundred Hurons who had rallied began an attack, but fear was in their marrow, and though the combat was furious and they held for a while, they fled as night came on. The Iroquois remained to torture the priests who were forced to witness many hideous atrocities. In the end the towns were burned and the inhabitants who had been captured were either killed or bound as captives to be led back to Iroquoia.

All Huron land was terrorized and five of the largest towns were utterly abandoned, the inhabitants fleeing here and there, eastward, northward and westward in search of some safe refuge. One Huron town, that of Scanonaenrat, voluntarily surrendered and asked to be incorporated with the Senecas, that they might be their allies, and, indeed, become Senecas. Their prayer was granted, and they were sent back to the Seneca domain with the assurance that their customs and religion—they were Roman Catholic converts—should be respected. Loyalty alone was demanded. Thus was the settlement of Chi-nos-hah-geh, which the French knew as Gandougarae, augmented by a great swarm of refugees. The Huron nation was now broken, dismayed and scattered. Its people poured into the villages of the Neutrals, the Eries, the Petuns, and even into the settlements of far distant foreign tribes. In 1649 the Petun, or Tobacco, nation fell, after one swift blow. While they were hunting the Iroquois, the Iroquois suddenly entered the Petun town, captured all its females and then burned the village before the warriors returned. Thus perished the town of Etharita, where the priests had their mission of St. Jean, and here was martyred at his post the faithful missionary, Charles Garnier. The Petuns had been outmaneuvered, and when they again sought their homes they found smoking ruins and their wives and daughters prisoners. Their agony and grief were ter-

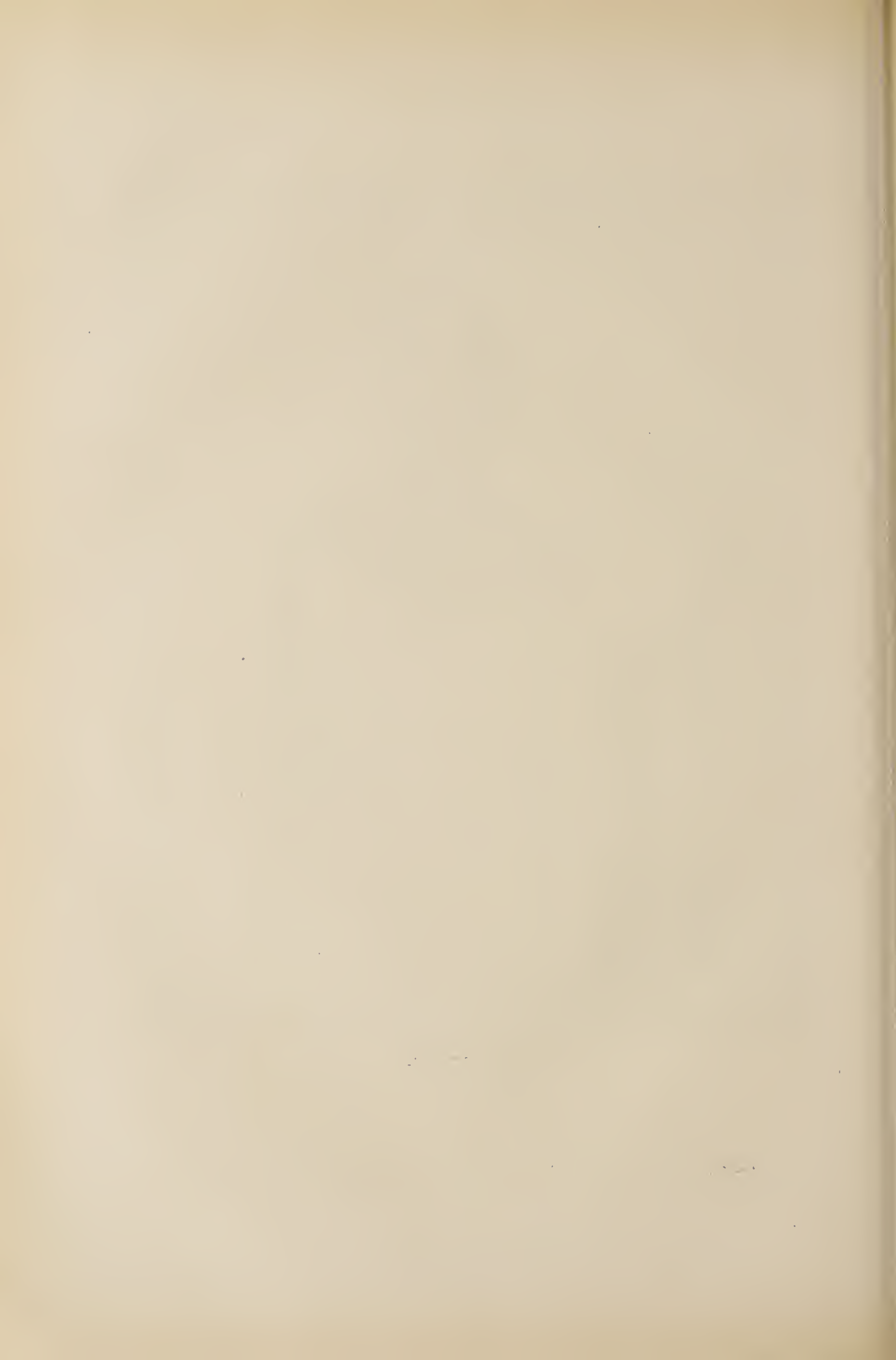
rible, but later they rallied and sought with other refugees to form another settlement. This was found on the isle of St. Joseph, where the broken tribesmen wintered, with famine and fear gnawing at their vitals. Spring came and the ice was about to break. Over this treacherous floor bands of Petuns and Hurons, together with Algonkian allies, crept, hoping to reach mainland where they might begin their fishing operations. Many broke through the ice, but the majority reached the shore where they divided into parties of eight and ten. They might have suspected that the Iroquois would seek them out, but hunger was a stern master. How should they know that their conquerors had an expedition waiting for them? Such was the case and all but one was killed. "My pen," wrote Ragueneau, "has no ink black enough to describe the fury of the Iroquois."

Under the leadership of the Jesuits an expedition was formed to take the survivors on to Quebec, where they would have the protection of the French garrisons. The party moved cautiously in canoes, finding on their way the ashes of numerous villages and towns and fortified camps of the conquering Five Nations war parties. The whole of Huronia was abandoned and not a town or mission remained by 1650. Scores of refugees sought abiding places, some among the Algonkian tribes and some even among the Andastes on the Susquehanna, while the outcasts of two large Huron villages petitioned the Senecas for peace and adoption, which were immediately granted upon the voluntary obligation of the petitioners to become Senecas in thought and obedience. The unreconciled who were fortunate enough to escape settled at Lorette, nine miles from Quebec, and today the village of New Lorette holds their descendants, who have totally forgotten their own language and speak only French patois.

The Huron Nation passed as a power, though small bands from time to time had their revenge, only to suffer retribution by another frightful Iroquois blow that sapped their numbers. With the Hurons out of the way, the French themselves now received military attention, and no French settlement or even fort was safe. During all this time the Neutral Nation or Attawendaronks had kept their peace, and this amid great difficulty and temptation, for the Hurons were closely akin to them; yet they offered no help one way or the other, save by extending refuge to Hurons who were homeless. The Iroquois cast suspicious eyes at the overflowing



KING HENDRICK
Noted Indian



Attawendaronk towns, looking for signs of Huron recuperation. In 1650 the Neutrals were accused of a breach of faith, upon grounds that appear rather flimsy when stated by their Jesuit friends. Apparently the Iroquois saw trouble brewing and wanted to nip it in the bud. So in the autumn of 1650, they made a swift and terrible attack, reducing one of the frontier towns garrisoned by sixteen hundred Neutral warriors and filled with women and children. The warriors were defeated and the women and young people led away into captivity. The next spring another town was attacked, with the same result, and soon every Neutral town was reduced and the population scattered, though it was probably as great as all the Five Nations. Hundreds and perhaps several thousands were made captives and settled among the Iroquois, to forget their national origin and to become Iroquois.

It was in this war that Jikonsaseh, the traditional Mother of Nations, was captured and carried away to the settlement on the Ganarqua (Mud Creek in East Bloomfield, Ontario County). Accordingly we are told that the Senecas became the guardians of the descendants of the first woman born on earth. Henceforth her posterity should be Senecas, and it is a notable fact that, as the name was transmitted from mother to daughter, it descended to the mother of Gen. Ely S. Parker and to his sister, Caroline, who became the wife of Chief John Mountpleasant, of the Tuscaroras, and whose home was but a mile from the site of the great peace village and sanctuary of the Neutral "queen" on the "mountain" above the Niagara. For two years the Senecas and their allies kept up their forays against the French and their Algonkian hordes, meeting general success, though their reverses were stunning at times. In 1653 they offered peace to the French and consummated a treaty, to the great relief of New France and her red supporters. Amazing as it may seem, the Mohawks now hunted and roamed in fraternal accord with the Algonkian bands, learning everything that they could as to conditions, policy and military strength. It was a shrewd ruse on the part of the sagacious Iroquois, for a game of death was to be played in another direction and *Frenchmen were not wanted as enemies*. Intimation of this new venture of the Iroquois, whom one would suppose, were tired of war, came in various ways. An Onondaga sachem at Montreal in an address related that his people were now to fall upon the

Eries and destroy them; and the Eries were the last of formidable enemies in the north country. They lay west of the Genesee from the mouth of the Cattaraugus westward along Lake Erie and southward beyond the Allegany. They had many towns and villages and a population of more than fourteen thousand, if early estimates are to be relied upon. This meant that they had between twenty-five hundred and four thousand men at arms. The Eries had many matters to discuss with the Senecas, their nearest neighbors, and about the year 1653 they sent thirty ambassadors to the Seneca town of Sonontouan³ to hold a conference. During this meeting one of the Eries murdered a Seneca. As this act occurred during an international council, it was construed by the haughty Senecas as an unpardonable insult, and twenty-five Erie ambassadors were slain, five escaping to return with the tragic tale. War was now inevitable, and, while the Senecas and their friends were powerful, the Eries were an even match for them, especially as they had with them several thousand Huron refugees eagerly awaiting an opportunity for revenge.

Erieland was on the alert and struck the first blows, cutting off the rearguard of a returning Seneca expedition and killing all of its eighty picked men, later attacking a Seneca town and burning it. Erie scouts, with great bravery, appeared at the very gates of another Iroquois village and captured Annenraes, one of the most respected and loved of the Onondaga chiefs. It was he who was captured by the Hurons in 1647, condemned to death and allowed to escape by the Huron chiefs. Crossing Lake Ontario by canoe he found eight hundred Senecas and Cayugas led by a band of three hundred Onondagas ready to make a quick crossing and revenge his death. His home-coming was like a miracle and there was great rejoicing. Now that the Eries had carried away their beloved chief, the rage of the Iroquois was kindled afresh, particularly as he was not told that any war had been declared. The old chief was taken to an Erie town and, in the absence of an old woman who had lost her son, was assigned to her, believing that she would adopt him and that he would then act as a peacemaker. When the matron returned, however, she was enraged at the idea of adopting a chief of her enemies and demanded that he be subjected to the torture. According to custom this was her right, and

³ The site of this famous town is at the bend of the Honeoye near Rochester Junction, Monroe county.

all the importunities of the chiefs could not dissuade her from the rash demand. Annenraes was hurried from the feast of adoption, stripped of his robes of honor and burned at the stake, crying out as the flames ate their way into his flesh, that by this act the Eries were burning their own nation, for his people would mete out a condign revenge. His words were prophetic.

It was not long before eighteen hundred Iroquois warriors were under way in war canoes. They landed in the domain of the Eries, carrying their canoes with them, for Erie territory was one of streams. At length the great town of Rique was reached. Where this was it is not easy to state, but from archeological evidence it may have been in the lower valley of the Cattaraugus—the easternmost settlement of the time. At any rate, from the Jesuit *Relations* we learn the details of the assault. Two Iroquois war captains were dressed in French uniforms and, leading their warriors to the Erie stockade, demanded a surrender. One of the chiefs even urged a surrender in gentle tones, to indicate that peace was preferable to war, and counseled the Eries to yield that they might live. “The Master of Life fights for us,” the chief called out to the Eries, “you will be ruined if you resist him.” “Who is this Master of Life?” mocked the Erie captain. “We acknowledge none but our arms and hatchets.” At this, the Iroquois, who had encircled the fort, rushed upon it, with their canoes as shields, and using them as scaling ladders. The Eries fought fiercely, sending forth great showers of poisoned arrows, but at last their walls were breached and the Onondagas, as the nation seeking first revenge, entered the town and wrought so terrible a carnage that the ground was knee deep in blood in the hollow places. A reinforcement of Eries, three hundred strong, appeared at daybreak and made a gesture of combat, but retreated in dismay as the Iroquois dashed to their feet with lusty war yells. The pursuit went on, no quarter asked or given. In one brilliant stroke the Erie Nation ceased to exist, but so great were the losses of the Iroquois that they spent the rest of the summer nursing their wounded and burying their dead. Hundreds of Eries voluntarily surrendered and pledged allegiance to the confederacy, and six hundred sought protection and were given immunity. While the Erie Nation was now only a memory, there is little doubt that under another name many of its people wandered into Ohio and even sought refuge among the Cherokees. It seems possible that

the Iroquois allowed the captives, who had voluntarily surrendered and plighted their word, to remain in little towns along the Cattaraugus, for archeological research has proven that there was a continuous occupation of this valley from that time, 1654-56, on until this very day. The old Seneca town of Cattaraugus may have had as the original nucleus of this settlement these Erie people. The whole valley in the neighborhood of the Sand Hill section of the Cattaraugus reservation shows evidence of prolonged occupation from remote, pre-Iroquoian times. When the Senecas left their Genesee homes, they came to the conquered land of the Eries and settled, finding refuge in the village of Cattaraugus and its environs.

After the downfall of the Eries, the Iroquois turned their attention to harassing the French settlements and raiding the refugee Hurons and their Algonkian friends. Complications even arose between the Senecas and Mohawks, who for a while were at the verge of war, but at a confederation council held at Onondaga July 24, 1656, the differences were settled by arbitration, but the Mohawks, never over-friendly with their allies, feared attack and asked the Dutch for protection if attacked by the Senecas, for they had trouble enough with the Andastes to the south who subjected them to great annoyance. In spite of their hostility, the French found it expedient to cultivate the friendship of the various Iroquois nations through the kind ministrations of the Catholic missionaries. It was a case where politics and religion were mixed, and, though the priests won many converts and made many friends, the French colonial officials were willing to capitalize this for military and political advantage, to the injury of the missionary fathers and the cause of Christianity. The Iroquois were at first pleased with the priests, but later began to distrust them as agents of New France. Soon all pretexts of peace were abandoned and war against the French was resumed.

The Senecas were active in their raids for ten years after the Erie war, and ceaseless in their attacks on French settlements; they sent war parties elsewhere also, against the Minisinks and the Andastes, generally called at this time the Minquas. Events now followed with surprising rapidity, and, so strange were the kaleidoscopic changes and readjustments, that it is only through great confusion that even a critical scholar can follow the treaties, the raids, the complications and ramifications of Iroquois warfare.

The Senecas were determined, among other things, to end the threat that the Andaste people (Conestogas, Minquas) afforded by their very existence. The Andastes had fought with Cayugas, with Mohawks, with Oneidas and with Onondagas, but could not be defeated, always managing to inflict a severe blow in retaliation for attacks. The Mohawks between 1650 and 1660 had fared badly in their Andaste war, and now the Senecas resolved to fight it out to a decision. An Iroquois war party had hovered about the great Andaste capital on the Susquehanna, just above Tioga Point, and twenty-five warriors who had entered with proposals of peace, though some authorities state that their mission was one of treachery, were burned on scaffolds that rose high above the palisades, permitting their friends to witness their punishment. For ten years the warfare continued, until in 1672 a party of sixty Senecas and Cayugas were attacked by sixty young Andastes and put to flight with losses. There was never any doubt as to Andaste bravery and daring, and for three years the Senecas fought them until finally, in 1675, the last of the mighty enemies of the Iroquois were subdued. They found refuge in the various Iroquois towns, particularly the Oneidas, but many were colonized in a little settlement on the Susquehanna where they were known as Conestogas. Those who wandered afar mingled with refugee Eries and bands of Senecas and Cayugas who were afield, and became known as Mingos.

All these wars, lasting as they did from 1630 to 1675, had cost the Iroquois thousands of lives. Indeed, they suffered so heavily that they had reduced themselves by nearly one-half, and yet, by their policy of adoption and naturalization, they probably had a greater population in their towns than when they began their onslaughts. The captives whom they adopted were generally well treated once they had proved beyond doubt that they were utterly loyal, but if there was any suspicion they were sometimes mistreated and even killed at the whim of their sponsors in the tribe. So far as Iroquoian blood was concerned, it still predominated, for the confederated Iroquois chose the best of their own linguistic stock. It must be noted, however, that the power behind the Iroquois was not the people themselves, *per se*, but in their dynamic ideals and moral force. Thus it was that we have evidence in the *Relation of 1660* that the Senecas were made up of eleven refugee nations and the Onondagas seven. These people were not asked to

fight against their own nations, but were expected to volunteer on war parties against any other nation. During the period of their first captivity, they did not enter into discussions of the councils, but, as they proved their integrity, some were made chiefs and their children were regarded as full fledged Iroquois.

With the defeat of the Andastes the Iroquois, particularly the Senecas, began to push their way southward down the Susquehanna in search of their enemies. This caused the settlers in Maryland much anxiety. It seemed as if the Senecas were everywhere, for distance and enemy barriers made little difference. We hear of them at Quebec and Montreal, planning raids on the Mississippi, and spreading terror through Maryland, though, when Governor Andros sought an adjustment, an amicable arrangement was made at the treaty in Albany.

During the year 1680 the Senecas determined to exterminate the Illinois and, by playing upon the jealousy of the Miamis, induced them to join them in an expedition. The French explorer, La Salle, was now in the land of the Illinois, for these people were allies of the French and the proprietors of a valuable peltry market. Tonti, his faithful retainer, had become separated from him, causing La Salle much anxiety, but Tonti was in the great town of the Illinois and witnessed the coming of the Senecas and their initial attack. He did what he could to bring about peace and to protect his allies, but was wounded in the attempt by the Senecas, who distrusted him. An Onondaga interposed on his behalf, for trouble was not wanted just now with the French, to whom they had promised peace. Tonti listened to the harangue of the Iroquois war chiefs, who ordered him to return home and promised that they would "not eat the Illinois." Tonti departed with great reluctance in a leaky canoe in which were two friars, Membre and Robourde. He had seen the Illinois abandon and burn their great village and flee down the river. The Iroquois quickly took possession of it and reenforced it with a stockade. Deprived of their victims, the Iroquois lashed themselves into a frenzy and tore the grave houses of the Illinois dead into shreds, mutilating all the corpses that they could find, and taking the skulls as decorations for their stockade. Then they pursued the Illinois down the river, following on the opposite bank, camping each night face to face with them. The Illinois fled to the mouth of the Illinois River and here divided their bands, some ascending the Mississippi and

others pushing westward, in the thought that, after all, the Senecas and their allies did not wish to destroy them, but drive them from their homeland. One tribe, the Tamaroas, foolishly decided to remain at the mouth of their river and were attacked, but quickly fled, leaving their women and children as victims to the rage of their enemies. Many were tortured and slain and hundreds were made captive and taken back to Iroquoia. The story of this terrible contest is vividly told by Parkman in *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*. Parkman located the site of the Illinois town near Utica, Illinois, and discovered many remains and relics of that occupation. The Illinois were thoroughly whipped, but not exterminated, and later returned to their ancient seats under the protection of the French, who built forts in strategic places among them. Nevertheless, the Senecas determined that war against the Illinois should go on, and forty-three chiefs at Montreal, in August, 1683, stood by while the Seneca delegates frankly proclaimed that "the Illinois must die," and De la Barre, the French commander, likewise listened in silence. He resolved to prepare to punish this insolence, and the next year he seized a Seneca ambassador and his escort, on the ground that the Senecas had seized a French boat full of goods. He then made elaborate preparations to equip an expedition to subdue that haughty nation. With his boats and nine hundred men he proceeded, landing at La Famine, on the Salmon River at its junction with Lake Ontario. Here many of his men fell sick with fever. A few Onondagas came to greet him, and their welcome was so characterized by sarcasm and mockery that De la Barre was furious when he understood its import. It was a stream of caustic eloquence that is scarcely equaled anywhere in the history of oratory. If the French came for peace, Garangula (Hotreauate), the orator, stated, why should they have come with so many warriors and weapons? The Iroquois knew what all this preparation really meant and "our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them and kept them back." Then referring to their onslaughts against the Indian allies of the French, Garangula explained that the Iroquois had merely captured a band that was carrying arms to use against them, and reminded the French that this was a legitimate precaution. He boldly proclaimed that the Iroquois would not be commanded to trade with any nation, but

make their own choice. "We are born free; we neither depend on Onnondio or Corlear.⁴ We may go where we please and carry with us whom we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your allies be your slaves, use *them* as such!" De la Barre returned to Canada, his expedition resulting in a scolding by an old Iroquois. Naturally this did not set well upon the French pride, and De la Barre welcomed the order of Louis XIV to capture a great number of Iroquois and send them to France as galley slaves. French Canada abandoned her Illinois allies now, and at this King Louis was not pleased, for it left a vast territory in the hands of the enemy, and De la Barre was recalled and Denonville sent in his place (1685). His orders were to assist the Illinois and to humble the Iroquois. When he had established himself he began to rule the colony with great vigor, winning the uniform respect of both *habitans* and natives. He was an organizer as well as a ruler, and soon measured his material. In May, 1687, he began to muster his troops at Quebec and then to build his batteaux. By the 13th of June his army was ready for its journey; and it set out from Montreal and landed on Irondequoit Bay July 10. With him were sixteen hundred experienced French soldiers, four hundred *habitans*, and nine hundred eighty-three Indian allies—a formidable military force. As a precaution a fort was built, being finished in two days' time. Here a guard of four hundred and forty men was left in charge of boats and provisions. Three days after landing, the party with reenforcements of Ottawa allies began the march to the Seneca towns, Gannagaro being the first objective. Three defiles were passed, and an attack made at the third by a force of Senecas. These were repulsed and on July 14th the French expedition was held on the battlefield until noon, when it advanced, crossed the lowlands and ascended the hill to the Seneca village, which they found burning and deserted. Here they encamped, sheltering themselves as best they could from a heavy rain storm. What a scene of tumult and tragedy it was! Here lay the charred and blackened village of Gannagaro, the greatest settlement of the Senecas. Most of its one hundred and thirty lodges were flame-eaten wrecks, and evidences of devastation were on every side. The inhabitants had fled into the woods to

⁴ Corlear is the Indian name for the governor of New York. It is derived from Van Curler, the Dutch commander at Albany.

the east, seeking refuge in smaller settlements or among the Cayugas. Many of the warriors fled to the stockaded hill a mile and a half across the valley to the west, but when attacked the next day fled in wild terror. Denonville's savages hunted down the old, the weak and the wounded, killing and scalping as they willed. It seemed as if all the enemies of the Senecas had come to witness their humiliation, for even seven Illinois appeared on the scene stripped naked and ready for blood. As for the French militia, they spent their time cutting down cornfields and breaking open corn cribs and public granaries. They determined that no food be left should the Senecas survive and return to Gannagaro.

Each of the four great villages was visited in turn and each pillaged and burned, all valuable utensils and food being destroyed. Denonville in his journal describes the immense quantity of corn, estimating that one million two hundred thousand bushels, new and old, were destroyed by fire. With Denonville were a number of Mohawks, among them the great chief, Kryn, and the grandfather of Chief Brant. These were not averse to killing their Seneca kinsfolk, for whom they never had great love. But, after all, the French and their red allies did not achieve their end, for the Senecas were not destroyed. This the savages who came with the French perceived with bitterness, for they had been cheated of their bloody ambition to kill every Seneca in the land of the Genesee. It was with disgust that they returned to their base on the bay of Irondequoit, and they were jeering the French as "corn cutters" instead of slayers of men. Still, the red allies bore away with them a good supply of scalps, and there were few whose knives were not red with blood. The Senecas suffered much, it is true, and their season's supply of food was gone, yet, like hornets whose nest has been crushed, the Senecas were in the woods and filled with a spirit of revenge. The French, they determined, should feel their sting, and in time New France knew that the Senecas could remember and strike back with vigor. Denonville took his expedition from Irondequoit to Niagara, where he built a fort which he garrisoned with one hundred men, that the country might be held in the name of France. He then returned to Quebec, taking the north shore of Lake Ontario. When the Senecas sullenly returned to their towns they found them in ashes. Gannagaro, Gannondata, Gandougaræ and Totiakton were but blood and cinders. All the Iroquois were alarmed, for it had been

demonstrated that their country could be invaded and destroyed. The Iroquois were matchless in attack when against the enemy, but scarcely knew how to defend their own homes against large forces equipped with firearms. Then they appealed to the English for protection. In November, 1687, the English King received the Five Nations as his subjects and hostilities against them were forbidden. It is to be doubted that any of the Iroquois knew what the term "subjects" meant. They held themselves independent, but reserved the right to act as allies and be considered as such. To have accepted the status as subjects even pressed by great distress was unthinkable to them.

Time has gone on and the stains of battle have been erased. The forest sprang up again and covered these ancient townsites. The Yankee settler cleared the land and laid out his farms and his villages. Then when the twentieth century had dawned the archaeologist with his spade and trowel came to uncover the buried evidences of Seneca occupation and material culture. All these old sites have been excavated and made to reveal their secrets. Frederick Houghton, George L. Tucker, Alvin H. Dewey, Samuel P. Moulthrop, Walter Cassabeer, Harrison C. Follett and other members of the New York State Archeological Association have sought for the buried history in these Seneca towns. The writer, with his friend, Everett R. Burmaster, has opened scores of ancient refuse pits and tombs in this Genesee Country. In 1919-20 Gannagora was explored and many beautiful specimens found, including three antler combs upon which were carved representations of the French and Dutch. The writer has spent many a week camping on these beautiful spots, and has dreamed the old scenes until it seemed as if he were living the old life again. Then to bring a rude awakening a high powered automobile would draw up at his tent and call attention to an aeroplane race passing by overhead.⁵ So has time wrought its changes.

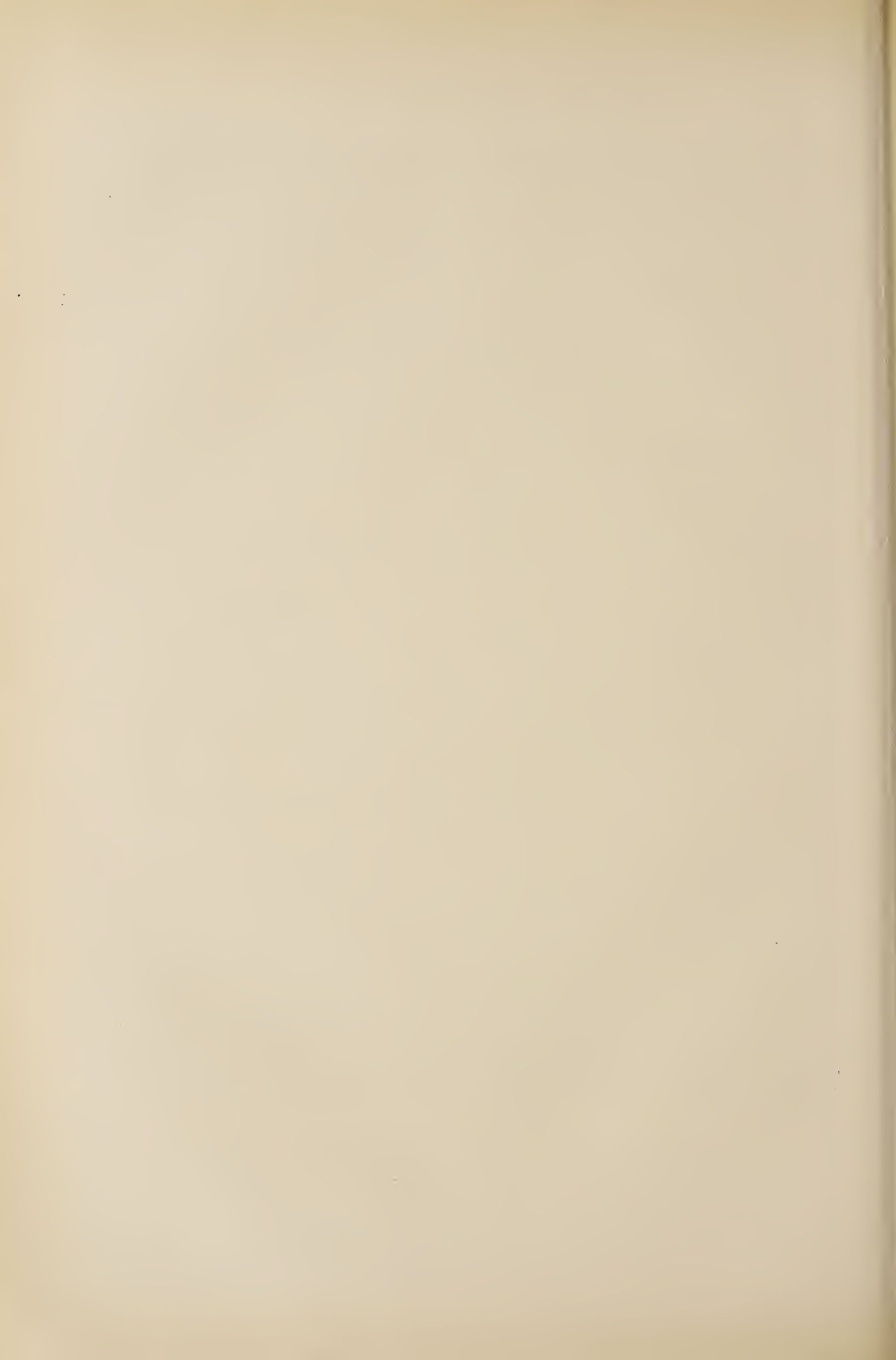
But the Senecas had other causes for which they sought revenge. It will be remembered that King Louis had requested that Iroquois captives be sent to France as galley slaves. Captives were sent as directed, and the French and their allies by many acts of treachery showed that they were determined to subdue the

⁵ This actually happened in 1920 when Mr. George K. Staples, Trustee of the Buffalo Historical Society, visited the expedition.

Iroquois. Stirred by these insults, the Iroquois drew together for revenge, raising the cry that there could be no peace until their enslaved brothers were freed. The bloody war of 1689 followed, and nine hundred Iroquois besieged Fort Frontenac, but did not take it. They then invested Montreal, capturing three or four hundred prisoner. In one battle lasting an hour they killed two hundred French soldiers and *habitans*. Later at Lachine fifteen hundred Iroquois ravished the country without opposition for two days. During November that year one hundred and fifty returned to Montreal, where they killed all in their path and took a small fort. It was in October that Frontenac returned with the galley slaves. The Iroquois ceased their hostility for a few months, for winter and a scourge of smallpox were upon them with all their attendant bitterness.

The years dragged on, bringing misery to the French and sapping the numbers of the Iroquois, who had no friends, save their conquered tributaries, in all the world. Yet the Senecas and their allies stoutly maintained their independence and superiority as a race. The English and their Dutch friends were now beginning to penetrate the Iroquois country and to spread their influence. Before this the Indians had generally come to Albany for their councils. By 1698 the English began to see what the French had long seen, the necessity of having forts and agents in every Iroquois canton, in some strategic position.

On April 21, 1699, Capt. John Schuyler, Capt John Bleeker, John Baptist VanEpps and Arnout Cornelisse Viele set out for Onondaga, as agents of the British interests, and reached the capital of the Iroquois on April 28. A council was held and the French wampum belts kicked out; the proposals of the English were accepted and the Iroquois agreed to come to Albany to carry on further discussions. They kept their word and at the Albany council of June 13, 1699, agreed that the English could build a fort in their midst and send a minister to them, that they might learn the religion of England. Thus ended the important events of the seventeenth century. The Iroquois were revenged and the English were established among them as their allies and protectors.



CHAPTER VI.

THE SENECA IN THEIR OWN HOME LAND.

BY ARTHUR CASWELL PARKER, M. S.

We cannot understand the position and power of the Genesee Country aborigines, the Senecas, unless we have some definite insight into the structure of the Iroquois Confederacy. To know the Senecas we must understand the greater group to which they belonged.

The Iroquois were a people with positive ideals. Indeed, the whole structure of their confederacy was based upon ideals, some of them faulty, it is true, and some of them with an amazing loftiness. So deeply did ideals affect the structure of the confederacy that it became an organization of grouped principles and customs, rather than an organization of blood-related tribesmen. In this lay the great moral strength of the Iroquois, as will be seen.

The nations were subdivided into clans, each with certain common clans. Where there were clans with different heraldic devices, these knew to what phratry they belonged when visiting brother nations. The Senecas had two phratries or grand divisions, grouped as follows: The right side of the fire, the Turtle, the Bear, the Wolf, the Beaver; the left side of the fire, the Deer, the Snipe, the Heron, the Hawk.

The first group was considered the superior one and the first three clans named were thought to be the oldest and original. Indeed, the Mohawks had no others. Each of these clans claimed to be the oldest and possessed of prior authority, though there was never any dispute about it and no animosity. Lewis H. Morgan gave the order of priority as Wolf, Bear, Turtle and Beaver, and in all his Iroquois lists the Wolf has first place.

The clan was the political family or, in other words, a group of matrilinear families, assumed to have sprung from a common female ancestress whose totemic or heraldic device has passed to

her descendants. The clan was the civil unit and was possessed of definite authority. The clan owned the property of its deceased members; it had the right to elect civil chiefs, and to depose them; it regarded an injury to any member, if inflicted by a person without the clan, as an injury to the whole clan; it had the right of adopting strangers and investing them with the rights and obligations of the clan; it buried its dead in its own burial plot; it had the right of convoking a clan council.

Certain groups of blood-related females in the clan had the right to nominate the civil chief when the office became vacant, but usually two candidates were selected upon which all members of the clan, both male and female, voted. Usually the choice of the principal matron or "name holder" was confirmed, not only by the clan itself, but by the national council. The duty of the civil chief was to concern himself with the internal civil affairs of the clan, to conserve its traditions, to uphold its rights and dignity, and to execute the orders of his clan council, and also to sit as a member of the national council, and to represent, with his brother chiefs, his nation in the Confederated Council of the League.

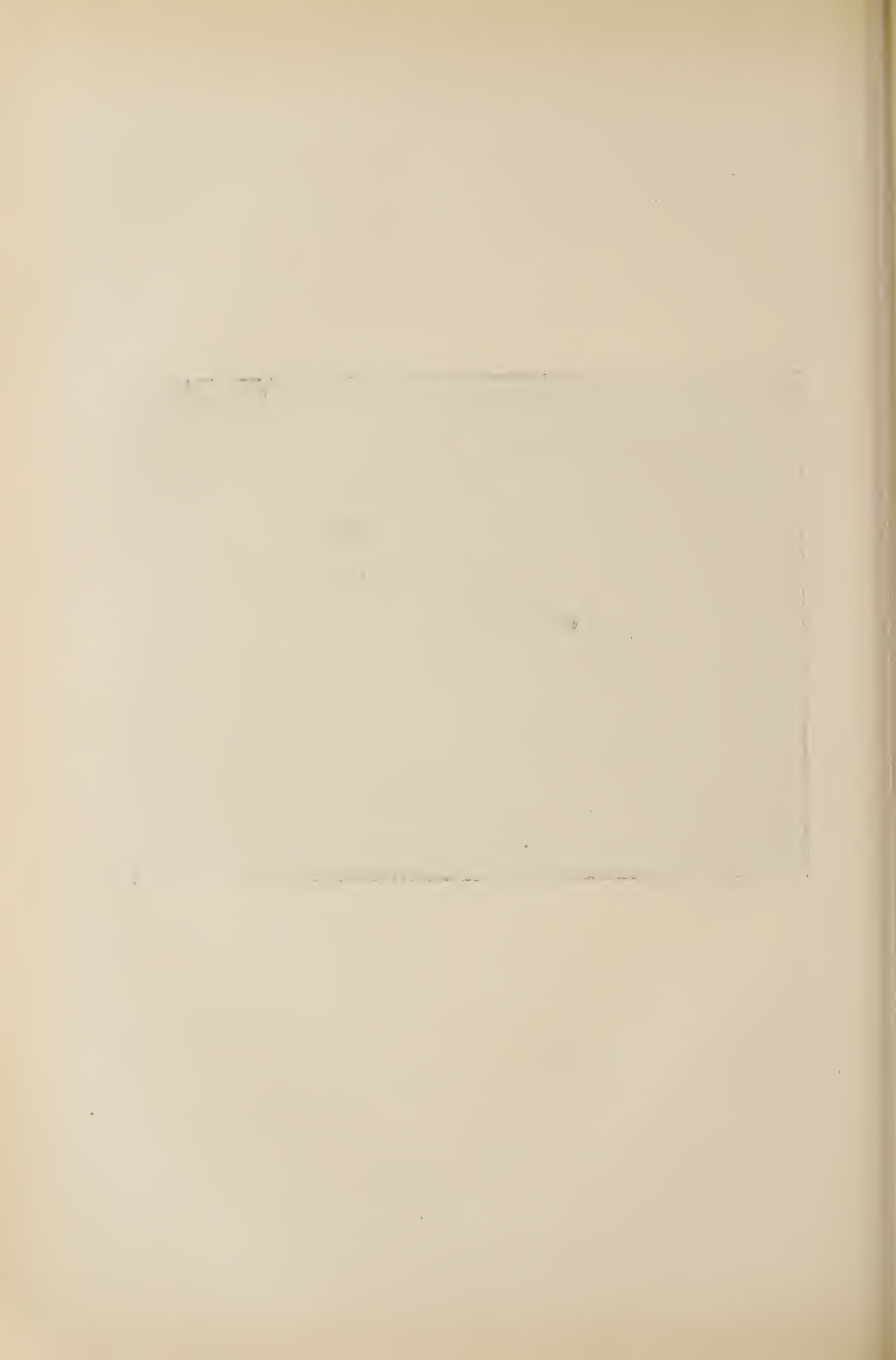
A clansman or clanswoman was obligated to marry a member belonging to another clan. Thus, a Wolf was forbidden marriage with a Wolf, but must mate with a Bear or other clan member. In this manner clan interests were interlinked, and the clan perpetuated through the mother lines. The children took the clan of their mother. Thus, the son of a civil chief did not inherit his father's position and title, since the son was not of his father's clan. This son, if possessed of ability and if his mother belonged to the group entitled to bestow a nomination, might also become a sachem by the election of his own clan, but his office was never an inheritance from his father.

In the matter of property inheritance, the children received, under the sanction of the clan, what had belonged to their mother, though to other blood-related clansfolk were apportioned some of the goods. Children did not inherit their father's property, and even the widow could not claim anything that had belonged to her husband. It went to the husband's mother, sisters and other kin and clans-people.

Within the clan were certain official nameholders, and also minor nameholders. These were matrons who received into their



INTERIOR OF INDIAN HOUSE



keeping the names of deceased clan members. When a child was born its name was chosen from a list of clan names. The name could be only an authorized clan name; it could not be the name of any other living person. The name bestowed had nothing to do with the personality of the child or adult, nor was it in any manner descriptive of him or of his experiences. When the child had grown to the age of puberty, a new clan name was given in one of the two festival councils. Then should the person be elected to some official clan position, through the death, deposition or resignation of the former incumbent, the official name was bestowed.

The right of naming its members was rigidly held by the clan, and the ceremony of naming was well established. It will be seen that, as names were a clan possession, the individual, as such, was accorded little recognition; his identity was merged in the communal interests of the clan. Names might even be taken away from a mature adult because the clan saw that an honored title had been sullied or might become so, or because the individual had failed to perform the functions of the office which was the right of the name.

The names of the eight Seneca civil chiefs or rulers¹ are as follows: 1, Ga-ne-o-di-yo, HANDSOME LAKE, *Wolf Clan*; 2, Sa-da-ga-o-yase, LEVEL HEAVENS, *Snipe Clan*; 3, Ga-no-gi-e, HE THREATENS, *Turtle Clan*; 4, Sa-geh-jo-wa, GREAT FOREHEAD, *Hawk Clan*; 5, Sa-de-a-no-wus, HE HELPS TO HOLD, *Bear Clan*; 6, Nis-ha-ne-a-nent, FALLING DAY, *Snipe Clan*; 7, Ga-no-go-e-da-we, HAIR BURNED OFF, *Snipe Clan*; 8, Do-ne-ho-ga-weh, OPEN DOOR, *Wolf Clan*.

The authorized war chiefs of the league were Senecas and entitled to a seat in the Confederate Council, and though they had a voice they had but one vote, and that only in case war were proposed by the league itself. Their names were Ta-wan-ne-ahs, AWL BREAKER, *Wolf Clan*; and So-no-so-wa, GREAT OYSTER, *Turtle Clan*.

Several things of interest should be noted here, among them that each clan was not entitled to a civil chief, some clans, as the Wolf and Snipe, having two or more each, also that the name was employed merely as a name, and its literal meaning had nothing

¹ Taken from Morgan's League of the Iroquois. No attempt is made to record these names in the accepted scientific spelling, the older orthography of historical works being retained.

to do with the individual's personality or office. We of today smile at the strange sounding Indian names, forgetting that if we translated our own they would be equally absurd. Indeed, the Senecas themselves in endeavoring to translate European names are frequently amused, and yet from their own customs realize that such names as Longfellow, Greenleaf, Younghusband, Smith; Carpenter, Black, Blue, Green, etc., have nothing but appellative application and value. They gave no more thought to the literal meaning of their names than do Europeans of today.

In common with other nations of the Iroquois, and indeed, the whole Huron-Iroquois family, the Senecas had long lists of clan names of several classes, and so familiar were they with the type of name or its allusion that no well versed Iroquois had any difficulty in knowing to what clan a person belonged, once his name was known. The only possible difficulty arose when some clan matron adopted a child and gave it a clan adoption and care. The name then temporarily went into the adopting clan, as it did with Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, who, when a child, though born a Wolf, was adopted by the Turtles and reared by them. The clan from which the person dimitted, if it concurred, placed the wampum necklace in the hands of the adopting clan matron, trusting in her honor, or that of her successor, to return it when the person died. When Handsome Lake, the prophet, died, his wampum necklace (ceremonially called "horns of office") was lifted from his coffin, not by the Wolves entitled to it, but by the Turtles, who thus retained the name and transmitted it by "raising up," i. e., electing a successor to the name.

The clan, as well as the nation, enforced its customs and edicts by social pressure, and woe to any tribesman who offended by his practices or behavior any of the laws of custom or the edicts of council. There were no jails, no marshals or police; the law of behavior was enforced by means of ostracism and by subtle persecution. Anxious to retain position, respect and the love of his fellows, the offender soon mended his ways before some irate warrior slew him as an enemy of society. Indeed, any person might kill or maim an offender of tribal customs who had been held up to public odium. Even a chief might be slain after the women had given him three warnings; the fourth warning was the death cry of his punisher. Such executions were not to be revenged. In this manner the integrity of the tribe and nation was preserved;



INDIAN MASKS



it was kept uniform by eliminating the irregular. Such was the primitive jurisprudence of the Genesee Country; even then it was a land where obedience to the law was held a sacred obligation.

Among the Senecas, as among all the Five Nations, there were many ceremonial associations. Some of these were well known to the public and others performed their rites alone and in secret. Many of the societies and companies held public rites on the occasion of the midwinter thanksgiving and performed their magical rites for the benefit of the populace. Each association claimed to hold the magical means by which certain spirits or forces of nature might be invoked and induced to come to the aid of man. Certain societies possessed charms and fetiches which were employed at regular intervals. The rites of these organizations were in honor of their guardian spirits or heroes. No person was ever asked to join; all came of their own free will and accord and were initiated when they had been found well qualified and worthy.

Among the well known associations were: The Company of Bears, The Company of Otters, The Sisters of the Sustainers of Life, Talkers With the Spirits, The False Face Company, The Society of the Great Sharp Point (Mystic Animals), and several others, fourteen in all, including the Ancient Guards of the Mystic Potence, sometimes called the Little Water Company or Grand Medicine Lodge. This last named society has received considerable prominence due to its alleged similarity in some ways to the Masonic rites. Its ceremony has three sections performed in total darkness, and the mysterious spirits of the animals who founded it are supposed to return and make their presence seen and felt in the gloom of the incense-filled room. The hero of this society was slain by enemies who demanded the secret of his power. The creatures of the forest whom he befriended, finding him, sacrificed their lives that the life essence of their beings might enter the body of the slain hero and give him new life. This done, those who remained behind to help composed their ritual and chanted it until it entered the sub-conscious mind of the hero. Then the Bear stood at his feet and grasped his hand, raising him to life.²

In this ceremony the rushing sound of the cataract is simulated by the shaking of gourd rattles, while the story of the rite is chanted in unison by the members. When morning comes, the

² A fuller account of these ceremonies is contained in the "Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet," State Museum Bulletin 163.

society is given portions of the feast for breakfast and depart with their pails of food.

Fraternities and ceremonial associations did much to knit the clans, tribes and confederacy into a cohesive whole, but the influence of sports and games must not be overlooked. There were many popular games and all who possessed physical vigor entered into them with eagerness. The Senecas loved their games and out-of-door sports, for they were assured that these games were pleasing to the Great Ruler and that he enjoined the Sun to tarry to watch the happiness of the people and the skill of the players.

Among the favorite games were lacrosse, crotch and crook-stick, hoop and javelin, rolling stone game, and archery during the warm season, and snow-shoeing races, football, shinney, ice ball, snow snake and whipping top during the winter. Foot races were always popular. The gambling games, as platter dice, were usually played in winter. The moccasin and jackstraw games were sometimes played for amusement. Besides there were many minor children's games and pastimes. Games of skill as well as pure gambling games were often played by one phratry, or one clan, against the other, while lacrosse, racing and archery were sometimes used as inter-tribal games. There are many references in the documentary histories of the Genesee Country to Indian games and their influence. One of the most terrible was the gauntlet which preceded an adoption, and we have the examples of Horatio Jones and Van Campen as gauntlet runners who won out.

In addition to games were numerous dances of an orderly nature, which took place upon call of the dance leaders in the long-house or on a suitable green. Morgan shows that there were fourteen dances in which men and women both participated, seven for females alone and eleven for men. In only one dance, that of the "joined hands," in honor of the bean vines, did a person of one sex touch the other, but even this was discontinued by order of the religious leaders, who thought that it might lead strange men to tear the rings from the fingers of their dancing partners. Among the most popular dances were the pigeon dance, the trotting dance, the fish dance and the joined hands. The women were fond of the shuffle dances, in which nimbleness of foot and grace of gesture revealed skill and rhythm, while the men for excitement liked the war dance, the eagle dance, and the stick striking

dance. After the dances favorite foods were doled out and either eaten on the spot or carried home. All the dances were regulated by feastmakers or officers of ceremony. It was not for them to command or to exercise arbitrary authority, but to regulate and to see that the requirements and taboos were not infringed. In this, as in all Iroquoian affairs, what a group of people wanted became the thing to do, always providing it was a legal desire, sanctioned by custom.

The Senecas were not a taciturn people, but, on the other hand, a people who were fond of being thrilled and excited. They were fond of humor and jokes, and life in a Seneca town was lightened by the telling of humorous tales and the playing of good-natured practical jokes. When a stranger appeared, however, all was suppressed and the women moved with decorum, the children were shy and the warriors bore themselves with august dignity, not a smile appearing, though they might be bursting with internal laughter at the perplexity of the stranger. This is one of the principal reasons why most historians say that the Indians were taciturn, gloomy and given to austerity.

The truth is that the Senecas were given to jesting and even punning. Many of their jokes were based upon absurd hyperboles, not dissimilar to those that cause us to smile even now. Sarcasm and taunts were reserved for public speeches and for games. It was customary for friends to joke with one another, but no person should joke with his mother-in-law, or any elderly blood relative. There were even ceremonial dances where, between each dance, a man would step from the lines and tell a comical story about a dancer on the other side of the line, at the same time presenting a gift of food, a trinket, a packet of tobacco or ball of maple sugar, to the common store, in order that no offense might be taken. Some years ago at the Cattaraugus mid-winter festival the writer witnessed one of these "strike pole" joking dances. A Bear clansman arose and, striking the pole, commenced his tale. "I was out hunting," he began. "I walked along the creek, when suddenly I saw a big brave man chasing a rabbit. On he ran until the creek took a quick turn around the cliff. The rabbit quickly darted into his hole, and when this big brave man, whom I will now reveal was my friend, Chief Big Kettle, rounded the turn, he saw a big dog standing on his hind legs. The dog looked at him and let out a big howl. Big Kettle

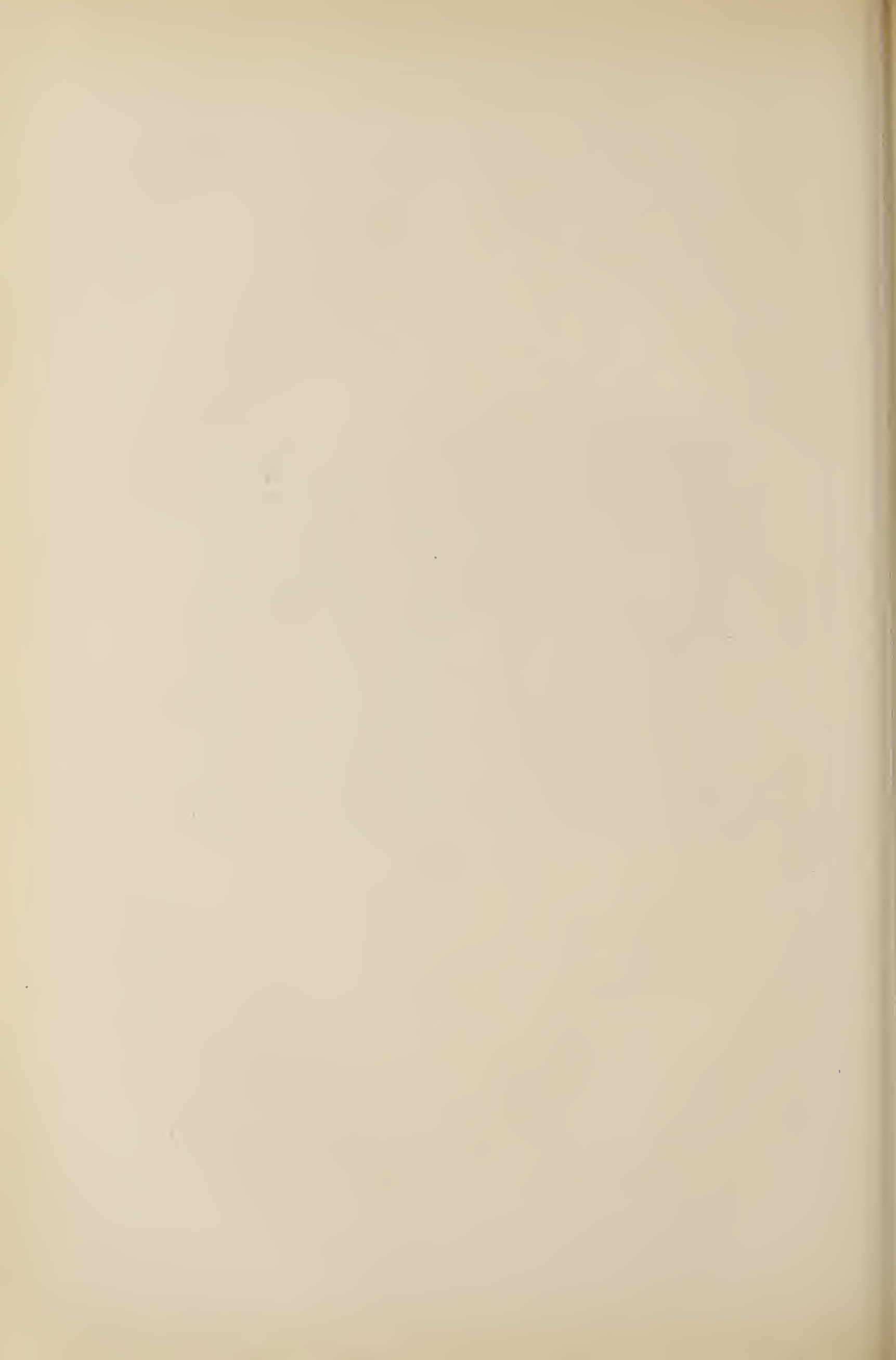
thought that the rabbit had turned into a gigantic monster and stopped short, frozen to the spot with fear. His hair rose on end so that his hat stuck up about six spans from the top of his head. Now the rabbit, fearing that the dog would catch him, gave a leap and landed in Big Kettle's hair, and the dog, thinking some one had thrown a rock at it, turned and ran off. Kettle now went home, not knowing that he had any extra animals in his head. His hair came down again and his cap fitted down over his ears. It was dinner time and he drew up to the table, where his wife had a big pan of soup. Suddenly he remembered that he had his hat on and took it off. As he did so the little rabbit fell out and into the soup. His wife looked at him with astonishment and said, 'My husband, you astound me. Why is it necessary for you to go hunting when you can look under your nails for rabbits and partridge? But I do wish you would skin and dress your game before you put it into the soup.' "

At this the whole company hurst into a roar of laughter, jeering Big Kettle with a series of "Ho-hohs." The Bear clansman then presented the feast basket with a bag of crackers and the dance was renewed. At its close, Chief Kettle took the stick and struck the pole, signifying that he wanted to make a speech. "It is true," said he, "that I am a great magician and can conjure rabbits and deer and bears from my head by just thinking about them, but you have been deceived as to the manner in which I do it. I have strong thoughts in my head. This is not so with my Bear Clan cousin. He is a Bear and has also a heavy head of hair. He, too, is full of something. You will notice that he likes honey. I once saw him sleeping under a tree, being attracted to him by a strange buzzing which I thought at first was the sound of snoring. Looking closer, I saw that his mouth was open and that a great swarm of bees was going in and out his mouth. It was wonderful to behold this strange sight. Then to my great surprise a black walnut fell down and hit him on the head and it returned a hollow sound. Then I knew why the bees had attempted to make a hive in it."

The company laughed again and the Bear clansman put a cake of sugar in the common basket. And so the dance went on until all had told their tales. Then the master of the dance arose and made a speech, asking that every one take the jokes in the spirit



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in which they were told and not to be offended. The presents were then divided and the big cauldron of corn soup distributed.

The Seneca had all the common desires so fundamental in the human race. He loved his children, wanted a happy home, desired to exercise the powers within him and to rank well among his fellows. To attain his hopes he knew the value of industry. Life and safety, he early discovered, depended upon a settled life and upon an abundance of food. Hunting was a precarious business, and thus the Seneca learned to cultivate fields of food plants.

The principal garden produce consisted of corn, beans, squashes, melons, tobacco and sunflowers. These were grown near the villages in extensive communal fields, in which all clanswomen were required to work under the direction of a field matron, who ordered the work and supervised the singing and rest periods, when games were played or stories told. The men did the first rough work of clearing and burning, the women did the cultivating. Under the conditions of the times it was a just division of labor. The products of the communal fields were stored in clan granaries and pits, but any individual might have his own garden plot and reserve its fruits for himself, always providing that a hungry clansman might take what he needed for immediate purposes, if he announced the fact. Otherwise to take from a neighbor's garden was regarded as thievery.

The Senecas had more than a dozen varieties of corn, and cultivated them with great care, even understanding that varieties planted too closely together would "visit and establish colonies" on the cobs of their neighbors. They had several varieties of squashes and melons and ten or more varieties of beans, all in pre-colonial times. They grew sunflowers for the oil which they expressed from the seeds and used as their butter. There were many wild foods which needed no cultivation and were gathered in great quantities. These included pond lily roots, cat-tail roots, artichoke tubers, wild leek, mushrooms, and many varieties of nuts and berries.

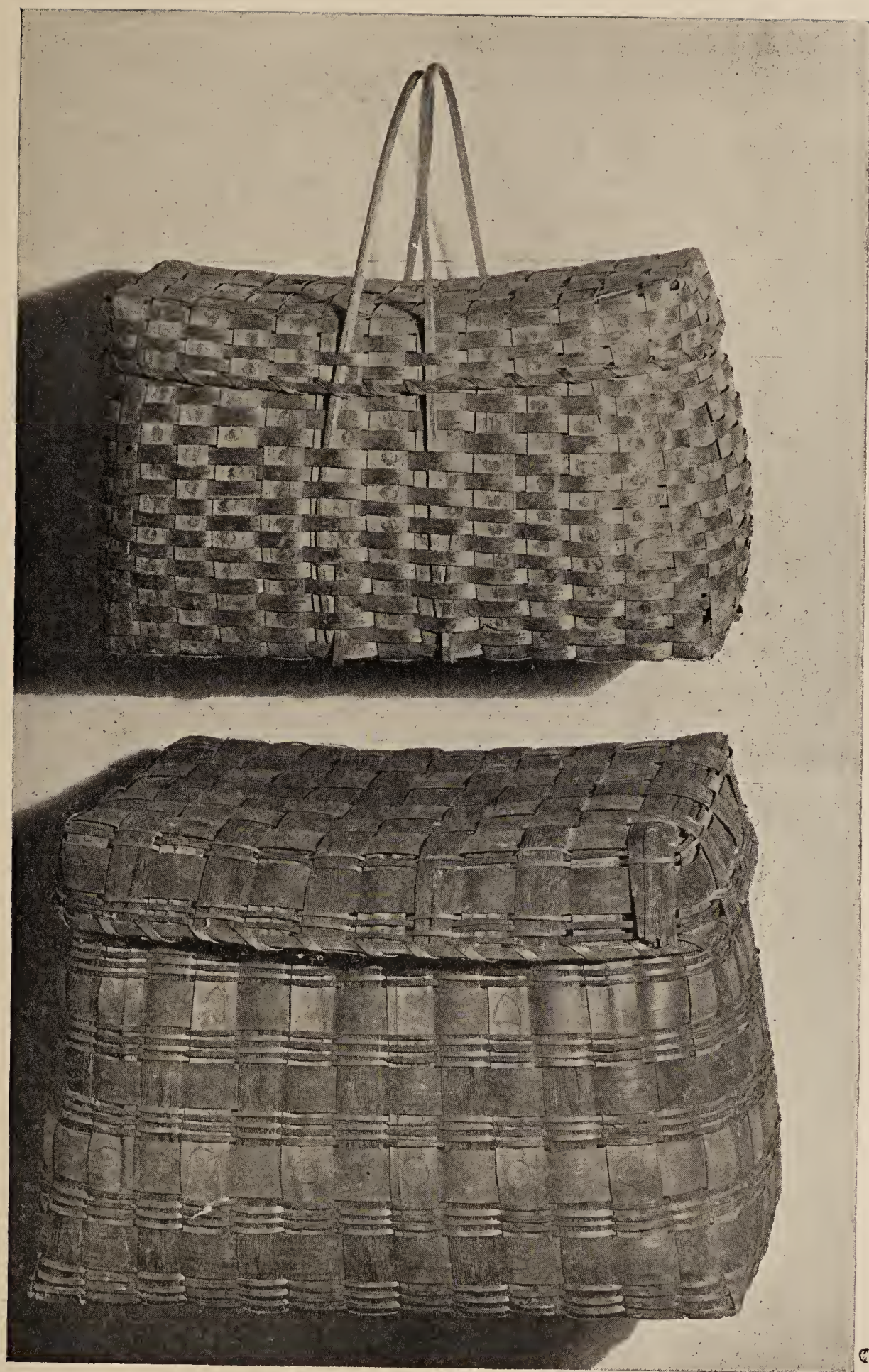
The Seneca woman knew of many ways of preparing her vegetable dishes, and corn was prepared in a score of palatable ways. There were corn soup, gruel, hominy, samp, hulled corn, corn bread, corn pudding and parched corn meal. These corn foods were mixed with beans and berries, nuts, nut and sunflower oil. Iroquois corn culture was a well developed thing, and it exer-

cised a marked influence on their social and economic life. It induced industry and thrift and was largely responsible for their sedentary village life.

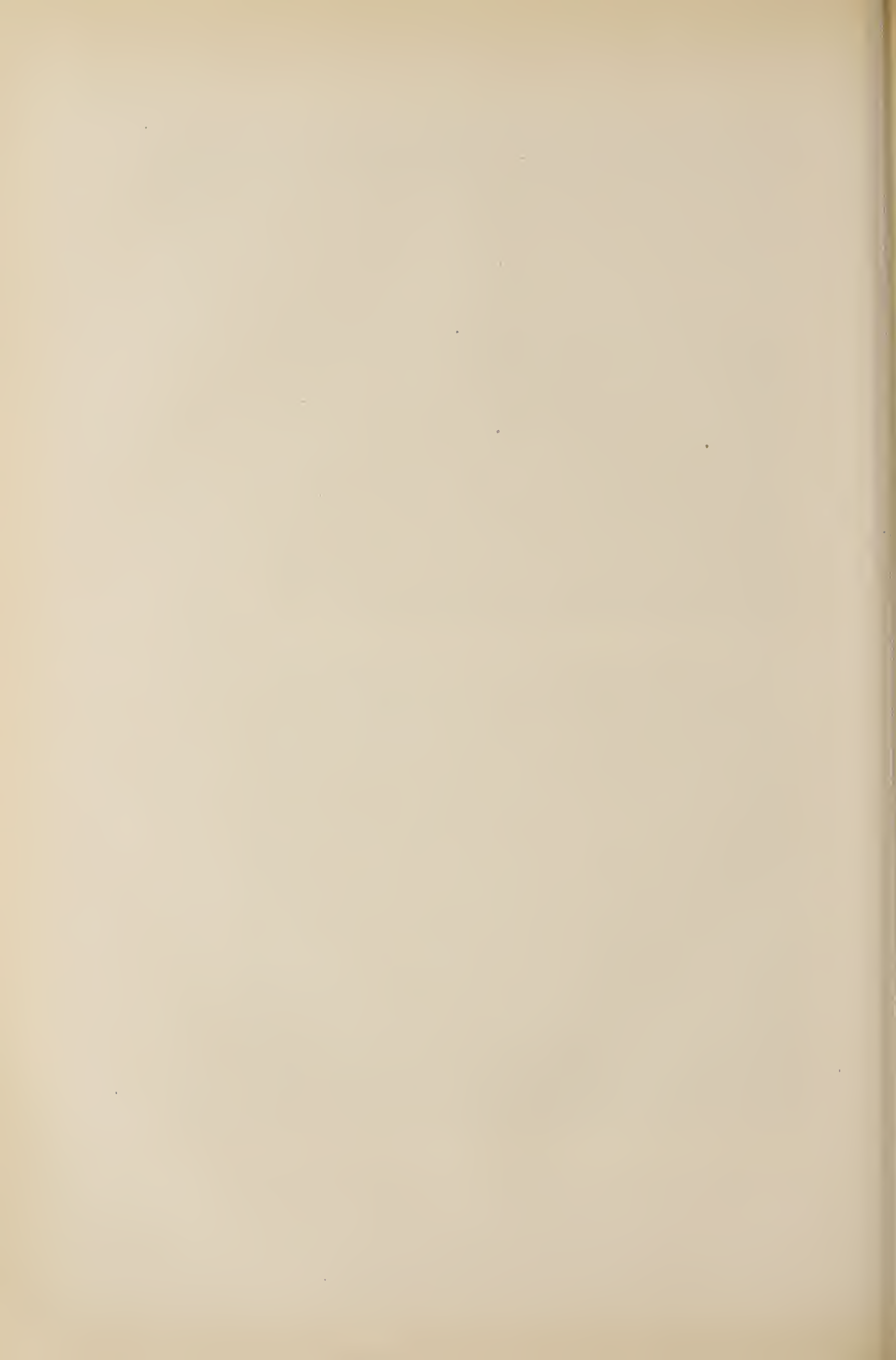
So vital were the fields to the Seneca people, and so largely did their whole life depend upon agriculture, that when the French punitive expeditions desired to harass the Senecas they would swoop down upon them and destroy their cornfields and burn their storehouses.³

Seneca villages were collections of bark lodges, together with storehouses and other outer buildings. Houses were built on frameworks of poles and small tree trunks, covered with the bark of the elm, basswood or hemlock. The elm bark lodge was considered best. Great sheets of bark were removed from the trees during late May and up to mid-July and preserved or used immediately for covering purposes. These were tied to the framework of the lodge, not up and down, but with the grain of the bark running horizontally. This insured a long enough stretch to permit the fastening poles to hold the bark in place; besides, if the bark were hung up the natural way of the grain, it had a tendency to curl up, but when hung sideways it straightened out flat. Bark lodges were from twelve to eighteen feet high and from about eighteen feet to two hundred in length, depending upon the character of the structure. On either side of the interior were long bunks arranged like the upper and lower beds in a sleeping car. They were stationary, of course. The lower bunks or seats were used as lounging places during the day and the upper platforms as storage places for dishes, dried food, pelts and other portable property. The lower platforms or bunks could be curtained off so as to give privacy to the sleepers at night. Through the middle of the lodge ran a long hallway, in the center of which were the family fires at intervals, so arranged that one fire served a set of four compartments. The smoke escaped through a hole in the roof, the draft being regulated by opening or closing one of the doors at the extremities of the lodge. On the supporting timbers rested long poles that hung just over the line of the upper platforms. Upon these were suspended numerous braids of trussed corn, hanks of herbs, dried pumpkins and squashes, and occasionally bunches of dried tobacco, still on the stalk. Each com-

³ For a general treatise on Iroquois agriculture and foods, see *Iroquois Uses of Maize and other Food Plants*, by A. C. Parker, Bulletin 144, New York State Museum.



STOCKBRIDGE BASKETS



partment was a sacred place and not to be violated by the inquisitiveness of another. The space beneath the lower beds was sometimes boxed in, making a storage vault below. In this were kept special treasures and personal stores. For any one but the owner to pry into these was an offense of the gravest sort. Thus, while the Senecas lived in a communal way, they still had private ownership and privacy.

Children were greatly loved and they swarmed in the villages. The coming of a child was a time of gladness, and girls were as welcome as boys, since the female occupied an honored place among the Senecas. Nevertheless, each family had only as many children as they could properly care for, which was seldom more than three. If there were more or they became orphaned, they were placed in the care of those who had few children or none. It was the rule that the control of life should be in the hands of the women and they deemed it best to bear children only when the last child was able to walk and in a measure care for himself, which was at the age of four or five. By this method every baby had its mother's undivided attention, a most necessary thing under the conditions of life in which they lived.

Children were trained by their elders in such a manner that they learned by experience rather than by admonition. They would be told that to play in the fire would cause the fire demons to bite them. The child might test this statement and find it true, but he did not do so because some one had said, "Don't do that." When children grew up to the age of twelve they were placed under the leadership of certain elderly persons for instruction. It was a primitive Boy Scout system of development. Girls clung more closely to their mothers, but even they had their associates.

The houses and land belonged to the women as a rule, for the right of occupation descended in the mother line. This gave Iroquois women great advantage over the men in many ways. So important was an Iroquois woman that, when captured by the enemy, it required twice the ransom to redeem her than it did a man. Domestic life was controlled by the women and they were regarded as the heads of the household; the men were only the meat providers and the defenders. The women were the mistresses of the vegetable supplies, and they harvested the produce of the fields, but to the men fell the arduous task of bringing in the flesh of the forest. This was no easy task, since it entailed

carrying heavy burdens for great distances. Explorers and missionaries have left us the record that the hunters frequently became injured and worn out with their heavy tasks, and that they frequently died of exhaustion on the trails. Hunting and fishing in those days was not a sport or a pastime, but an arduous business fraught with danger and uncertainty. Enemies prowled the forests, seeking to catch unwary hunting parties, when they did not dare attack defended villages. It was thus necessary for men to rest upon their arms continually in order to preserve their villages from sudden attack.

Religion played an important part in the life of the Seneca people. One might conclude that religion pervaded everything and regulated the habits of the people almost completely. Most of their customs and their daily behavior were controlled by religious beliefs. There were numerous observances and ceremonies, all of which were deemed essential, but religious freedom was basic. So long as one did not violate the fundamental taboos—things forbidden by long standing custom—he might worship as he wished and call upon his own particular gods in his own way. The Iroquois never waged war over matters of religion or to compel people to believe as they did, neither did they ever torture their captives in order to force them to acknowledge the gods of their pantheon.

The Iroquois, like the Greeks, had many gods, but these were regarded more as unseen celestial beings belonging to the primal order. It has been said that the Iroquois did not have a principal god until after the coming of the Jesuits, who gave them the idea, and this may be true, but it is also true that their gods ranked in importance, some being under the direction of others in the capacity of agents or subordinates.

The chief of the god-beings was Earth Holder (Tehaohwen-jaiwahkonh). He ruled the sky-world and lived in a great white lodge beneath the spreading branches of the celestial tree in the middle of the heavens. His wife was the Great Mother, called Yagentji, whom the Jesuits said the Hurons called Ataentsic. In her curiosity to see what was beneath the roots of the celestial tree, she caused it to be uprooted, to the great wrath of her husband, who pushed her down into the hole through the sky made by the root cavity of the tree. Down she fell and was received on the interlaced wings of the water birds. The primal turtle rose from

the sea beneath and a muskrat diving to the bottom of the ocean brought up a bit of earth which he deposited on the turtle's shell, causing it to grow large enough to receive the woman. The turtle grew and the earth increased until a large growing island was formed. The sky-woman brought life with her and shortly gave birth to a daughter, who immediately grew to maturity and began to help her mother. The daughter explored the island each day, and upon a certain occasion while swinging on a vine she was married to an unseen lover. In due season she gave birth to two boys, one of whom caused her death. The sky-woman had the elder boy bury his mother and watch over her grave. Indeed, she required him to do much work, and petted the younger boy as a favorite. The elder boy was known as the Light One, or Good Mind, and the younger as the Dark One, or Evil Mind. Good Mind watched his mother's grave and watered it as directed. From the soil over her breasts sprang the maize plant, giving sweet milk from its kernels for the nourishment of her children. From her body sprang the squash, from her fingers the bean plant, from her head the tobacco plant, and from her toes the artichokes and other edible tubers.

It was not long before Good Mind sought his father, and after a long and perilous journey over the eastern sea found him on a mountain top. He was put to tests by which he was compelled to overcome whirlwinds, flames, great falling rock masses and the current of the cataract. The great shining being at the mountain top then acknowledged him as his son and announced, "I am your father." The being was the Sun.

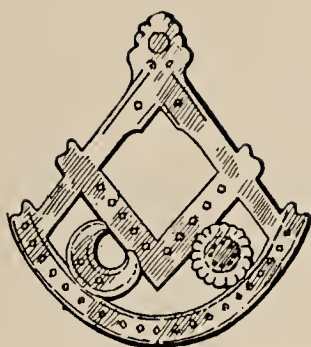
Here is a beautiful allegory in which the Seneca was taught that life came to earth from celestial realms, that to be good-minded one must labor, that the seed dies in giving life to the living plant and that through trials and victory over obstacles and temptation man finds his supreme father.

When Good Mind returned he brought with him pouches filled with all manner of birds, fish, mammals and plants. These escaped from the bags at the proper time and became the progenitors of the living things of earth. The myth goes on to tell us that Good Mind and Evil Mind had a contest, in which, by betrayal of confidence, Evil Mind sought to slay Good Mind, but failed. Evil Mind was then banished to the under-earth world and took with him his evil creatures. Good Mind created human beings out of

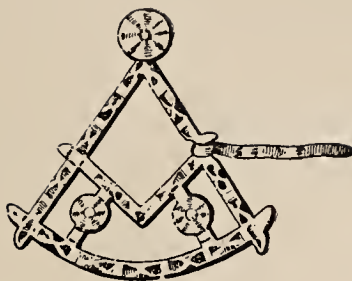
the reflection of himself which he saw in a pool of water, molding this reflection into the clay in human form. He then became invisible and returned to the heaven-world over a celestial path formed by a ray of light, his grandmother, the sky-woman, going with him. This beneficent earth-god was called by the Seneca, Thahonhiawah-kon, but he is mentioned in the literature of the Jesuit fathers, who wrote on the mythology of the Hurons, as Iousheha. He is also called Hahnigoio, and his evil brother Hahnegoetga.

Other gods were the Whirlwind and the Thunderer, but there were also gods of dreams, of death, and of other natural forces. These were conceived rather as spirits who might be propitiated and honored, but who had no creative power other than certain magical power to transform things. The Sun was chief among the spirits of nature, the Moon governed the night, the Morning Star heralded the day, the Zephyr brought health, and the Spirits of Sustenance made the food plants grow. Wonderful beings inhabited the air and the forest, and, likewise, there were malignant monsters with frightful powers for evil. In the sky dwelt Ohshadahgea, the Cloud Land Eagle, always ready to do good and to rescue the perishing. The dew-pool rested between his shoulders, and when the rain did not fall he gave drink to the thirsty plants. Under the water dwelt the Horned Snake, who, while a magical creature, committed no evil other than to appear in human form to woo and lure away unsuspecting maidens to his underwater caves. The Horned Snakes loved human wives, but the Thunderer hated the whole tribe of Horned Snakes and fought them whenever they appeared.

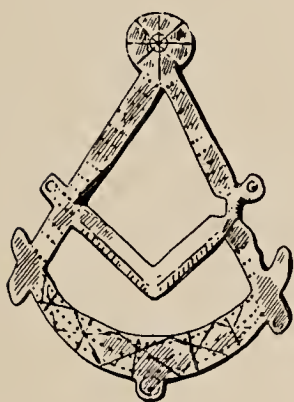
The Senecas believed in fairies and pygmies, and many are the tales of these tiny creatures who were friendly to man, especially to unfortunate persons. Some of the pygmies lived in rocky glens and others under the water. Another tribe lived in the woods and had as their task the turning of the fruit so that it would ripen in the sun. These little folk were unable to do many things for themselves and gave favor in exchange for services rendered them by their human friends. They asked that small bags of tobacco be thrown over the cliffs for them and that boys and girls often trim their finger nails so that they could use them to frighten away bad animals, for the nails smelled like human beings and thus the animals became afraid. Often when they



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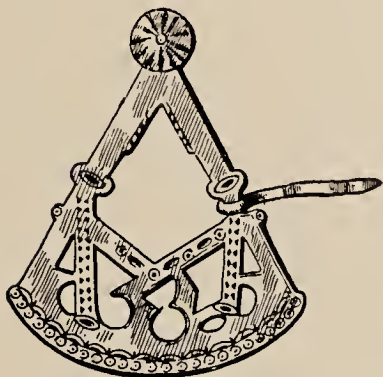
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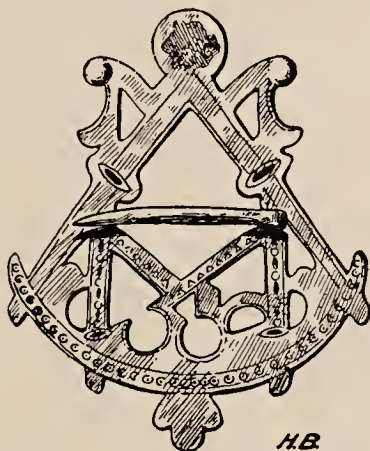
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SILVER BROOCHES

needed human help, they would be heard drumming in the glades, and this was a signal that mankind should hold a ceremonial for them and sing pygmy songs; also give them presents.

Giants were supposed to live in the mountains among the rocks. These giants were called Stone Coats because they could not be killed by spear thrusts or arrows. Their skins were as hard as rock. Usually they sought to hunt down men and women and eat them raw. At last all the giants were chased into a cave near Onondaga and the Thunderers shook down the rocks upon them. Some say that one lone survivor imparted his wisdom to a frightened boy, who had sought refuge in his cave, and so transmitted his wisdom through the False Face Company, which he told the boy to organize. This mysterious company has in one of its secret ceremonies a great mask covered with pebbles and having a flint arrow point imbedded in its forehead. Its hair is shredded bark, for it was not human and therefore could have no real hair. One might continue with a lengthy description of the folk beliefs of the Iroquois, for they are interesting and have many parallels in the mythology of the ancient world.⁴

Let us proceed to an examination of some of the basic beliefs upon which their religious and social life was founded. The fundamental belief was in the existence of a Great Power that pervaded all nature. This concept does not seem at first to have been well defined, but it lay at the root of the belief in the god-beings of the universe. Later it matured into a belief in Hawenu as the supreme God. This name means "The Great Good Voice" and is a deification of all the creative good in nature, seen and unseen. The Senecas, in common with the other Iroquois, believed in numerous unseen spirits that lived in everything and were capable of manifesting themselves to man upon proper occasions. It was believed that every atom in nature was conscious and had intelligence. For this reason it was deemed proper for men to talk to the rocks, the winds, the trees and the flowers. Even a clod of soil had life and intelligence, for had not the Creator brought it into being? It was therefore thought that all living creatures had souls of greater or lesser intensity, and that there was an unspoken language emanating from the heart that all souls understood. Many cases were cited to prove that faraway

⁴ For a full description of the myths and folklore of the Seneca see "Seneca Myths and Folklore," by Parker, published by the Buffalo Historical Society, 1924.

friends could transmit their thoughts, and that men by thinking could cause animals to obey them. It was deduced that there was an unseen and all-powerful Master of Souls into whose keeping all departed souls went for refuge. The Seneca believed that Good and Evil were in a state of eternal warfare, but that Good should triumph and Evil perish, no matter how much power it had acquired. It was believed that men and women could acquire magical power from the spirits of good or evil, and so become magically powerful for good or wizards for evil. In their belief it was possible for creatures to transform themselves into other beings. Since all living things are only the reflections of the Creator, reflection is the real substance of things, but, as a reflection is not material substance, it might easily be transmuted or transplanted into other forms. Thus a man who had acquired magic might transform himself into a deer, or vice versa. Evil beings sought the reflection of evil and had the same power, but it was not believed to be enduring.

Every Seneca of the Genesee Country believed in ghosts. These were thought to be unhappy earth-bound spirits, who either wanted to straighten out some earthly affair, or who lingered on earth because they were malicious and desired to do harm. All good spirits were thought to be able to settle their mundane affairs in ten days and then to completely depart. As names were cords or strings of attachment, it was not proper to mention the real names of the dead, for fear of calling them back from their pleasant abodes to the scenes of earthly conflict and perplexity. Thus when a departed soul was mentioned, an implied or descriptive name was given, as "He-who-dwelt-by-the-river-and-made-good-bows," or "She-who-had-a-shell-necklace-as-a-hair-ornament." Every man sought to have some personal trait or to do certain things, so as to have an implied name as well as a real one. Real names were not revealed to strangers. This was for fear the stranger might conjure the name and perhaps work injury to the name holder.

That there was a land of happy souls was not doubted, for what could be more logical than to think that the good should not perish? Here the good went for regeneration. Here the Creator shut the eyes of pilgrims and took their soul-bodies to pieces, putting them back joint by joint and muscle by muscle, until all evil and disease had been found and cast out, leaving the soul being

as one regenerated and completely good. This remaking of souls was necessary since sin was believed to be a thing that could not be forgiven, but which left its mark in the soul. Upon beliefs like these the Seneca built his faith in the essential brotherhood of all life, his hope for the future and his eternal salvation. If some of his practices were cruel and inhuman, it was because the Seneca Indian, like his white brother, belonged to the "inhuman human race," and because his beliefs required him to propitiate the demons of war who demanded suffering and blood. If this did not come from the enemy it would be exacted from the friend. Nor was he more cruel than his European brother of the same period, who burned heretics alive, tortured and flayed them or impressed them in "iron maidens."

The official religion of the Seneca was one of thanksgiving. Each season had its thanksgiving ceremony in which the Creator and his attendant spirits were thanked for their gifts to mankind. There was the Midwinter ceremony, lasting nine days, in which the High Priest offered thanks for every object in nature, from the sands beneath the waters beneath the earth to the celestial tree itself. At this ceremony all the dancing associations, all the fraternities and rites of the nation, were called upon to give public exhibitions. All who had perplexing dreams were asked to tell them, that some one might give the right interpretation, and those who desired things so much that it seemed that they could not live without the fulfillment of their wish were given an opportunity to tell the populace. Then, too, all those who had sinned were asked to confess before all men and to promise to make restitution. They were called upon to walk over a straight road in the snow, as a symbol of their repentance.

The spring began with the Tree Festival and the thank offering to the maple for the sap and sugar that the maples afforded. Then came the Planting Festival, followed in June by the Feast of the Strawberries. In early autumn came the Corn Thanksgiving and later the Festival of the Harvest. These celebrations were religious occasions, but there was great merriment during the afternoon and evening dances, for to enjoy life was supposed to be an evidence that life was desired and that mankind was grateful for it. To live as if one were in perpetual fear of the Creator's wrath and constantly to act as if life were a terrible burden, was thought an insult to the giver of life. The Senecas

believed literally in making "a joyful noise unto the Lord," and in dancing before Him. Their religion was the Doxology itself.

The conditions of forest life demanded constant industry. A lazy, indolent people could not exist and meet the demands of nature or society. The Iroquois were a busy and industrious race, and their houses and camps were filled with evidences of their manufacturing activity. They were not entirely simple folk who could live like the birds without implements, but, on the contrary, were fond of having tools and utensils for their housekeeping and their forest activities. As house builders they cut down trees with their stone axes, supplemented by fire. They cut logs for their stockades and hewed out great tree trunks for their dugouts. Their canoes, however, were generally of elm bark stretched and fastened over ash skeletons. They were good canoe makers, but were not essentially a water people, often suffering severe defeat from the Algonkians when they fought water battles. Canoe making required much industry, and then there were the ribs, gunwales and paddles to make, all with stone and bone tools, for the Iroquois had no metal until the European period. They knew of native copper but would not use this emblem of their enemies.

Men manufactured snowshoes, lacrosse sticks, stone and pottery pipes and also various implements of chert. They manufactured implements from bone and shell, as awls, combs, beads and pendants. They were good workers in wood and carved out wooden bowls and spoons, baby-carrying cases and other household utensils. They gathered elm and basswood bark for ropes and cords, but the women took the raw material and manufactured it. Men hunted the pelts and shared with the women in tanning them for clothing and moccasins. Women did most of the sewing and manufactured the hunting shirts and leggings, even to embroidering them with moosehair and porcupine quills, sometimes in color. Of course, the men caught the porcupines and pulled out the quills, but the women treated the quills and dyed them. The Seneca tailoress cut the deer skins evenly, trimming off the neck and leg projections, and fringing the edges neatly by cutting them with a sharp flint chip. The men preferred to make their own hats, or *gustoweh* as they called them. The Iroquois hat was a tightly fitting cap, from the top of which a bouquet of feathers floated, one splendid plume whirling from a spindle at the top. The Iroquois did not wear a bonnet of erect feathers like



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the Sioux of the open plains. Such was out of place in the forest; erect feathers would catch in the trees and shrubs through which they passed.

The men made the corn mortars by cutting off logs and making a hollow of sufficient depth by means of fire to permit further hollowing. When the bowl was two spans deep it was considered perfect. Men also made the pestles, and each mortar was supposed to have two. Other wooden articles that men made were bows, arrows, war clubs and troughs. Barrels and large bowls were made from elm bark.

Thus domestic life to the Iroquois was one of constant activity, for dishes and utensils, tools and weapons were constantly wearing out and had to be replaced. An added source of exhaustion was the sacrifice of weapons, arrows, dishes and ornaments to the spirits of the animals that they had slain. When these articles were of stone, clay, antler, bone or other durable substance, they were preserved in the refuse heaps, and the archeologist finds them today, mute evidence of the industry of the departed red man. It is only because the Senecas of the historic period clung to their ancient material culture that we are able to explain so much of their ancient civilization. Because of greater convenience they abandoned their clay kettles and pipes, and their bone, stone and shell ornaments for the trader brass kettle, the kaolin pipe of commerce, the steel and iron knives and glass trade beads, but they did retain many of their ceremonial paraphernalia and games, and kept other implements as heirlooms. Even at the beginning of the twentieth century many of the Senecas and Onondagas know how to make cords of bark, to make ceremonial baskets, moccasins and masks of corn husks, to carve their ritualistic wooden masks, to make their ceremonial rattles, drums and whistles, and in the economic life some of the implements and utensils used in the preparation of their native corn for food they still make and use, like washing- and sifting-baskets, mortars, pestles, paddles, wooden spoons, bark trays and bowls, and even burden straps woven from elm and basswood cords. Herein is evidence of the innate conservatism of the Iroquois, who clings to that which he himself can make and understand. Decay can set in only when he becomes absolutely dependent upon things which he cannot make. The material culture of the Iroquois had much to do with his preservation, for it was connected with his cere-

monial and ritualistic life; it was a part of the folkways of the group which insisted, "this shalt thou do and do this-wise."

An industrious people can scarcely be totally immoral, for industry contributes to regularity, mutual consideration and thrift. Industry, indeed, is an evidence of moral energy as well as intellectual acumen. The Senecas, howsoever they may have differed from the Europeans in religious and moral beliefs, were not essentially immoral or irreligious. There were but few precepts of an ethical nature that the missionaries could teach them, and they frequently resented the missionary attitude that they did not know what was essentially right and wrong. Many of their beliefs and practices, it is true, may appear to us as folly and superstition. But analyzed, these same things are found to contain at the bottom beautiful and even lofty ideas. Ignorance of true causes often led to a perversion of what was otherwise good, and the symbol of good to be worshipped rather than the reality itself. These things have happened in all religions, and Christianity, as we have modified it for our use, has retained many of the pagan ideas through which it has filtered, as any professor of theology will acknowledge. It is but natural, therefore, that the Iroquois should have gone afield in some things, but, after all, there is in their religion a certain beauty and sublimity that is inspiring. If these people sinned against our code, they were but following the teachings and example of nature itself, and were, therefore, unmoral in such matters rather than immoral.

Let us consider that the Senecas of the ancient land of the Genesee, uncontaminated by unwholesome European influence, and unspoiled by the greed which commerce awakened within their souls, were a people who believed in an all-powerful Great Spirit, in the immortality of the soul, in a life everlasting for the righteous and in the fraternity of all life. They believed that it was natural to be honorable and truthful, and cowardly to lie. With them to thank the Great Spirit continually was prayer; they did not seek to instruct Him what to do on earth or in the celestial world, for they had faith that in His wisdom He knew what was right and best. Such was the faith of the Seneca.

CHAPTER VII.

A CENTURY OF PERPLEXITY, 1700-1800.

BY ARTHUR CASWELL PARKER, M. S.

The opening of the eighteenth century found the Senecas torn by conflicting emotions and perplexed by the interplay of events. Jealous of their own independence and domain, they saw both threatened by two powerful white competitors. With which should they cast their lot? Everything depended upon their answer to this. To ally themselves with France meant that they must forget many bitter grievances, and yet the French people pleased them more than all other Europeans. The Frenchman would live with them on terms of equality, adopt their manners, go out on war parties with them and marry their daughters. The individual Frenchman was a congenial companion. His colony asked only for the right to trade and, indeed, demanded that friendly Indians should trade with Frenchmen alone. French missionaries were faithful and kind, but French missionaries were the tools of political interests and carried away great hosts of converts to Canada, where they took up arms against their kinsfolk. Yet, after all, the Frenchman as an individual was a likable fellow.

The English were at Albany with their Dutch friends. They seldom came among the Iroquois, asking rather that the Iroquois come to them. The Englishman assumed a haughty and superior attitude and treated the Iroquois with something akin to contempt. Besides this, the English were interested in acquiring land, as was proven by their penetration of the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, and their control of New England, eastern Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas. One thing was in favor of the British: It was the fact that they did not want the French to lay hold of Iroquois lands, and were willing to assist in a military way in preventing French incur-

sions. But this was not enough to force a choice of masters. One factor alone should decide this. It was, *which nation could be depended upon to be most just in its dealings?* Upon the answer to this question depended not only the fate of the Iroquois, but the future control of North America. During the early years of the eighteenth century the course of events was to answer the question and determine which nation should receive the support of the Iroquois people.

The region of Niagara was a pivotal point, where was destined to be settled one of the decisive arguments affecting the future control of the middle Atlantic region. Here at the beginning of the century we find a Frenchman whose interesting career excites our attention, for upon him depended much of the hold which France was to have upon the region. This man was Louis Thomas de Joncaire, the Sieur de Chabert.¹ We do not know exactly when he came to America, but it is thought that he came over with the Chevalier de Vaudreuil in 1687, for Vaudreuil afterwards appears as his friend and defender. Joncaire's military attainments were not high, but he showed a singular business ability and a great capacity for making friends. Soon after he reached America he was a member of an expedition, the nature of which we know little; it may have been military or commercial. A party of Senecas captured him and twelve companions, all of whom they planned to test by torture. Some accounts say that his companions were burned to death, and that Joncaire himself was made ready for the stake. Subsequent events seem to indicate that the French captives were only tested for their courage and ability to endure pain. Joncaire was seized by his captor, who was about to tie his hands in order to burn his fingers, when Joncaire set upon the Indian and gave him such a terrible beating that his nose was smashed and his face streamed with blood. The assembled Senecas howled with delight at this display of courage and drew Joncaire to their bosoms as a friend and brother.

It was five years before Joncaire and his French companions were released, and Joncaire had improved every moment to make the Senecas his friends. He learned the language, took part in their ceremonies and studied their oratory and council methods. He had so proved his loyalty that the Senecas adopted him as a

¹ He was the son of Antoine Marie and Gabriel Hardi, and was born about 1670 (1668?), in the town of St. Remi in Arles Provence.



DR. PETER WILSON
Noted Indian

son and he rose from captive to a recognized member, and then to the rank of Sachem. When he was released in the autumn of 1694, he was imbued with the philosophy of his Indian friends and with a sympathy for them that endured throughout his long life. Though released, Joncaire kept in contact with his red friends, and his peculiar fitness to deal with them caused the King of France to send him to live with them during the year 1705. This official return was one of great rejoicing to the Senecas, who regarded him as a brother indeed, and wise in the lore of the French. For Joncaire they would do anything, even spare the lives of French captives, both good men and culprits.

The French were concerned a bit too with the fact that the Five Nations had deeded their beaver land north of the Great Lakes to the English, at the Albany council of July 10, 1701. This was a threat against Canada and French control. It was also a movement toward Niagara, the key of the lower lakes. If the French could do so, they were determined to possess themselves of this key and shut out the English. Who but Joncaire could win the help of the Senecas? By every tradition Niagara belonged to New France, for here in 1669 La Salle had built and launched the ill-fated *Griffon*, and here Denonville had constructed his fort of 1687.

For some years the English had been actively seeking to win the allegiance of the Five Nations, and were successful with all except the Senecas. The Iroquois were a necessary barrier between them and the French Canadians. A fort and post were needed at Niagara for further protection. The French anticipated this. In the hands of the British this meant loss of trade and power to New France. Thus, though the French built no fort there since that of Denonville (which was abandoned the next year), every year witnessed the attempts of French traders to deal with the Indians at the mouth of the Niagara. Joncaire appeared there in 1705, no doubt hoping to open a post on his own account. The English complained about this, having an eye upon Niagara themselves. A confidential report to Louis XIV, sent by his agent who had been charged with the task of inspecting all the French forts and posts on the Great Lakes, read in part:

"His Majesty is informed that the English are endeavoring to seize the post at Niagara, and that is of very great importance for the preservation of Canada to prevent them from so doing, because were they masters of it, they would bar the passage and obstruct the communication with the Indian allies of the French, whom

as well as the Iroquois they would attract to them by their trade, and dispose, whenever they please, to wage war on the French. This would desolate Canada and oblige us to abandon it."

The advantages of controlling Niagara were apparent. With Niagara in their grasp, the French had an all-water route to lower Canada, while the English were compelled to carry their pelts for the most part overland and through the domain of the Senecas and their allies. But, though La Salle's "Griffon" was the first deep bottomed boat built by the French for traffic, via Niagara and Ontario, it was also the last. French fur trade was borne by canoes. The English had other dreams.

The New York colony remonstrated again and again against the French occupation of the Niagara area, but received scant satisfaction, for the Iroquois answered that it was without their permission. Beyond this the Senecas adroitly stated that they could not give Niagara land to the English, since it was conquered territory and belonged to all the Iroquois nations. When it was remonstrated that Joncaire was there with a land grant, they asserted their right to allow one of their own sons to build a house where it pleased him. And it so happened that Joncaire, the elder, after a winter's sojourn among the eastern Senecas, who were most friendly to the English, hurried on to Niagara and, with his Indian colleagues, took up an abode at Niagara. During the next fifteen years we find him busy in the interests of Canada and, indeed, building for himself a reputation as a trader.

The opening years of the eighteenth century found the Senecas in a state of readjustment. After the blow of Denonville, they had abandoned their old seats and taken up new abodes; the eastern Senecas settling near Seneca Lake in a large town southwest of the present site of Geneva, calling it Ganechstage, and in a smaller village at Onagie, just west of Canandaigua. As the country was now free from attack by other Indians, and as they now were becoming pelt hunters, they wandered off in small bands to the south and there were numerous minor hamlets and camps. The Senecas of the western branch from Totiacton and Gannounonta, after taking refuge where they might in the forests to the south, began to settle along the Genesee or near it, particularly at Geneseo, though they built towns still farther up the river. These Senecas, also, began to scatter, many of them wandering off into Pennsylvania and Ohio. Their normal life was altered

and they, likewise, were giving up their fields and villages for a roaming hunter life.

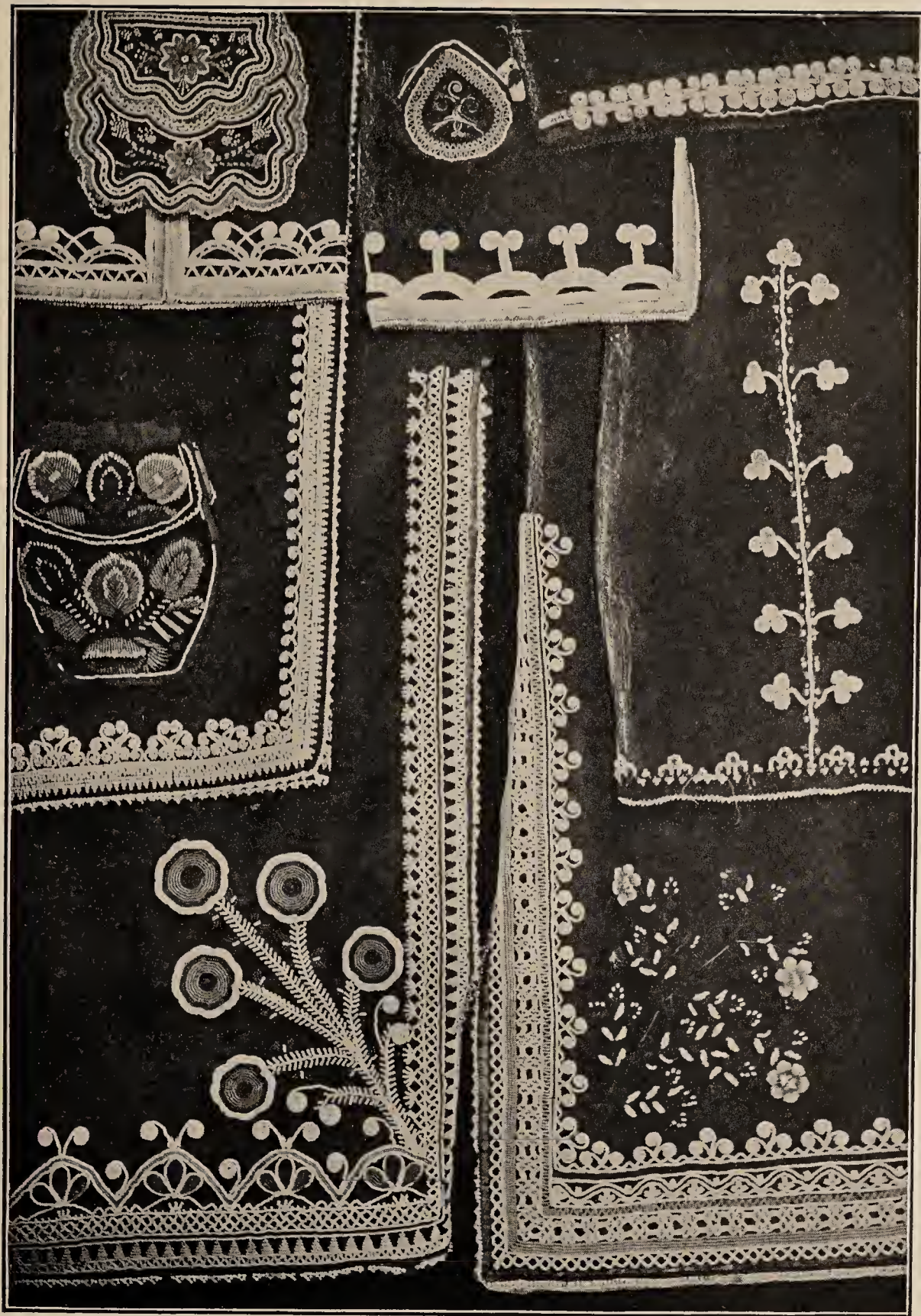
In the events that follow it will be noted that the western division of the Senecas were quite friendly to the French Canadians, and that the Seneca Nation was split by conflicting interests. History has not explained just why this was the case, but we may consider a possible explanation to be, that the westernmost villages of the Senecas were filled with adopted Hurons and Neutrals, together with their children, now grown to maturity, and that these had natural reasons for being sympathetic toward the French, the allies of their ancestors. We may thus understand that while the eastern Seneca villages were friendly to the English, those along the Genesee were wont to listen to the voices of the French priests, traders and officials from Montreal and Quebec. It was a case where tradition and blood bore fruit. Nevertheless, when the young warriors of the Senecas were on hunting expeditions, enemies did not discriminate; a Seneca was a Seneca. Thus the hostile Ottawas in 1704 treacherously attacked a Seneca party in the neighborhood of Fort Frontenac (near the foot of Lake Ontario at the beginning of the river St. Lawrence), and carried away thirty prisoners in triumph to Detroit, where the French commandant, seeing what had been done, demanded their instant liberation. French allies might not war upon each other. The Iroquois were inflamed, and, in 1706, Joncaire was sent by Vaudreuil to Michilimackinack to establish peace between these two hostile forces, for French trade depended upon peace between the fur producers. It was during this year that the Nanticokes brought tribute to Onondaga. They were a lower Susquehanna-Delaware tribe which had been subjected.

But, though the French did much to win the Iroquois, the English were not asleep and the tribes east of the Senecas were taking advantage of opportunities to sell to them, though the overland route for heavy packs of peltries was not attractive. By 1709, through the persuasions of Peter Schuyler, all the Iroquois save the Senecas were drawn to the side of the English as allies and supporters, but the Mohawks and Onondagas, fearing that the French might construe this as a hostile act, sent word to Canada that they did not wish war. This year the captive tribes in Pennsylvania planned to go to Onondaga with their tribute, but the Governor objected that it was not a proper time. Later a council

was held at Conastoga, attended by many Senecas. The Tuscaroras appeared with belts of wampum, as an assurance of their desire for peace in their southern homeland in the Carolinas. In furtherance of the English designs, Colonel Schuyler had taken a number of Iroquois and Mahikan chiefs to England, that they might catch a glimpse of England's glory and power. The chiefs returned in 1710, having been graciously received by Queen Anne. Three years later the Treaty of Utrecht was signed between France and England, and it was agreed that England should have all authority over the Five Nations of the Iroquois, but that there should be no restraint of trade by either party. This year, 1713, the English were asked to mediate between the warring Carolina Indians and the Tuscaroras, the latter having been badly defeated in their stronghold and eight hundred of them taken prisoners and sold as slaves. The Tuscaroras now began to come into Pennsylvania and creep into New York.

The Iroquois experienced considerable trouble with their vassals and found it difficult to settle them in places where they would not make a disturbance. Many of the western Senecas, who were undoubtedly Andastes and Eries, united with the Shawnees and Delawares and caused serious apprehension. Enemy tribes in the south were making trouble, the Catawbias having murdered some wandering Iroquois. The Senecas went down the Susquehanna to punish the offenders, and, though turned aside by the Pennsylvania authorities, engaged them in battle and brought back a host of captives with the promise that the trouble would not be repeated.

The year 1720 came and with it a renewed attempt of the French to settle a post at Niagara. The Senecas now had a small village at Lewiston, where many earned good money as carriers on the portage up the mountain and around again to the river above the falls. Joncaire had wintered once more among the eastern Senecas near Seneca Lake and at Onahie. He took back to Canada a great store of peltries, and now prepared to return with another supply of brandy, cloth and other trade articles. With young La Corne, son of the Mayor of Montreal, he reached Niagara and built a great cabin of bark, setting up the armorial standard of France, and calling his building, "*Magazin Royal*." Leaving the place in the hands of La Corne, he returned to Canada for new supplies. In the meantime an English emissary,



IROQUOIS EMBROIDERIES ON CLOTHING

Lawrence Classen, of Albany, went to Niagara and protested against the French domination of the Niagara portage, but was told that it was by command of the Governor of Canada. Later Classen went to Seneca Castle to protest, but the Senecas were induced by Joncaire, who appeared on the scene, to dispute with the English agent, proffering a non-committal reply, though Classen made good his point that the French were charging them double for the goods they gave in exchange. Joncaire, with rare eloquence, smoothed out the trouble, promising that a French fort at Niagara meant much to the Senecas, and giving them presents in testimony of his friendship. The personal element and an appeal to emotion had triumphed over reason; the Gaul was the victor over the Teuton, but the red American paid the bill. Joncaire's victory was received with acclaim in Canada and he was pronounced "the best man for Niagara." He had orders, also, to pillage the English if they appeared for trade purposes.

The English authorities were not entirely asleep, and, when William Burnet became, by royal appointment, Governor of New York and New Jersey, April 19, 1720, he went to New York where he found that the Niagara situation had been accepted as so threatening that within a month after his arrival he dispatched a message to the Lords of Trade proposing to fortify the frontier to prevent the French "from seducing the Senecas." He then entered into a lively correspondence with the Governor of Canada. The French were now spurred to build a stone fort at Niagara, and the English responded by erecting a fortification and trading post at Oswego. The French built well, and one of their structures, "The House of Peace," still stands on the old site. Its walls are thick, but it has no appearance of being a fort, hence the name, expressing its hoped-for intentions; it was, however, surrounded by a palisade and had a guard house. Apparently the French had scored a great victory, but we must look toward Albany for the English counter-thrust.

Governor Burnet called a council at Albany in September, 1726, and carefully explained the situation, pointing out that the existence of a French fort was decidedly against the interests of the Six Nations. He also wrung from the Onondaga ambassadors the admission that all the Niagara land belonged to the Senecas, including the land across the river. So adroitly did Burnet

present the case, that he placed the Indians in the position of being the wronged parties, who should lodge vigorous complaints, and then offered the help of the English authorities. He followed up this advantage by getting them to ratify the deed of 1701 and, in addition, to deed all the hunting grounds south of Lake Ontario and reaching the Niagara River to the English. The strip was sixty miles wide. The French fort on Niagara now lay on soil the right to the occupancy of which had been signed over to the English. But this did not mean that the French were going to evacuate at once; it merely meant that the English had a paper right to eject them if they could. A full generation intervened before this was accomplished. Joncaire died at Niagara June 29, 1739, the year that Chautauqua Lake was discovered. He left a large family of boys, two of whom remained in the wilderness to carry out their father's mission. These young men continued as the principal reliance of New France, and the strongest opponents of a new figure who rose to dominate the British interests in New York, William Johnson.

The next move of the English authorities was to acquire a tract of land on Irondequoit Bay. This tract, twenty by thirty miles in extent, was purchased on January 10, 1740, but was not immediately settled, it being then deemed inexpedient. Governor Clarke was an important factor in developing English interests along the Ontario shores and saw the pressing need of a strong post on the Irondequoit. Later Governor Clinton pressed this same proposal, and, in 1749, Johnson, who was a trader from the Mohawk Valley, wrote Clinton urging a settlement there as a means of attracting the Indians and shutting out the French, who were trying to buy the tract. But the English and the Dutch settlers lacked the nerve and vision of the French and, more than this, the capacity for making friends with the Indians. The cowardly flight of the traders from Oswego, for fear of a massacre, at the very time when the Indians were coming into the bay with canoe loads of peltries, stands out in significant contrast to the courage and determination of the French in their isolated positions, under circumstances much more trying. The Indians, naturally, were disgusted with the English, especially as they had to turn back once more and trade with the French (1744).

We have mentioned William Johnson. As Joncaire the elder was to the French, William Johnson was destined to be to the

English. Upon his ability and personality rested the fate of the English settlers west of the Mohawk. He came to America from Ireland, the son of Christopher Johnson and Anne Warren. He was educated as a barrister, but just before his examination his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, offered him an opportunity to go with him to America, where, under a royal grant, he had a tract of land on the Mohawk River. It was in 1737, and William was twenty-two years of age. The adventure appealed to him, and he accepted the post of chief steward of the Mohawk lands of Sir Peter with eagerness. Johnson landed in New York City in December, 1737, and spent the winter there, leaving in the spring when the Hudson River was open, in a sloop laden with mill supplies. The settlement of Warrensbush was soon laid out. Here young William showed his rare acumen. His uncle had hoped to preserve his grant intact and to rent or lease parts of it to the Dutch, German and Scotch settlers, but renting was something of which these people had had enough in the old world. Young William advised the outright sale of the property in farmstead lots. This attracted real settlers willing to risk all on the chance of success as proprietors of the land.

During his sojourn along the river, young Johnson had an abundance of opportunity to study the Indians who came to visit the settlers and to trade. He associated with the Mohawks, acquired their language, participated in their ceremonies, and in many ways showed a sympathy and understanding rare for a Britisher. He soon discovered that the management of the Board of Colonial Commissioners with respect to Indian affairs was lax and criminal. Indian traders of any class and character were licensed for a small fee, without a previous examination of their fitness or character. Thus the Indians were subjected to many frauds and indignities that prejudiced them against the English. William Johnson kept up a vigorous and voluminous correspondence on this subject with Governor George Clinton, and so commended himself that he was soon placed in the British service as Superintendent of Indian affairs. This was a most fortunate thing for the Six Nations, and even more so for the English colonists. These were troublous times and the French were unceasing in their intrigues. By 1747 it was agreed by the colonies that Canada should be invaded. Johnson was commissioned Colonel and second in command under Sir William Pepperrell. The

Five Nations agreed to furnish one thousand warriors, the Senecas promising substantial aid. Little was done except to hold the frontier against French invasion, for the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought an armistice. It was seven years before the battle of Lake George and the defeat of Dieskau occurred. In this engagement Johnson fought with such ability that he was rewarded with a gift from Parliament of five thousand pounds sterling and the King made him a baronet. This was not alone for the reason that he had shown remarkable military skill, but because he had held the Indian nations of New York loyal to the interests of the British. The Iroquois had visible proof that it was expedient, at least, to support the British. The Senecas gave up Niagara to the English and agreed to take the field against the French. This was the result of Johnson's council at Canajoharie in April, 1759. Events followed fast. Niagara was stormed and taken, the French surrendering. While a great victory, it was the result of long and intelligent preparation, and a fulfillment of the logic of events,² and had been predicted by Sir William the year before in his report to the Board of Trade. He was confident, he said, that he could lead against the French not only the Five Nations of the Iroquois, including the Senecas, but also many of the Indians who had been directly under the patronage of the French at La Galette. It is thus seen that, through the influence of Johnson, even the Genesee Senecas were ready to war against their old friends, whom Joncaire had cemented to them by many ties of allegiance and even blood, for the French in not a few instances had found wives in some of the Seneca villages.

Niagara fell, and, as Sir William entered the fort, he found a host of English captives there to rejoice with him. He also met the two sons of Joncaire, Thomas and Daniel. General Amherst, who had planned the attack, was in the north, where Ticonderoga and Crown Point soon fell, followed by Quebec on September 18th. Two years later Lord Amherst, rallying his troops from Oswego, fell upon Montreal, which capitulated. It should be noted that Sir William was not in original command at the Niagara siege; his superior officer, General John Prideaux, was killed, and the command then devolved upon Colonel Johnson. If

² The story of the siege of Niagara is nowhere better told than by Dr. Frank H. Severence in his "Old Frontier of France."

the fall of Canada had a profound effect upon the Indians, it had a still more far reaching effect upon the destiny and direction of English civilization and control in North America. It meant that France might go no further, and that England should expand in channels the nature and direction of which could scarcely be imagined.

The fall of New France did not quiet the problems of the border, though it aroused the Indians to a realization of England's power and determination. In the west the Indians were troubled with the thought that the English would extend their domain so far that the tribes of the red men would be driven into the sunset sea.

It was reserved for Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, to bring all these fears to a head. Preaching that the Indians must regain their rights and independence and return to the ways of their fathers, he organized a conspiracy of Indian tribes between the Ottawa and the lower Mississippi, and with sudden assault took all the western forts save Detroit. Overtures had been secretly made to the Iroquois and all but a portion of the Senecas—the same troublesome Genesee dwellers—rejected participation in these hostile activities. Chippewas, Ottowas, Wyandots, Pottawatomies, Delawares, Mingoes, Shawnees and many other tribes were drawn together to execute Pontiac's scheme. No other Indian leader had ever brought together so many tribes for a single purpose. If the Six Nations of the Iroquois had given their allegiance to the enterprise, New York would have suffered severely. As it was, the Genesee Senecas were secretly attempting to join Pontiac, and their young warriors had sent wampum belts to the northwest tribes, inviting an attack on Niagara, and then Fort Pitt. Johnson heard of the proposal, and acted. He set out with a retinue for Detroit, stopping at Niagara, where he called a council of the Senecas. He charged them with the plot, and one of their spokesmen indignantly denied it, affecting an air of injured innocence. Sir William, who generally spoke so graciously, now thundered out his denunciation, and demanded that the Senecas send a deputation of chiefs to Detroit, and repeat before the assembled Indian tribes their condemnation of the overtures of the Seneca messengers, who had borne their villainous proposals to the supporters of Pontiac, attested by wampum belts. Sir William then threw back the wampum belt that had been

given him with the suave speech denying guilt. This meant that he would not yet believe the Seneca statement. After consultation, they agreed to send delegates to Detroit, bearing belts as testimony that the nation spoke. In due season Johnson and his party reached Detroit, and with the firing of two cannon convoked the council of tribes. From far and near they had come to see more than to discuss, for the power of Sir William was a marvelous thing to the nations of the west. Here was a white man whose great stone house was the council hall of a mighty confederacy, a man who sometimes lived as an Indian and who spoke truth fearlessly. Johnson and his officers were in full uniform; the Indian chiefs were in their paint and feathers. Sir William made a friendly address, earnest though lengthy and explicit. The next day Indian delegates from the northwest made acceptable replies. Then arose Kaiaghshota, chief of the Genesee Senecas. With accustomed oratory and eloquence, he disclaimed all connection with the plot and absolved his nation from guilt. To the surprise of the assemblage, Adiaraghta, the Wyandot, sprang to his feet and accused the Seneca of duplicity, and pointed out exactly how he had been one of the chief conspirators, and one of the ambassadors who had brought the war belts and proposals of Seneca participation. White Mingo, an Ohio Indian, then arose and accused the Wyandot of being a conspirator and a principal in inciting his own people. Excitement ran high and a fight was imminent, but Sir William, with the details of the plot revealed, dissolved the council. He returned to his home in the Mohawk Valley and cultivated the good will of the Iroquois, who at all cost should be kept from the evil alliance. His success was complete, to the disappointment of the Ottawas who vowed to take his life.

The Genesee Senecas, as we have observed, were unfriendly and for two principal reasons: first, they were the descendants of the broken Canadian tribes and the adopted nations of the south, and second, they had been under the domination of the French so long that their sympathies were far from being with the English. Their equivocal speeches were not without some justification, as Sir William knew. The official councils of the Senecas had never entered into any conspiracy but had always recommended peace. Thus the Senecas officially were not guilty. The guilt lay with the young warriors who, against the will of the civil chiefs, had



IROQUOIS POT

taken the tomahawk in their own hands and gone over to the enemy. It was the guilt of individuals in concert and not the guilt of the nation as an organized entity. Johnson afterward pleaded this in a reply to Amherst.

The Senecas had yet another grievance that was gnawing at their hearts. It was the suspicion that the English had actually construed their deeds and beaver land cessions as an outright surrender of ownership. To the Indian way of thinking this was error, for it is presumable that they meant to convey only the right of dominion, in return for which they were to receive protection. This must be kept in mind, for it is the explanation of a bloody event that followed. It will be remembered that the Senecas believed they owned the land on the Niagara along which lay the portage road and the carrying place around the rapids and the falls. This portage road had been built by the English under Sir William and terminated at Fort Schlosser above the cataract. It followed the banks of the river above the terrifying cliffs, and three miles from the falls passed a deep ravine with high precipitous walls and jagged crags below. The place was called Devil's Hole. Here, on the 14th of September, 1763, a tragedy occurred. A convoy of twenty-four men under a sergeant, returning from the discharge of their goods at Fort Niagara, marched along the road until they came to Devil's Hole. At this point they were surprised by five hundred Seneca Indians, who had lain in ambush awaiting their coming. Rushing forth they overwhelmed the party with musket fire and then scalped their victims. The militia at the fort, hearing firing, hurried out to render assistance and, though they were two companies strong, they were ambushed and killed or driven over the precipice. Only three escaped, one a drummer boy who was caught by the limb of a projecting tree, and one an officer who escaped on his horse while bullets rained around him. The Senecas were not after booty, and did not loot the wagon train or the dead. They simply wanted to terrify the English and cause an abandonment of Niagara. This stroke lent comfort to the western allies of Pontiac, but the Iroquois as a body repudiated it as an official act, and the Mohawks repledged their loyalty to Sir William, using all their influence to hold their comrades in check, and to keep the young men from taking part in the western movements of Pontiac's bands.

Pontiac soon sued for peace and sent his pipe to Sir William in testimony of his desire to submit. His rebellion had been crushed and many of his bravest men killed in the operations of Bouquet and Amherst. Amherst was willing to forgive the Canadian Indians, but was bitter against the Senecas, whom he thought should be wiped off the face of the earth. Indeed, he formulated a plan to enlist ten thousand men and add them to an army of eleven thousand British regulars, who should scour the country and kill every male Seneca, the women to be distributed to the other tribes. The plan was well conceived and feasible; and if Amherst could have put it into execution, the Senecas would have been completely wiped out. One thing stood in the way of its consummation: Sir William Johnson objected. He explained that the Seneca Nation as such was not at fault.

Amherst's plan, however, was not without its effect. The Senecas heard of it and, seeing its possibilities, immediately began to make overtures for peace. They were humble indeed in their pleas and promises. Amherst then demanded that they surrender the chief offenders and instigators of the plots against the English. The Senecas did this with surprising alacrity. Nineteen were turned over. Of these two were publicly hanged at Onondaga, and the rest imprisoned in New York. This was a more frightful revenge than open war to the minds of the Senecas and they were deeply impressed. Pontiac surrendered in 1766 and, fortunately for the Indians, General Amherst three years before had become Governor of Virginia. This left the Senecas in the hands of Sir William, and he had little difficulty in showing them where their interests lay.

Sir William met Pontiac at Oswego, where he smoked the pipe of peace with him and renewed his oath of allegiance to the King of England. Sir William now went to Niagara, where he held a council with every Indian tribe that had anything to do with the French or with the conspiracy. The peace here secured lasted until the outbreak of another war, a war of far reaching significance. It was not to be an Indian war, but a revolt of the colonists against their King. In the meantime the Iroquois Indians, as well as many other tribes, were linked by increasing ties of trade and contact with the English, and soon looked upon King George as their "great father over the seas." Through all of the difficulties in which Sir William found himself, he had the loyal

aid of Joseph Brant, a war chief of the Mohawks, whose sister Molly was Johnson's housekeeper, and, after Indian custom, his wife. The combination of Johnson and Brant was a rare one and far reaching in its effective consequences. It meant that Johnson could speak and that the Iroquois could understand.

It would be of great interest to follow awhile the career of Joseph Brant, for, while not a resident of the Genesee Country, he had a large part in shaping its destiny and in influencing the course of the Senecas. Though a Mohawk of the Mohawks, he was born in an Indian settlement on the Ohio in 1742. His native name was Thayendaregea. After his father, a Canajoharie Mohawk, died in the Ohio country, his mother returned to her homeland, bringing with her Joseph and his sister Molly. Thereafter, both brother and sister were destined to a life of movement and adventure. Joseph was "discovered" by Sir William Johnson and sent to an Indian mission school maintained by Doctor Wheelock. Here he studied with unusual diligence for two years, and in 1763 returned to the Mohawk Valley, where he entered the service of Sir William at an unusually good salary for the times. His ability as a leader among his people was immediately evident, and Johnson found him an invaluable aid whose loyalty and judgment could be relied upon. These qualities were, indeed, most important at a time when the Indians were feeling dissatisfied with the attitude of the settlers. Seneca Indians and others were being murdered by border ruffians, and the Senecas were fast losing patience. They feared not only extermination by the settlers but the total loss of their lands. The apprehension was quite general. It became necessary that a boundary line be definitely fixed.

The work of arranging a council by which the line should be fixed fell naturally upon Sir William, who decided that it should be held at the great portage upon which Fort Stanwix stood. An abundance of provisions was sent on from Albany, at Johnson's request. The council, which was held in October, 1768, opened with more than three thousand Indian delegates from the Six Nations and their dependent tribes, the Shawnees, Delawares and Ohio Senecas. Many important colonial officials attended the conference, among them the Governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The boundary line was fixed and terms of sale agreed upon for all the land claimed by the English. For this land the

sum of \$50,000 was to be turned over to the Indians, a sum that the King of England felt was too great to give mere natives.

The boundary line started at a point on Wood Creek, not far from Fort Stanwix, and ran southeast to the forks of the Unadilla River, then along the Unadilla to its junction with the Susquehanna; thence south to the bend of the Delaware (at the present location of Deposit); thence southeast along the Delaware a few miles below the site of Hancock; thence northwest to a point below Owego; thence along the Susquehanna to the mouth of Towanda Creek; thence in a direct air line to a point at the confluence of the Monongahela and the Allegheny. All the land to the east of this line was to be ceded to the King, and the King and his subjects were to recognize all land to the west of this line as the Six Nations' domain. The exceptions were certain reservations about the Mohawk villages.

There were many objections on the part of the Indians and the settlers to certain portions of this line, and, though the Indians had the utmost confidence in Sir William, they had no such confidence in certain settlers and traders who sought at every opportunity to defraud them and to kill their people. The line was designed to keep each party from encroaching upon the other, but the Senecas knew only too well that no English settler would stay on his own side of the fence if he could help it.

Scarcely six months passed before Sir William found it necessary to make a journey to the Onondagas, the Cayugas and the Senecas, for the purpose of getting full particulars relating to the outrages of the settlers committed upon Six Nations people. His objective was the town of Kaneadasaga (near Geneva), where he had summoned the Ohio Senecas to meet with him and their brethren. Sir William was well received by his Indian friends, who poured into his ear a long list of grievances, and showed how innumerable frauds had been practiced upon them. The sympathy of Sir William was all with them and he returned to his Mohawk Valley home full of indignation. Indeed, in his report to the Earl of Hillsborough, he said that even on his journey home he was overtaken with the news of the murder of an inoffensive Seneca lad, who was fired upon by some frontiersman on the Susquehanna. The murder was all the more inexcusable since the father of the youth and his whole family were zealous partisans of the English settlers. It was not the only murder, for many

others were recited by Johnson in his statement. He also mentions a murderous attack upon Callendar, a trader on his way to Fort Pitt with twenty-five horses laden with Indian trader articles. The assailants were thirty white men disguised as Indians. The Earl of Hillsborough carried the complaint to the King, who, in turn, wrote to his colonial governors asking them to take steps to prevent this violence and encroachment. Despite the order of the King, trouble continued and Indians were murdered by settlers at every opportunity, until Indian patience was almost exhausted. Johnson well knew that the Indians did not begin reprisals until all other methods had seemingly failed. He did his best to calm the Indians and to stop the settlers from murdering them, and in his letter to Earl Dartmouth he expresses his difficulty. "My negotiation," he wrote, "with the Senecas was interrupted by intelligence that a certain Mr. Cressop (Cresaps), an inhabitant of Virginia, had murdered forty Indians on the Ohio, for the most part of the Six Nations." Indeed, so savage were these border ruffians that they murdered Indian women and killed their children, and even scalped them. The old and friendly did not escape, for even the kindly old Bald Eagle, chief of the Delawares, a man who had mingled with the whites for many years, was murdered in his canoe while on his way down the Kanhawa. Tearing the scalp from the old man's head, his murderer set his body upright and set the canoe again adrift down the stream.³ The favorite chief of the Shawnees met a similar fate. Old Silver Heels, the chief, had undertaken in the kindest manner to guide a party of white traders through the forest from the Ohio country to Albany, and was murdered en route.

The bloody raids of the settlers continued until the Indians could no longer endure them in silence, and the Cresaps war followed. Prominent in the Indian forces were Logan, the Mingo chief, and Chief Cornstalk. Indian raids began with fatal success, and in all of them the humanity of Logan was conspicuous; so much so that, in spite of the fact that his wife and children had been murdered, the Indians called him, "the white man's friend." At length the Virginia bordermen mustered their regiments and a battle was fought at the mouth of the Kanhawa. Considering the number of combatants, it was one of the most sanguinary in the history of colonial encounters. The Indians

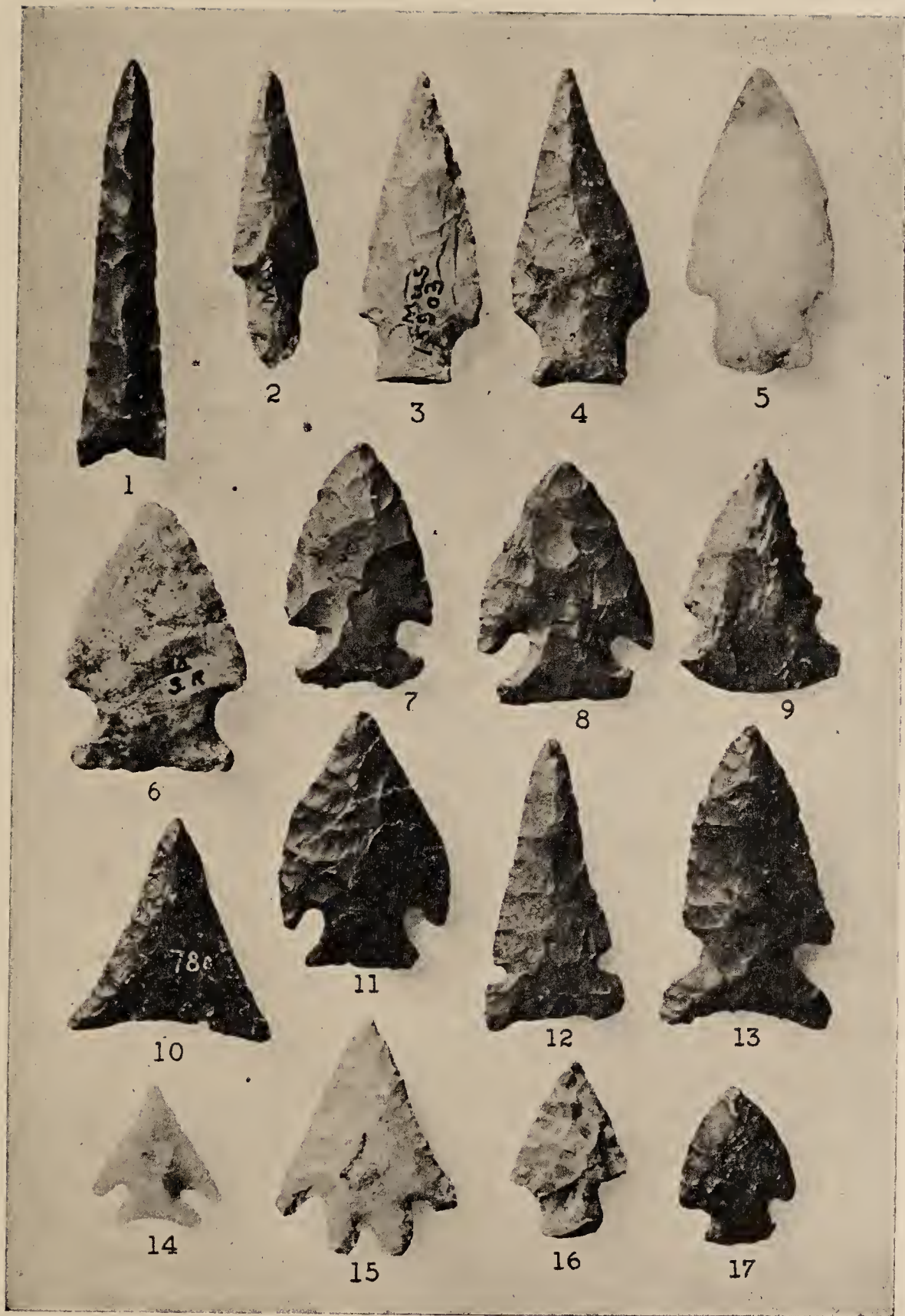
³ For these and other instances, see Ketchum's *Buffalo and the Senecas*, Vol. 1, pages 162 to 165 ff.

eventually retreated after being surrounded, but the losses they inflicted were too heavy to justify their opponents' claim as conquerors.

Peace was sought by Lord Dunmore, and a messenger dispatched to the cabin of Logan. It was upon this occasion that Logan made his celebrated speech, counted as one of the masterpieces of tragic eloquence. Col. John Gibson with his officers came into the Indian village and saw Logan and Cornstalk. The former invited the officers to walk out a little ways with him. Then, with his face bathed in tears and exhibiting every evidence of deep anguish, Logan spoke. He said:

"I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if he ever came cold and naked and he warmed him not. During the course of the last long bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of the white man.' I had thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relatives of Logan; not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge; I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my revenge. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace, but do not harbor the thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

In considering the part taken by the Senecas and their colonials against the colonists in the events that follow, we should keep in mind their smouldering resentment against the settlers, and their love for and loyalty to Sir William Johnson and the royal power that he represented. It will be remembered, however, that many of the Indians had a happier experience with the settlers, and that missionary influence, particularly that of Rev. Samuel Kirkland among the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, was of a kind that cemented them to their white neighbors. His influence and activities were confined chiefly to these people, though he had sojourned among the Senecas in 1764 and 1766, having during his visitation kept a journal which is of vast importance today.



ARROWHEADS

It is one of our best sources of information concerning life in the great Seneca town of Kanadasega.

It was in Kanadasega that Sayenquerhaghta, "the Old King," dwelt. He was the leading chief of the Senecas and greatly respected by them. When Kirkland came to the Old Castle (or Seneca Castle), Kanadasega, he was received by Old King (also called Old Smoke, Disappearing Smoke and Sayenqueraghta), and given protection by him, even to the extent of an adoption.

In the midst of a forest clearing two miles long and a mile wide Old Castle had its nestling place. In its center was a block-house with a roof well protected by a parapet and a spacious stockade surrounding its grounds. East and west from this imposing symbol of strength ran the great street of the castle, full one hundred and fifty feet wide. Along this highway on either side were the log houses of the Senecas. They were widely spaced, for each house had its yard and garden; the average lot was not more than two hundred feet wide, though some were closer together. The log houses for the most part were comfortable enough, having stoned-up fire places, swinging cranes and the usual pots and kettles always found in the homes of the settlers. There were even Dutch ovens and roasting spits, pans and skillets. The best homes had floors of split logs smoothed off and neatly fitted, but the more humble cabins had floors of beaten clay. For carpets they had rugs of bear, deer and elk skin. Ezra Buel, who went with the English surveying party in 1765, left an interesting account of Old Castle,⁴ and in it exclaims: "Altogether the Senecas at Old Castle live as well as most of the white settlers in a new country."

The Senecas tilled the land in common, after their ancient practices, and had communal storehouses. Their crops were corn, beans, squashes, pumpkins and melons, while from their orchards they picked apples, pears and peaches. They had little need for cattle, for the woods about them furnished plenty of meat. Horses were preferred as domestic animals, as they were more easily cared for, and could forage for themselves in winter, if encouraged with a daily supply of corn. The Senecas of Old Castle in 1765 dressed for the most part like white people of the frontier. Their own native "cuts" were still to be observed, and, even when flannel and broadcloth were employed, they used the

⁴ See Buel, A. C., *Sir William Johnson*, p. 237, ff.

Indian style of hunting shirt. Leather leggings were the vogue and moccasins were the common foot gear. Some of the Indians here treasured their military coats, which they donned on special occasions. The women were neatly dressed in broadcloth skirts, flannel underskirts and leather leggings. Their overdresses were often of light flannel or turkey-cloth of solid color, green, red or blue, and profusely beaded. Ribbons were neatly sewed on around the collar and bottom, and row after row of silver brooches ornamented the clothing of those who had wealth and position.

East of the Seneca town was the trading post on the lake shore. Here lived the traders, the British representative and the gunsmith, together with their clerks and their families. It was a busy place, for here the Indians from near and far transacted their business, and here stopped many of the travelers, traders and messengers on their way to distant tribes and posts. The Old Castle itself had a population of four hundred and twenty-seven persons, including half-breed children of English and French settlers and officers. Even the Swiss gunsmith, Drepard, had a half-blood wife, and the great chief Cornplanter had found a white girl and married her. Thus it was that European blood crept into the Indian villages and gradually diluted the native strain. It was the beginning of the process of amalgamation.

Some of the Indians of Old Castle were well versed in the ways of the English settlers, and the trader had as clerks two Indian boys who had been educated at Canajoharie. The old chief Sayenqueraghta, though unlettered, was a man of extraordinary intelligence and judgment, and from his council-house in the Old Castle governed his people with great ability. His humane qualities and sympathy for human suffering are remarked by Kirkland. Old Castle was far from being a town of mere savages, and this picture has been extended that we might catch a vision of the kind of people who were attached to the British at the outbreak of the Revolutionary war. Old Castle was destined to see troublous times, the reason for which we shall shortly describe.

The Senecas had little idea that the colonists were gradually becoming irritated at the action of Crown agents, or that a steady resistance was developing. They only knew that Sir William Johnson and his deputies continually urged that they retain their

loyalty to England. This was not difficult, for the Indians found the colonists oftentimes their antagonists, while the agents of the Crown interposed to protect them. Settlers murdered Indians; the agents of the King gave them presents of food, clothing and utensils. Whom then should they trust? Should it be Sir William, Brant and the loyal subjects of the Crown to whom they had pledged allegiance and support? Or should they believe the complaints of Herkimer, Kirkland and Philip Schuyler, for all of whom they had a high regard? The Senecas were greatly perplexed, but wished to remain neutral; at least, this was their first feeling.

During July, 1774, a large body of Indians congregated at Johnson Hall, to seek Sir William's advice and interposition in the Ohio war led by Lord Dunmore. The 11th of July was a hot and disagreeable day, and Sir William had been sick for several days, yet for two hours he addressed his Indian friends. After this effort he collapsed, and two hours later breathed into the ears of his brother-in-law, Joseph Brant, these words: "Joseph, control your people, control your people! I am going away." Thus, amid a great concourse of his Indian friends, the spirit of Sir William passed out. Word quickly spread that Colonel Johnson's last words were spoken in Iroquois and that he had transmitted his authority to Joseph Brant. Soon afterwards Brant was elected grand military chief of the Six Nations, and many Indians believed that Sir William's power had descended to one of their own blood and kin. What effect this belief had upon them we have yet to see. As a matter of fact, however, the succession in office as British Superintendent fell to Col. Guy Johnson, upon whose shoulders rested a dangerous burden.

There could be no doubt that the colonists were preparing for a struggle with the Crown, and Sir William had debated this subject with gloomy forebodings before he died. By April, 1775, when the news of Lexington reached Johnson Hall, it was clearly seen that the colonists were ready to resist the King and his red coats. Tory and colonist alike saw that in New York, at least, the Six Nations were to be reckoned with. With whom would they cast their lot? The British held forth every inducement, and not only promised the Indians great benefits from this war, but urged them to cling to their alliance with the Crown and to punish the rebellious subjects who made war. The patriots sought

to explain the reason for their rebellion, that the Six Nations might understand their cause, but the reasons were beyond their comprehension, and Christianized Indians replied to their missionary teachers, "You taught us to be loyal to the King, and all our prayers ended with a petition that God save him."

The Iroquois confederacy of the Six Nations did not act under the pressure of importunities of the Crown, but, with the possible exception of the Mohawks, resolved to hold aloof. The Oneidas, Tuscaroras and river Mahikans and Stockbridges declared their intention to support their friends among the settlers, and thus alienated themselves from the sympathy of Brant. In this manner was the famous Iroquois confederacy divided by the most serious differences that had arisen since its inception.

Even the Senecas, though for the most part they wanted to remain neutral, were not united in their loyalty to the British, but a division of them headed by Big Tree, an amiable chief of much influence, strongly favored the colonies and worked actively for them, as hereinafter recorded. The Senecas at this time were peacefully pursuing their farming and hunting, having found satisfaction in the arts of peace. Mary Jemison in her narrative relates that "for twelve or fifteen years after the French War the use of the implements of war was not known, nor the war whoop heard, save on days of festivity when the achievements of former days were commemorated in a kind of mimic warfare." In the seventh chapter of her story we find an excellent picture of the period just before the outbreak of the American Revolution.

As allies of the British, the Senecas were invited with their tribal brothers to witness the battle at the taking of Fort Stanwix. It was an invitation to witness a holiday party, in which the colonists should be whipped by the well drilled and handsomely dressed British militia. This, indeed, would impress the Iroquois with the power of the British and the urgent necessity of supporting them against the rebellious colonists! All the Indians were asked to do was "to sit down, smoke their pipes and look on," said Mary Jemison. She continued her account by saying that, "contrary to expectations, instead of smoking and looking on, they were obliged to fight for their lives; and in the end of the battle were completely beaten, with a great loss in killed and wounded. Our Indians alone had thirty-six killed, and a great

number wounded." Such was the participation of the Senecas in the first real battle, that of Oriskany, *the place of nettles*.

The Tory forces were under the command of St. Leger and the Indians were under Brant. The colonists were under General Herkimer. Arrayed against him, besides the regulars and the Indians, were the Rangers under Colonel Butler. The British forces were on their way to Fort Stanwix, which the Patriots had rechristened Fort Schuyler, when Herkimer with his forces cautiously approached with a body of eight hundred to one thousand men. Herkimer knew something of border warfare and his extreme caution displeased some of his younger officers, who urged an immediate advance. He yielded and fell into an ambuscade in an unfavorable place. The fight was precipitous and wild disorder ensued until the General could bring about an order of battle. Stone in his "Buffalo and the Senecas" has described the battle of Oriskany with great vividness, and ends by saying, "—the Indians perceiving with what ardor the Provincials maintained the fight, and finding their own numbers sadly diminished, now raised the retreating cry of 'Oonah' and fled in every direction." With the flight of the Indians, the British Greens and Rangers began a retreat toward the fort where firing indicated that their presence was needed. Even here the patriots were successful in driving away John Johnson and in putting the Indians to flight.

This battle, though an accident of war, was a happy omen. For the first time the *Stars and Stripes* had floated over an American force in battle, and under it Americans had withstood the baptism of fire. Here under its sacred folds Americans had poured forth their blood that America might be free.

The nettles of Oriskany left scars in the breasts of the Senecas, scars that would not heal. Chiefs who advised peace were scorned, and even Molly Brant, with tears and every display of strong emotion, urged the Senecas to follow their English allies. She scored the venerable Sayenqueraghta, and reminded him of his friendship for Sir William. This appeal by the widow of the great Johnson was not without fruit, for it served to arouse the Senecas to action. The Old King of Old Castle now resolved to lead forth his men.

The work of Brant was indefatigable, and when the Senecas finally became active partisans, they were put to their bloody

work under Tory orders at Cherry Valley. Later they descended upon Wyoming, in the Susquehanna Valley, and by an adroit movement came upon the settlement at a time when the militia was watching for them in another direction. Brant was not present but a leader equally able commanded the Senecas; he was Sayenqueraghta.

Once the Colonial forces surrendered no lives were taken, but during the battle the carnage was frightful. Many of the Senecas reverted to their primitive savagery and wallowed in blood. It must be said, however, in justice to them, that no women or children were killed by direct attack. Smarting as they were from their former defeat, the Senecas at Wyoming had full opportunity to glut their revenge, and yet the restraint that they showed is no less than remarkable. Every historian knows that this battle might have been a massacre indeed had the Senecas so willed it.

Once the young warriors had felt the thrill of battle they thirsted for further campaigns. British agents and officers incited them to revenge and argued that the Senecas must remain loyal to the King. But all the Senecas were not agreed to this, among them Chief Big Tree,⁵ who had in 1778 spent some time with Gen. George Washington. During the summer Washington sent the Chief among his people to urge them to take the side of the colonies. Big Tree was successful in a measure among certain groups, but a spy spread the news through Old Castle (Genundasega) and Genesee Castle (Little Beards' Town, Dyu-non-da-ga-geh), that the Americans were preparing to invade the land of the Senecas and drive them out. Whether the rumor had foundation or not, it was a shrewd guess at what was actually to happen. Big Tree could no longer prevail upon his people, whose villages were filled with warriors from far distant settlements. If they and he had been inclined to peace, they now were for war against those who sought to invade their land.

At this period there were no stockaded Seneca villages. All were laid out on open ground with their fields about them. No longer did the bark lodge predominate, for now houses were built of logs and even boards. Some houses were of neat appearance and well painted, their surroundings showing evidence of thrift and real taste. The Senecas felt themselves secure, and had it

⁵ Big Tree's Seneca name was Ga-on-do-go-wa.



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STONE AXES

not been for the white man's war they would have been happy indeed.

Their great town, Old Castle, contained fifty comfortable houses and was surrounded by flourishing fields and orchards; farther west was Kanandaigua, a town of twenty-three houses, situated a mile from the lake on the west side. The houses here were large and comfortable, having well-built fire places. There were those who remarked that it resembled in appearance a little settlement of white settlers. Farther west, near the foot of Honeoye Lake, was the village of Hanneyaye, a hamlet of from fifteen to twenty cabins, and all about it were fine fields and flourishing orchards. The west, or Genesee, Senecas had numerous little villages and several large towns. The largest was Little Beard's Town (Genesee Castle), in Leicester, already mentioned, a settlement of one hundred and twenty-eight houses; Canawagus, on the west side of the Genesee opposite Avon, was a place where the trails converged. Ganosgago was at Dansville, Dyuneganooh at Caledonia, Ohagi near Leicester, Onundaoh near Nunda, Deyuitgaoh at Squawkie Hill, Gahnnyhsas near the outlet of Conesus Lake, Big Kettle's Town near Mount Morris, Gawshegweoh near Williamsburg, Ganundase (Ga-non-da-seeh) at Moscow, Deowesta at Portageville, Gahnigadot at East Avon, Sgahisga-ah at Lima, and Gaondowanuh Village at Big Tree in Leicester on the west side of the river. Besides these there were several smaller settlements and clusters of cabins. There was a village at Naples and several along the Susquehanna trail, particularly a large and fine settlement at Newtown, near Elmira, where the Senecas had colonized, their Sauk captives from their western wars; while Catherinestown was just south of Seneca Lake. To the west along the Tonawanda trail were settlements at Tonawanda (town of Alabama), and along the Cattaraugus and the Allegany.

The young braves on the frontier, influenced by the British, began to fall upon outlying settlements, and render other aid to the British, until the wrath of the colonial government could no longer be suppressed. General Washington planned an aggressive campaign against the Senecas in their own territory, and tendered the command of the expedition to General Gates, who declined the service. The leadership was then offered to General John Sullivan, a delegate to the Continental Congress, and by that body appointed Major General in July, 1776, who accepted.

His orders were to invade the Seneca country and destroy every form of property and food, utterly devastating the Indian lands. In another portion of this history the expedition of General Sullivan is fully described.

After an attack at Newtown the news spread that the American troops were coming, and, as the army approached, one by one the Seneca towns were abandoned. Sullivan caused the destruction of every town and hamlet that he found, burned the food supplies and cut down orchards and growing crops. The stricken Senecas were torn by fearful emotions, and, when they caught Lieutenant Boyd and Private Parker, members of General Sullivan's scouting party, they were subjected to the torture. Boyd's mutilation is one of the most revolting in the annals of Seneca warfare, and his death may be laid to the door of the British officer, Colonel Butler, who might have saved him had he obeyed even the elemental instincts of humanity.

In the end the Senecas fled where they might, most of them westward over the Niagara trail and to the protecting gates on Fort Niagara. This was an unexpected drain upon the resources of that British stronghold, and one upon which they had not counted. It was not difficult, however, to obtain supplies from Canada and the Indians were fed on scanty rations until spring, when they were induced to move to secure places along the Cattaraugus, Tonawanda and Allegany. Numbers returned to the Genesee Country to prowl for awhile among the ashes of their old homes, and then to build anew in other spots. Had Sullivan's successful army pushed on to Niagara, there is little doubt that he would have captured the fort and justly punished those who better deserved punishment than the misguided Senecas. Sullivan's expedition has been described many times and varying estimates of its value given. That it was a decisive campaign there can be no doubt. It proved the power of American arms over the Iroquois confederacy; it warned the British that the "provincials" were able to cope with military problems, and it put an end to border depredations by the Senecas. It did more than this. Sullivan's expedition revealed the Genesee Country to the white man and displayed it as a paradise of fertility and productiveness. It opened up a vast domain of highly desirable land, and Sullivan's men never forgot it, but, when the war was

over, clamored to return that they might build homes and rear mills and towns.

But Sullivan was not alone in his expeditions. One often forgets that Colonel Broadhead left Pittsburg on August 11, 1779, for an expedition against the Allegheny Senecas, traveling four hundred miles, destroying one hundred and thirty-five Indian houses and laying waste vast fields and orchards. He scattered the Senecas, the Munceys and Mingos, and returned without the loss of a single man. And thus in the Genesee Country, from end to end, were battles and expeditions of the Revolutionary war fought out to successful conclusions. The red men had seen the new flag and respected it, for where it came British power fled. When one considers the subject, he must see that the forces of the American states laid hold of western New York and expelled the Senecas and their allies almost without a contest. Had this been the triumph of most nations, the title to the soil would have been considered extinguished and the land claimed by conquest. The Senecas, however, though scattered and humbled, did not admit defeat, and the trees with twisted tops, which they left along the line of their retreat, symbolized that "the power of the whirlwind may be great but the tree still stands, though its branches are twisted and broken."

The year 1780 was one of readjustment for the Senecas and they went back to Big Tree, Geneseo, Canawagus and scattered places along the upper waters of the Genesee, as Squawkie Hill and Canadia. Others pushed westward, many of the Beardstown people settling at Tonawanda, others going down the Allegheny, and still others roving westward to Ohio into the mixed settlements on the Sandusky. The bitterness of defeat still rankled, and those who had revenge to nurse sought bloody comfort in the service of Brant and the Tory raiders south of the Mohawk.

By 1781 the Seneca, Cayuga and Onondaga refugees from their rendezvous at Niagara began to settle on Buffalo Creek, the first to establish himself being none other than Old King, Sayenqueraghta.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WHITE MAN TAKES POSSESSION, 1783-1842.

By ARTHUR CASWELL PARKER, M. S.

It was one of the customs of war for the Senecas to secure as many captives as they could conveniently lead back to their villages. These were reserved for the joint purpose of propitiating the outraged *manes* of the slain, and for filling their places in the tribe. It was believed that the sufferings of captured enemies satisfied the souls of warriors killed in battle and gave them the revenge that they required. To deny this sacrifice to the ghosts meant that they would avenge themselves upon the living and bring famine and pestilence. Loyal brothers and loving relatives might make the sky-journey easy if they would bruise and burn a captive. Rooted upon this belief in ghosts, the Iroquois practiced his inhuman deeds of torture. It may have been superstition, but not more vile, perhaps, than the flaying, rack-ing, boiling, lacerating and burning of unhappy victims in England and France, because their views of religion were not those of the established church. We are prone to call the red man cruel and think of him as beneath us in this respect, forgetting that civilized, and presumably Christian Europeans, were far more cruel to each other than the Indian ever was.

In their frontier raids the Senecas took many white captives, hoping to adopt them as their own children. To be torn from a Christian home and hurried to an Indian settlement was a horrible experience to many, and there are heartrending accounts of unhappy captives who, during long years of vain endeavor, sought to find their relatives. The narrative of the Gilbert captivity is a specific case; that of Frances Slocum, the lost sister, another, but each story has a different ending. It is impossible to tell how many French, English, Dutch and American men and women, boys and girls, were captured and hidden by the Senecas. We know that there were many, but no complete account has ever

been made. Now and then we catch a glimpse of captives, as travelers passed through Seneca settlements, like the case of Kanadasega, where Cornplanter lived with a white wife, and where Sullivan found a white child that could not speak a word of English. In every Seneca town there were half-blood children of French and English traders. Thus, through captives and by forest dwellers and wanderers, Seneca blood by the middle of the 18th century was becoming diluted with that of the European.

By far the most reliable and interesting story of a captivity is that of Mary Jemison, the White Woman of the Genesee, whose biography, taken down by Dr. James Everett Seaver in November, 1823, has passed through more than twenty editions. It is not our intention to review the life of this remarkable woman, but to call attention to the fact that, once she resigned herself to her fate, Mary Jemison did not find her lot one unbearably hard. Her Indian friends loved her and she probably suffered no more hardships than she would as a frontier woman among her own people. We do know for a certainty, however, that her life was a useful one, and that her example of thrift and industry had a marked influence upon her adopted people, who in the end rewarded her well. By the fortunate circumstance of Doctor Seaver's record of her history, taken substantially from her own lips, we have an account of Seneca life during the period from 1755 to 1823 that is without equal in its value as an interpretation of the times.

Jasper Parrish was another captive whose influence was of the highest importance in the determination of events in the Genesee Country. At the age of eleven years he was captured by a party of Delawares, who perhaps had lost kinsmen in the Wyoming massacre. Young Parrish was passed from one tribe to another, and during his varied experiences learned five or six Indian dialects. His prudence and good judgment, coupled with a sense of humor, gained many friends for him, and he was everywhere a favorite among the red men. One of his fellow captives was Horatio Jones, who in 1781 was taken prisoner. Jones, unlike Parrish, was a soldier, and might have shared a soldier's fate at the hands of his enemies, but, by good fortune, was ordered to run the gauntlet, the goal being a wigwam which, should he reach it would mean safety. The Senecas lined up on either side of the path and, as Jones ran, pelted him with stones,



KENJOCKETY (SHEN-DYUH-GWA-DIH) THE LAST SURVIVOR
OF THE KAH-KWAS

clubs, javelins and arrows; he was a swiftly moving mark, and skillfully dodged the missiles, escaping uninjured. His pleasant manner and sense of humor gained him great admiration. His tormentors among the young warriors of the village soon found him more than a match for them. When Sharp Shins, for example, threw tomahawks at him, he tossed them back with such fatal accuracy that he nearly killed him. He thrust a boiling squash under the shirt of another warrior, who teased him beyond the limits of endurance, and the Indians who witnessed the prank laughed long and loud. They admired a man who could give more than he received, and do so with a smile. Both Parrish and Jones endeared themselves to the Senecas, and when, by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, all prisoners were to be released, they gave up these two with many a heart ache. But these young men had found their niche, and went back to their Seneca friends, both of them commissioned by the United States Government as interpreters. Jones settled at Little Beards Town, and Parrish made his home at Canandaigua. At the Genesee council of 1797, it was ordered that both Jones and Parrish should receive substantial presents. Farmers Brother, an influential chief, made an eloquent address which was designed to be communicated to the Legislature of New York, asking a confirmation of the title of the land given them. In this address he said, among other things:

“Brothers: This whirlwind (the Revolutionary war) was so directed by the Great Spirit above, as to throw into our arms two of your infant children, Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish. We adopted them into our families, and made them our children. We nourished them and loved them. They lived with us many years. At length the Great Spirit spoke to the whirlwind, and it was still. A clear and uninterrupted sky appeared, the path of peace was opened, and the chain of friendship was once more made bright. Then these adopted children left us to seek their relations. We wished them to return among us, and promised, if they would return and live in our country, to give each of them a seat of land for them and their children to sit down upon.

“Brothers: They have returned and have for several years past been serviceable to us as interpreters; we still feel our hearts beat with affection for them, and now wish to fulfill the promise we made them for their services.”

Farmers Brother then outlined the tracts of land assigned to Jones and Parrish on Suyguquoydes Creek near the Niagara. It was a generous gift and characteristic as an expression of gratitude. Of Jones and Parrish and Farmers Brother we shall learn more in pages that tell of the treaties that followed the war.

In the Treaty of Peace, which ended the Revolutionary war, Great Britain totally forgot her faithful allies, and no provision whatsoever was made for them. This placed them in an intolerable situation, for the citizens of the new United States could not easily forgive the horrors of border warfare. They clamored that the Indians should go. Washington and Philip Schuyler were inclined to be more lenient. The heart that had hardened against them softened once more. Though Washington had directed the campaign of Sullivan as a punishment for the brutalities of their raids, winning for himself the name Town Destroyer, once the end had been achieved, he was moved with pity for these deluded people, so grievously deceived by British agents of low calibre. A plan was devised by which the Senecas and their allies, except the Mohawks, might still retain a portion of their ancient domain. Hope was born anew in the hearts of the scattered and broken natives of the Genesee Country. To measure out what they still should hold, and to bring about the terms of peace, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was consummated (1784). It was the first treaty with an Indian tribe made by the United States of America. Though it took from them large slices of their western territory and fixed a western boundary, the Senecas and their allies signed the treaty, largely through the importunities of Cornplanter, who, old and experienced, saw that peace on ample acres was far more to be desired than war upon a range of territory that could not be defended. Red Jacket arose to argue the might and supremacy of the Iroquois, and spoke against the provisions of the treaty, but in the end, though the Indians were deeply stirred by his eloquence, Cornplanter's wisdom prevailed. The treaty was signed by a few chiefs, but not by a majority. It was accepted, however, by the Six Nations, though the Senecas could not be reconciled to the loss they had sustained.

The United States believed that its provisions were liberal, considering the relations of the contracting parties, and the Commissioners were careful to convey to the Indians the idea that the land was being given back to them through mercy and fatherly

consideration alone, and not because it was necessary or a matter of compulsion. The Commissioners took a haughty position, for were they not representatives of a conquering nation? By this attitude they hoped to impress the Indians with their conception of the case and to make them feel the weakness of the Indian cause. The Iroquois insisted that they were an independent people; the Commissioners denied this and asserted the supreme sovereignty of the State and Nation.

The Fort Stanwix Treaty as the years went on became a source of great irritation to the Senecas and their fellow tribesmen. It was like an ill-smelling bandage smeared with a caustic salve applied to an open wound. Defeat, starvation and homelessness were bad enough, but this treaty was the "most unkindest cut" of all. So felt the Six Nations; they were not satisfied. Said Cornplanter later: "You told us that we were in your hand, and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country as the price of that peace you had offered us—as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to has bound our nation, but your anger against us must by this time be cooled, and, though our strength has not increased, nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly, *were the terms dictated to us by your commissioners reasonable and just?*"¹

Fort Stanwix was the scene of almost daily councils relating to the dissatisfaction of the Senecas. Red Jacket kept up a constant agitation and by his fiery oratory roused his people to a sense of what they had lost. The Treaty of Fort Harmer on the Muskingum followed in 1789, and all through these trying events we hear the voice of Washington endeavoring to pacify the Six Nations, and to assure them that the United States meant to accord full justice. His magnanimity is little less than astonishing, and his gentle firmness and diplomacy is one of the triumphs of statesmanship. This the Six Nations afterward realized, and they have accorded him an honorable place in their "Happy Hunting Ground"; yet a solitary place, for they said that he was the only white man who could enter the Indian's heaven. Today they remember Washington with equal gratitude.

¹ Public Documents, Indian Affairs, Vol. 1, pp. 206-207. Quoted by Stone, Life of Red Jacket, p. 29.

The times were trying, and, to add to difficulties, a border war started in Pennsylvania and Virginia, resulting in the murder of several Seneca chiefs and head men by Pennsylvania bordermen. This was the signal for an outbreak of hostile feeling against the United States, a sentiment that was encouraged by British sympathizers. The United States awakened to the knowledge that the Six Nations, though humbled, were capable of terrible reprisals should they take the war trail again. The Federal Government at once took measures to disavow responsibility for the murder of the Indians and offered a reward for the arrest of the culprits.

The Indians now saw strange happenings. Little did they know that under a royal grant their domain had been given to the Massachusetts Bay colony (Plymouth Company); given by a King who never owned it or saw it, to a colony that never saw it and could not use it. Nor did they know that it had been again granted to the Duke of York by Charles I. These conflicting grants caused some difficulty after the Revolutionary war and, since the states that grew out of the colonies and inherited their rights—New York and Massachusetts—were in controversy, a convention was held at Hartford in December, 1786. As a result Massachusetts surrendered to New York all her claim to the government, sovereignty and jurisdiction of the entire state, and New York conceded to Massachusetts the right of preemption to the soil, subject to the title of the native Indians, of all that part of its territory lying west of a line beginning at a point in the north boundary of Pennsylvania eighty-two miles west of the northeast corner of the latter state and running thence due north through Seneca Lake to Lake Ontario, thereafter known as the "Preemption Line," with certain reservations. One notable reservation was a strip of land east of and adjoining the eastern bank of the Niagara River, a mile wide and extending its whole length. The State claimed the land to the river's edge, for the Senecas had agreed to this, but, inasmuch as they did not sell to the middle of the river, they still claim ownership of the bed of the Niagara, from its east bank to the international line.

New York was thus confirmed in the sovereignty of its whole territory, and Massachusetts secured the right to sell the lands described. This, in April, 1788, it contracted with Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts citizens, to do for one

million dollars in Massachusetts Consolidated Securities, then below par, and the purchasers were to extinguish the Indian title. In July, 1788, at Buffalo Creek, Phelps and Gorham made a treaty with the Indians by which the title of the latter to a portion of their purchase from Massachusetts was released to them. This tract contained about two million six hundred thousand acres and consisted of all the lands lying east of a line extending from the Pennsylvania state boundary due north to the confluence of Canaseraga Creek and the Genesee River; thence along the river to a point two miles north of the old village of Canawaugus; thence due west twelve miles; thence northerly so as to be twelve miles distant from the west bounds of the river to the shore of Lake Ontario. In November, 1788, Massachusetts conveyed this part of the "Purchase" to Phelps and Gorham. But the advance in value of the Consolidated Securities of Massachusetts brought ruin to Phelps and Gorham, and they were obliged to surrender to Massachusetts their contractual rights to the lands west of the line above mentioned, embracing nearly three million seven hundred and fifty thousand acres. These lands were purchased from Massachusetts by Robert Morris, in 1791, for one hundred thousand pounds; Morris, in turn, sold them, except the eastern portion known as the "Morris Reserve," to a group of Hollanders, whence the name "Holland Purchase," and, in 1797, at the treaty of Big Tree, the Indian title to these lands was extinguished, with the exception of certain reservations elsewhere mentioned.

The story of these land transactions is a thoroughly interesting one; it is elsewhere in this work comprehensively told, and forms no major part of the subject of this chapter. Our concern is rather with the extinguishment of the Indian title and with the treaties that effected this. We have seen that the Senecas were not satisfied with the Fort Stanwix agreement and that they were aroused by affairs on the western border. It was evident that a new treaty should be arranged.

President Washington selected Col. Timothy Pickering as his Commissioner and charged him with the duty of making a treaty that should satisfy all parties. A great council was convoked at Tioga Point, where many tribes gathered and poured out their grievances and laid bare their hearts. It is here that we catch glimpses of the character and power of Red Jacket, Farmers Brother, Little Billy, Fish Carrier and Henry Apamaut. Later

came the Proctor Council at Buffalo Creek and the Pickering Council at Painted Post. During all these events British agents had kept the Indians in a state of agitation, and western tribes sought to unite the Six Nations in a league that would destroy the colonies and push the white man back into the sea, whence he came.

The United States wished to cultivate the friendship of the Six Nations for many reasons, not the least of which was a sincere desire to be humane and just. A friendly council was called at Philadelphia and all the noted chiefs bidden to attend. They came in all their pomp and dignity, and were met by a gala display of military power. They were paraded and feasted and hailed as friends, loaded with presents and clothing, and feasted again. One chief died from an overabundance of good food, and, we may suspect, of good drink. Colonel Pickering was in charge of this task of instilling faith and hope in the hearts of the Indians, seeking to develop a feeling of loyalty to the new council of states—the Thirteen Fires, as the Indians called them. To him was committed a great mission. As a character in American history, Pickering should be better known. He was born in Salem, Massachusetts, and in 1766 was commissioned a lieutenant. Ten years later he was a regimental commander in the American army. His deportment won the esteem of General Knox and commended itself to Washington. His attainments as a lawyer and military commander gave him considerable influence; he possessed a pleasing personality, an athletic physique; his bearing was dignified, almost regal, and he radiated a sense of inherent power. As a Commissioner to the Indians this was an ideal selection, for the Indians like to measure a man by the respect he instinctively demands, and by the natural confidence that he instills. Pickering was sincere because he was genuine. The Indians felt this and named him Connisauti, meaning *The Sunny Side of the Hill*. The name was an old and honorable one among them and aptly applied, though Indian names seldom have any personal application. Pickering felt that the Senecas and their brethren were in an unhappy state and his sympathies were all with them. Divesting himself of prejudice, he was able to interpret their acts and their situation in accordance with the times in which they lived and the cultural state in which they were reared.

To settle all differences that existed between the Six Nations

and their white neighbors, finally to cement peace, to declare the intention of the United States and to fix boundaries definitely, a new council was held at Canandaigua during the late autumn of 1794. It was the culmination of a long series of events, some of which we have mentioned all too briefly. Long and stormy were these final deliberations. Each great chief had his day in court, and even the women spoke. There were feastings and exchanges of mutual good will, but at times it seemed as if the council would fail. The Senecas, though they expressed a desire to be friendly, had a certain haughtiness, for they knew that some of their western friends had united against General Anthony Wayne, who was following up the victories of the Indians over Harmer and St. Clair. But during the Canandaigua proceedings, a Tuscarora runner brought in the news of Wayne's victory over Little Turtle and his Miami warriors. Sukachgooh, the Black Snake, as Wayne was called by the red man, had coiled about his foes and crushed them. The news had a salutary effect upon the council. Its deliberations were continued, Red Jacket generally objecting to any move to relinquish hold on a single mile of land on this side of the Ohio. He was a chief of inferior rank, and not a sachem, but he made up by his oratory what he lacked in station, and thus was regarded as a power among his people. Fortunately for the white people of the Genesee, Clear Sky was the presiding sachem of the Senecas at this council, and the voices of Cornplanter and Farmers Brother conveyed messages that were more logical and conciliatory. The Senecas gave up their Ohio lands and agreed to new boundaries; the other nations had their lines defined accurately, and all were assured the right to hold and possess their remaining belongings until such time as they might choose to sell to the people of the United States.

The treaty as signed reads in part:

Article 1. Peace and friendship are hereby firmly established and shall be perpetual between the United States of America and the Six Nations.

Article 2. The United States acknowledge the land reserved to the Oneida, Cayuga and Onondaga nations, in their respective treaties with the State of New York, and called their reservations, to be their property; and the United States will never claim the same nor disturb them or either of the Six Nations, nor their Indian friends residing thereon, and united with them, in the free

use and enjoyment thereof; but said reservations shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase.

Article 3. The land of the Seneca Nation is bounded as follows: (here follows the description) and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneca Nation, but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell to the people of the United States who have the right to purchase.

Other articles provide for the construction of a wagon road from Fort Schlosser to Buffalo Creek, the free and unobstructed passage of the people of the United States through the Indian lands, the free use of waterways and harbors adjoining, and, what was of vast importance, the giving up of private retaliation for judicial arrest and trial.

Peace was accomplished and the points of disagreement settled. The Senecas felt that, though they had lost a vast territory in the Ohio region, they had secured stable peace and a guaranty that what they now had was theirs forever. Said one of the chiefs to Colonel Pickering, "This settlement appears as a great light to me." And, indeed, this treaty remains a light, being the basic document upon which the Six Nations rest their land titles and tribal rights.

Soon afterward Wayne concluded the treaty of Grenville and the western Indians were pacified. The Six Nations now felt that they might rest in full security. They were assured that their white neighbors would be kind and peaceable, and to these things they had also pledged themselves. No longer would their young warriors have an excuse to take the trail westward to join hostile bands that warred against the settlers; and the old people might now live and die without the constant fear of bloodshed, sudden attack and starvation. The readjustment to the new era had come. To the settlers in the new country this meant that safety was assured. The land companies immediately became busy and the white population increased by leaps and bounds. Towns sprang up and with them newspapers, inns, stores and schools.

Our interest, however, is with the aboriginal occupation. Let us glance for a moment at the tracts of land that were assured to them as the new century dawned. We have seen that the Phelps and Gorham Purchase stripped the Senecas of virtually all



GEN. ELY PARKER

Full blooded Seneca Indian, descendant of Red Jacket, became famous as War Secretary to General Grant and was author of the articles of surrender accepted by General Lee. Is buried in Forest Lawn Cemetery at Buffalo, next to Red Jacket's grave.

of their lands east of the Genesee River, while, with twelve exceptions, the whole tract west of the river was at the treaty of Big Tree passed over to Robert Morris and became the Holland Purchase and the Morris Reserve. These exceptions are of much interest to us because they reveal where the Senecas were. A glance at the map will be helpful here as a guide to locations.

Two square miles were reserved on the west side of the Genesee at Canawaugus, opposite the town of Avon. This tract faced the river and ran back two miles from it.

The Big Tree Reservation was at Big Tree village, and also contained two square miles, running west from the river.

Little Beard's Reservation lay just south of Big Tree and also embraced two square miles. Both Big Tree and Little Beard's were opposite the present site of Geneseo, and the Senecas, in speaking of these two locations, always refer to them as Geneseo (in their sonorous language, Djoh-nes-io).

Squawkie Hill Reservation touched the river at one corner and embraced two square miles. Within it were Squawkie Hill and Big Kettle towns.

Gardeau Reservation, upon which at one time was the home of Mary Jemison, was the largest of the Genesee River tracts and lay on both sides of the river in nearly equal tracts, and contained twenty-eight square miles, or 17,927 acres.

Caneadea, officially called Kaounadeau, was at the bend of the river in the present Allegany County. It was two miles wide and eight miles long, being a perfect parallelogram. Its southern line crossed the river at right angles and it lay to the northeast.

Oil Spring Reservation, one mile square, containing the famous oil spring of the Senecas, was inadvertently omitted from the Big Tree treaty, though it was the plain intent of Morris to include it. It was subsequently given to the Senecas by court order (1856). It lies in Allegany County between the forks of Oil Creek.

Buffalo Creek Reservation was a large tract containing nearly one hundred and thirty square miles. Its strategic position against Lake Erie and upon Buffalo Creek, and upon several other pleasant streams, made it a highly desirable tract, and one which because of the evident commercial advantages of the location was to lead white men to wrest it from its Indian possessors.

Tonawanda Reservation, embracing more than seventy

square miles, lay along Tonawanda Creek. It was an oblong with its northwest and its southeast corners indented, a symbol of the further shrinking that was to come.

The Allegheny River Reservation lay along the Allegheny River for forty miles, a half mile on each side of the stream. It was the wildest and most secluded of all the Indian domain.

Cattaraugus Reservation lay along Cattaraugus Creek from its mouth to a line running north and south some seventeen miles up-stream, containing 26,880 acres. It was a beautiful location and upon it was one of the old towns, named after the creek, Cattaraugus. This reservation also included another small tract at the mouth of the Canadaway Creek along Lake Erie, just west of Cattaraugus.

But the Senecas were again to face an insistent demand—a demand for these reserved lands; they were to discover that the term *forever*, employed in the treaty to describe the enduring character of their title, merely meant so long as one or both parties to the contract saw fit to adhere to their original intention. The Holland Land Company began its importunities, and then the Ogden Land Company. In 1838 the latter company, aided and abetted by a United States commission, sought to secure these remaining lands of the Senecas and persuade them to emigrate to Kansas. The Seneca chiefs were besieged night and day, bribed and plied with liquor, but the consent of a majority to this infamous pact could not be obtained. At length, the company was reduced to the necessity of taking debauched Indians to Buffalo and sequestering them in a tavern where they were declared elected chiefs by company agents, and then forced to sign the treaty drawn up by the land commissioners, and known as the Buffalo Creek Treaty of 1838. Not a single Tonawanda chief could be kidnapped, bribed or induced to touch the rum of the treaty agents, yet their names were forged to the document, and they appeared upon it as having agreed to sell out and leave for the uncertain West.

The good Quakers and many other conscientious people of Western New York protested in vain. Notwithstanding all the revelations of missionaries as to the criminal methods used to gain their ends, the Ogden Land Company rushed the fraudulent treaty to Washington, where it was quickly confirmed by the Senate. The Indian delegate, Two Guns, hastened by stage coach

to the capital with a protest signed by nearly all the voters and women of his nation, but he was followed and his satchel stolen. The Quakers headed by Philip Thomas did all in their power to expose the transactions, and their committee, "*—became thoroughly satisfied with the revolting fact that in order to drive these poor Indians from their lands deception and fraud had been practiced to an extent perhaps without parallel in the dark history of oppression and wrong to which the aborigines of our country have been subjected.*"

The voluminous reports of the Society of Friends printed from 1838 to 1856 afford interesting reading along these lines. The Friends did not give up the fight until an amended treaty, that of 1842, had been made by which the Senecas should receive back Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations, but must lose all other lands, including Buffalo and Tonawanda. The Tonawandas were not parties to this treaty, found themselves expatriated, and their lands sold over their heads without having uttered a word except that of protest. Years after, in 1856, the Ogden Company having tried in vain to dispossess them, they bought back at \$20.00 an acre, the land they had been forced to part with at 20 cents an acre, but their purchase was of one-tenth only of their former holdings.

It must not be thought that the law-abiding settlers of the Genesee Country took kindly to these frauds. They certainly did not, and their names are found upon numerous petitions of protest. The Senecas found matchless friends in Philip Thomas, the Quaker, and in Asher Wright, the American Board Missionary at Buffalo Creek. These men led the fight and mustered the protests of the citizen communities, but in vain. The Senecas lost. Many were so deeply embittered that they said, "If this be an act of a Christian nation, we will cling to the faith of our fathers and reject Christianity forever." The strength of the non-Christian party and the Six Nations dates from this experience, and to the present day they recite the frauds of Buffalo Creek.

This extraordinary way of acquiring Indian lands was ill requital indeed for the services of the Senecas in the War of 1812. When the settlers were anxiously awaiting the action of the Seneca Nation and fearing a renewal of border hostilities,—for British agents were still active and the Senecas had provoca-

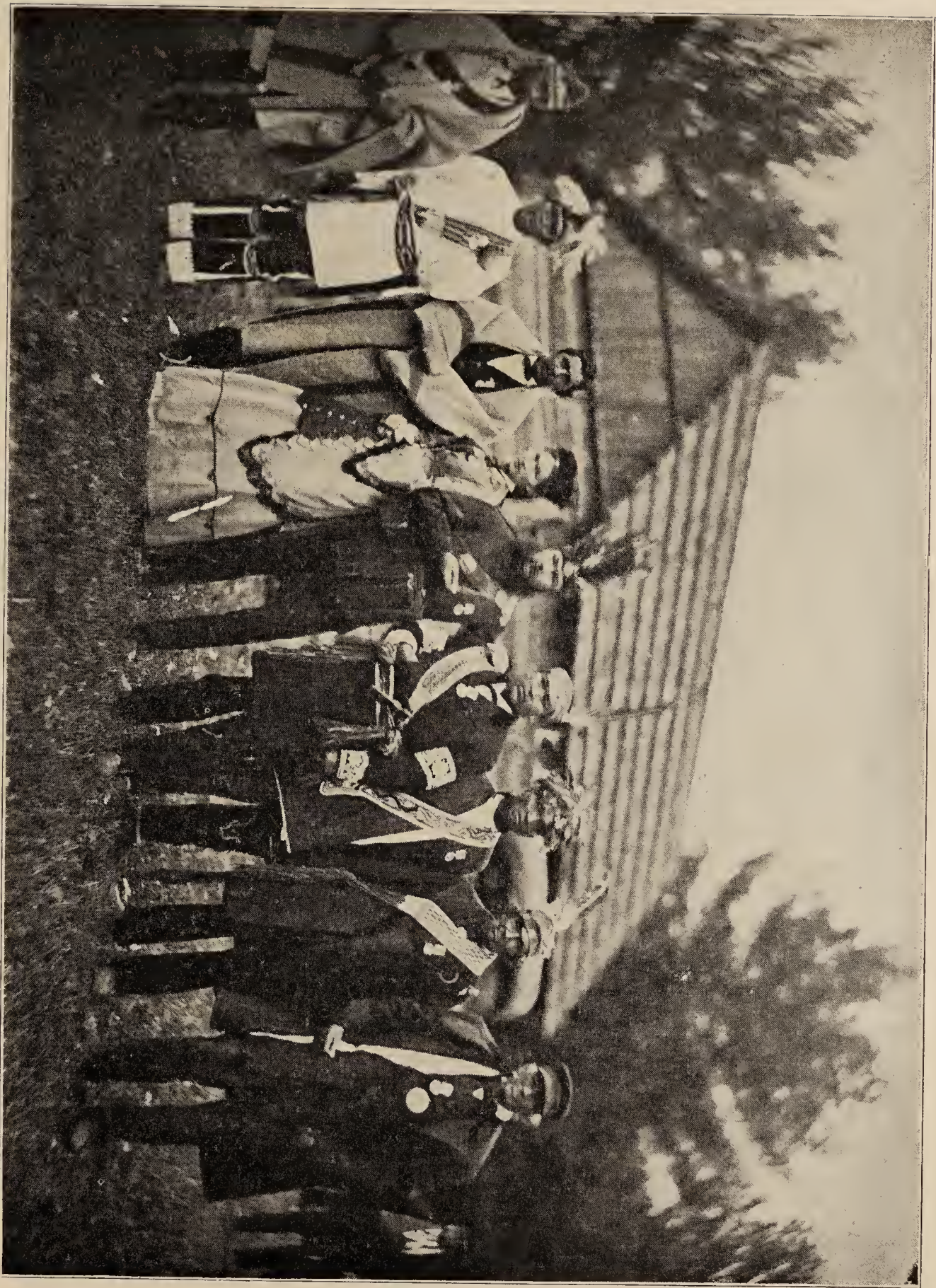
tion enough, the latter relieved the suspense by declaring war on Great Britain, and mustered their forces to meet invasion. They were allies of the United States of America, and as such placed their forces, led by their own captains, under General Porter. So well and effectual they fought at Black Rock, Lundy's Lane, Chippewa and at Buffalo, that they received the commendation of General Scott. No longer did they scalp the dead or torture prisoners, for, though Colonel Farmers Brother was in command, his tactics of warfare had undergone a great change since the day he led his band of young warriors at Devil's Hole.²

For their faithful services the Senecas had a right to expect better treatment from the country than that which was accorded them at Buffalo Creek in 1838; they had proven their unquestioned loyalty and even fought their own kinsmen, who had gone to Canada under Joseph Brant and established anew a Canadian branch of the Six Nations confederacy on the banks of the Grand River in Ontario. It was long before the breach between the two divisions was healed, and, as late as 1876, at the dedication of the Caneadea council house in Letchworth Park, it was with difficulty that the Mohawk, Colonel Kerr, was persuaded to shake hands with Obail, the descendant of Cornplanter. Yet, through the kindly persuasion of William Prior Letchworth, the two did grasp hands and pledge their renewal of friendship under the shadow of Mary Jemison's monument.

After the calamity at Buffalo, the Indians began to abandon their homes, their little villages, their mission church and the graves of their fathers—the graves of Red Jacket, Farmers Brother, Little Billy and scores of others who went to their eternal sleep in the Buffalo Valley.

The Senecas of this period were a mixed people, and no less than a dozen broken tribes were incorporated with them, chiefly, Delaware, Mahikans or Munsees, Foxes, Cherokee, Nanticoke, Shawnees, Neutrals, Eries, Mingos and Chippewas. At first, though all were known as Senecas for official classification, tribal distinctions were kept alive. Philip Kenjockety, a venerable and influential chief, was a descendant of the Neutral Nation, Blue Eye was a Cherokee, John Armstrong was a Delaware, Silverheels was a Shawnee, Tall Chief was a Fox.

² For a full account of the Senecas in the War of 1812, see Parker: *Life of Gen. Ely S. Parker*, published by the Buffalo Historical Society, 1919.



GROUP OF NOTABLES IN ATTENDANCE AT THE LAST COUNCIL OF THE GENESEE IN 1872

READING FROM LEFT TO RIGHT, JAMES SHONGO, SON OF COLONEL SHONGO, PRINCIPAL CHIEF OF CANEADIA; GEORGE JONES, A NOTED WARRIOR; WILLIAM BLACKSNAKE, GRANDSON OF THE CELEBRATED CHIEF GOVERNOR BLACKSNAKE, KATE OSBORN, GRANDDAUGHTER OF CAPT. BRANT; W. J. SIMCOE KERR, GRANDSON OF CAPT. BRANT AND GREAT GRANDSON OF SIR WM. JOHNSON; NICHOLSON H. PARKER, BROTHER OF GENERAL PARKER AND A DESCENDANT OF RED JACKET; SOLOMON OBAIL, SON OF MAJOR OBAIL AND GRANDSON OF CORNPLANTER; JOHN JACKET, GRANDSON OF RED JACKET; THOMAS JEMISON, GRANDSON OF MARY JEMISON.

Mixed bloods, too, were numerous. Captain Pollard was the son of an English trader of that name, though the captain was usually known by his Seneca name, Ga-on-da-wa-neh, *Big Tree*. He was a man of sterling character, "——one of the most honest, pure-minded, worthy men I ever knew," wrote Orlando Allen, and Horatio Jones, who knew him intimately, said of him, "Morally speaking, Pollard was as good a man as any white minister that ever lived." Major Jack Berry was the son of an English trader of that name who lived near Avon, but the Major made his home at Squawkie Hill. He was a man of unusual intellect and spoke English fluently, frequently acting as interpreter for Red Jacket, whom he ardently admired. It was Major Berry who dropped the hint that helped Horatio Jones run the gauntlet successfully.

John Montour was a son of Queen Catherine, a half blood French woman whose village at the head of Seneca Lake was a noted place, being one of the first towns destroyed by Sullivan after leaving Newtown. John Montour was one of the refugees at Fort Niagara after the raid, and, from having eaten some of the poisoned flour doled out as rations to his people, developed an ulcerated lip which in time ate away the flesh. This gave him a fierce appearance, though in reality he was a mild mannered and pleasant man.

We have already mentioned other famous leaders, and these will serve to indicate the type of men who were Senecas. Red Jacket, though an orator, was in reality the inferior of Farmers Brother in personal habits, intellect and judgment. Indeed, Red Jacket became so dissolute during his later days that he incurred the censure of the Prophet, Handsome Lake, the half-brother of Cornplanter. Handsome Lake was the religious leader of his people, and, building up a religion based upon his visions, real or fabricated, he constructed a native faith very similar in character to that of Little Turtle. With great earnestness he spread his "good news," or Gaiwio, as he called it. His main endeavors were directed toward a temperance reform, and he succeeded splendidly. He was able to show that many of the misfortunes of his people came from drinking "onega, the strong water of fire," and that to abandon it meant new life for his people, and with that new life the blessings of the Great Spirit. So successful was Handsome Lake that he knit together

the good things in the older Seneca belief and excluded many of the superstitions. His work recrystallized the religious faith of his people, and from despondency they looked up to receive hope anew. There were many, however, who believed that Handsome Lake was an imposter, and that he was obstructing the spread of the Christian gospel. Naturally Red Jacket was his bitterest foe and reviled him as a charlatan. But Handsome Lake persisted, preaching to the Six Nations people until, by 1810, the older religion of the Senecas was overshadowed and blotted out.³

The Senecas are now in two main divisions, one on the Tonawanda Reservation known as the Tonawanda Band of Senecas, and the other and larger group known as the Seneca Nation of New York Indians. They occupy the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations and owned until very recently the square mile at Oil Spring, where petroleum oil was first discovered. The Seneca Nation has a population of about 3,000 souls and the Tonawanda Band about 500. In the ancient domain of the Neutrals live the Tuscaroras, situated on a small reservation in Niagara County, not far from Lewiston.

Since 1838 the Senecas have developed splendidly, and have religiously held that while they are dependent upon civilization and under the protection of the Federal Government, they are still an independent and separate people. When there is talk of new treaties they refuse to listen, and point out that they have little enough, but that is too much to hazard by another treaty or contract with the Government. The Seneca Nation is a republic and has the electoral system. The Tonawanda band prefers a government by councillors. Each is working out its own destiny, but what is that destiny, and where does it take them?

The Seneca reservations are farm lands and most of the people are farmers and mechanics. The old life is gone, and, save for the followers of Handsome Lake on festal occasions, there is no indication that anything of the Indian life remains. Scores of the men work and live in nearby towns and cities. Many are clerks, machinists and mechanics. Nearly all of them are good musicians, there being several brass bands among them. The women are not far behind in this and many have pianos. Their homes, though generally small, are neat and cozy. Books

³ For a complete exposition of "The Code of Handsome Lake," see the bulletin by that name published by the State Museum.

and magazines and the daily paper are found in all of them. Rural delivery routes bring the daily mail, and the telephone and radio keep many of them in direct touch with the world. They still have a love for horses, though the more prosperous have automobiles. Three-quarters are professed Christians, but about one-fifth only are enrolled on the church records. Nearly six hundred Senecas are followers of Handsome Lake's religion, and regularly observe the ancient thanksgivings and festivals. These people generally live more simply than their Christian brethren, perhaps because their homes are on the most barren portions of the reservations, and possibly because the prophet told them to shun wealth and outward show.

The story of the Senecas of the Genesee Country is a long and stormy one. We have been able to sketch only briefly some of the principal events connected with it, and with reluctance have omitted many minor things more interesting than important.

Once the Senecas were a power with which nations reckoned; then they fell like grist between the millstones of two opposing divisions of contending Europeans, the French and the English. They were often confused, often deceived, often led astray by their own ill judgment. It is difficult now to understand all their actions, and it is surely not possible to judge them by present day standards. These matters are for the interpretation of the anthropologist.

We do know, however, that the Senecas possessed a vast domain, as fair and productive as any in the world. We know that they loved it with a fierce intensity and relinquished it only when pressed by forces that were beyond human endurance to withstand. We should expect to find them embittered and resentful, but this is far from the case, though they are cautious and weigh well the white man's words, as if to discern hidden meanings or unexpected results should they assent to them. Instead of seeking revenge, they are endeavoring to expend their efforts on education, agriculture and trades, that they may fit into the American scheme of life.

By declaring war on Great Britain, they supported the United States in the War of 1812; they sent three hundred of the finest soldiers known to the Union armies in the Civil war; they furnished their full quota for the World war, and did their bit like

men. The Senecas are patriotic Americans, and loyal to the flag that waves over them, but they have never sought citizenship in the United States, at least not officially as a body of people.

Their attitude is that they constitute an elder nation having treaty relations with the United States of America. They are one of the high contracting parties to that treaty, and though now small as a nation are still to profit by such a status.

Numerous individuals among them do seek citizenship believing absorption inevitable, but the nation as such holds its integrity a sacred thing, and before it will listen to the arguments of Governmental agents who urge citizenship, it asks that every treaty and other obligation of that Government be fully met.

The end of our story is not yet; it lies in the future. The red men of the Genesee Country still remain and speak of that country as the holy land of their fathers.

CHAPTER IX.

INDIAN PLACE NAMES OF THE GENESEE COUNTRY.

By ARTHUR C. PARKER, F. A. E. S.,
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ALLEGANY COUNTY.

Allegany County has many Indian names applied to its streams and settlements, most of them names derived from the Seneca tongue, but the county name itself is not Seneca, or even Iroquoian, but from the alien tongue of their predecessors.

There have been many conjectures as to the meaning of the name, Allegany, some of them evidently wide of the mark. The best authorities consider that it is derived from an Algonkian word, perhaps from the Delaware, meaning "long river." Alligewi-sipu would have this meaning. Yet there are other interpretations of the term, and by some it is thought that *Alligewi* comes from the word Tallagwi, variously spelled, Talega, Alligewi, Tsalki, Tallike, Tallike and Cherokee. The Tallagwi or Talega are mentioned in the Red Score migration myth of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware people as a powerful nation that preceded them. By some these people are regarded as the "mound builders."

To the Seneca Indians the river is known as the O-hee-yu, whence Ohio, the *i* originally having the long, soft continental sound, as *i* in machine. It means "it is beautiful."

CA-NA-SE-RA'-GA comes from the Seneca Ga-nus'-ga-goh, meaning "among the milkweeds." This name illustrates the changes of pronunciation and accent taking place when an Indian name is Anglicized.

CA-NE-AD-EA' is derived from the Seneca word Ga-o-ya-de-o, meaning "heavenly rest," or as Morgan defines it, "where the

heavens rest on the earth," but this is perhaps the implied meaning. Ga-o-ya is sky. Yo-an-jah-goh would mean "upon the earth." The name refers perhaps to an old legend of three brothers who, weary with the chase, longed for rest. In the far distance they saw the sky's rim resting upon the earth. Discussing the matter they decided to press on until they came to the precise spot. This they did and as they arrived one of the brothers "passed on before them" under the mystical rim of the sky and into the land of the Creator. Here he found his "heavenly rest" and in this spot the heaven's rim once rested. Other forms of the name as written in colonial times are Karaghyadira and Canasder.

CA-NIS-TEO, probably originally Kanastio-geh in Seneca, meaning "pole in the water." The name Conestoga comes from a similar native word.

CHAU-TAU-QUA, a name adopted from the Seneca term for the lake in Chautauqua County, which see. In Allegany County it is applied to Chautauqua Valley post office in Gove Township.

CHE-NUN-DA Creek is from the Seneca Tcinunda (Chinunda), meaning by the hill. The root *nunda* always refers to a hill or settlement.

CUBA, a name introduced from the corruption of a West Indian word *Cubanacan*.

CUS-A-QUA Creek is the corruption of a Seneca word meaning *spear*.

GE-NE-SEE, applied to the township and river, is from a Seneca word meaning "pleasant banks." See Genesee County.

O-SWA-YA, a creek, derives its name from osoayeh, "place of pines." Winter camps were often in pine forests where the soft forest bed made of layers of pine needles, and the protecting branches afforded a comfortable refuge for individuals and small groups.

SHON-GO is the contraction of a word meaning "blue lips." The village is named for a celebrated Seneca medicine man who lived near by.

WIG-WAM, the name of a creek above Belfast, is derived from an Algonkian word meaning *house*.

WIS-COY, a creek and post office, is derived from the Seneca Owaiski, meaning "under the banks."

OLD INDIAN PLACE NAMES.

CAL-A-DI-ON is the name of a Seneca village mentioned in 1767.

CA-RA-CA-DE-RA is probably a variation for Karaghyadirha, which see.

GA-NE-O-WE-H-GA-YAT, meaning "at the head of the stream," was applied to the Seneca settlement at Angelica. (Morgan.)

GA-NOS is the name given to Charlevoix in 1721 for Oil Spring. He had only an indefinite location. Morgan's name is Te-car-nos, meaning "dropping oil." The Seneca legend is that this was the original pool of oil or liquid fat into which the animals were driven to make them fat. The Good Mind caught such animals as he thought should not be fat and stripped them of the oil they absorbed. Whenever such animals do become fat it will be found that "their oil is unpleasant tasting," and the otter, mink, fisher, wolverine, wolf and skunk are cited. The bear, beaver, buffalo and deer were among the favored. The petroleum that rises to the surface of the pool was skimmed off by the Indians and called Seneca oil. It had a wide market during early settlement days as a rubbing oil for rheumatism and muscular pains and bruises.

GIS-TA-QUAT was a settlement at Wellsville. The name appears on Guy Johnson's map and was also mentioned by Zeisberger.

HIS-KHU-E was a village mentioned in Proctor's journal.

JA-GO-YO-GEH, meaning "hearing place," was a Seneca name for a location on Black Creek.

KA-RA-GH-YA-DIR-HA was a Seneca village at Belvidere. It is the Mohawk form and is similar to the Indian name for Col. Guy Johnson. It means "sun rays illuminating."

ON-ON-DAR-KA is a village marked on the 1771 map. It was somewhere north of Belvidere. The spelling with the *r*-sound indicates that it was written by someone familiar with the Mohawk tongue, which has a sibilant *r* where the Seneca tongue had only a soft *ah*. A Seneca Indian would have called this place Onondahga, meaning "it is upon a hill."

PA-CIH-SAH-CUNK, with the variations of Paseckackcunk, Pasighkunk, Pasekawkung, and Passiquachkunk, is the name of a Delaware Indian village on Colonel Bill's Creek. The word means "Where the stream breaks through."

PEE-ME-HAN-NINK was a settlement at the head of Cayuga

Branch in 1757. It is also a Delaware word and perhaps means "crooked creek." It was not far from Little Genesee, or Chena-see, as it was spelled in the old days.

PE-MID-HA-NUCK, "the winding stream," was the Delaware name for Genesee Creek. Delaware words have the sounds of *p*, *l* and *m*, not found in Seneca.

SHA-NA-HAS-GWA-I-KON, the name of a creek, is mentioned in the Morris deed of 1793.

CATTARAUGUS COUNTY.

The name Cattaraugus is derived from an Iroquoian word, perhaps from the Erie tongue, having as a counterpart in Seneca the name Gah-da-ges'-gah-onh, meaning "foul smelling banks." This alluded to the odor of the natural gas which seeps out of crevices in the rock along the banks of the creek. J. N. B. Hewitt gives another and similar name which he translates "where oozed mud roils." The root of the word, however seems to be—dagēs', with the meaning of *bad odor*. In Livingston County we have the name Canawaugus with a similar meaning. The later Seneca Indians came into Cattaraugus County after the Revolutionary war, but there seems considerable doubt in the light of Archeology that all the Erie Indians left in 1654. More probably they continued along the Cattaraugus Creek where the town of survivors was governed by Seneca over-chiefs. This may account for the use of a modified *r*-sound by the west-mose Seneca bands. When the white settlers came into the region about 1780-1800 they found Indians in numbers. A record of 1780 gives the spelling as Kadaragwas; one in 1794 gives the name Cataoraogaras and Spafford's Gazetteer of 1813 gives it Gah-ta-ra-ke-ras. The Senecas who had a village about four miles from the mouth of the creek on the south side, on the flats above "high banks" called the settlement Gah-da-gēs'-gā-onh. The Cattaraugus Reservation stretches along the creek from its mouth to a point about ten miles eastward near Gowanda.

Cattaraugus County was set apart from Genesee County in 1808 and the name is now applied not only to the county but to Cattaraugus Village, Cattaraugus Indian Reservation and Cattaraugus Creek, as well as numerous manufactories and business houses. The name is both eupheneous and distinctive.

CURRENT INDIAN PLACE NAMES.

AL-LE-GA-NY, as applied to the river and town, means "long river." See Allegany County. The Indians in their own tongue always call the river Oheeo (Ohio), meaning "beautiful river." They regarded it as a branch of the Ohio proper. The form Allegheny is used in Pennsylvania.

CAT-TA-RAU-GUS, as applied to the creek and town, means "foul smelling banks." On the map of the Frenchman, Pouchot, the creek appears as *R. a la terre puante*.

CON-E-WAN-GO, as applied to the town and creek, means "the-rapids-in" or freely "in the rapids"—the terminal *go* (*goh*) meaning *in*, *on*, or *upon*. There are a number of ancient Iroquoian sites near the village of Conewango, and several which are pre-Iroquoian.

CON-NOIR-TO-I-RAU-LEY Creek in the town of Ashford takes its name from that given in an old survey. The definition is difficult owing to the corruption of the word. It has been interpreted "ugly stream," but it is more probably "where the lake once washed."

GO-WAN-DA, a thriving village in the town of Persia, derives its name from the Seneca word Dyo-go-wan-deh, meaning "below the cliffs" or "almost surrounded by cliffs." The town was originally called Lodi but, as there was another Lodi in the state, Rev. Asher Wright, the venerable missionary to the Indians, was appealed to to suggest an Indian term and the name Gowanda was substituted. To the Senecas this spot was peopled in ancient times by sprites and fairies whose great capital was at the forks of the creek at "The Forties." There were several earth works of great antiquity up the stream and numerous relics have been found there.

KILL BUCK, though not an Indian name in itself, is named from a prominent Delaware chief who served in the Revolutionary war. The little settlement is near Salamanca.

SAN-DUS-KY, a village, derives its name from an Ohio place name which in Portier's work *Racinnés Huronnes* is given as Ot-sandooske. This is apparently an Iroquoian word meaning "flowing rock," though Beauchamp cites the interpretation "there where there is pure water."

TU-NE-GA-WANT or Tunaengwant, the name of a stream and

post office in Carrollton, means "the eddy is not strong." This musical name has been shortened to Tuna, but the name must not be confused with fish. Such corruptions are atrocities.

TU-NE-SAS-SA, a post office at the junction of Quaker Run with the Allegany River, now the village of Quaker Bridge, means "pebbly stream." The Indians pronounced the word Diuh-ni-sá-seh.

INDIAN NAMES AND PLACE NAMES ON OLD MAPS.

CHEN-A-SHUN-GAU-TAU, also written Teushunshshungautau, was the name for the confluence of Cold Spring Creek with the Allegany. The name is given in the story of Mary Jemison, who described several Indian villages in this region.

CHIEK-A-SAW-NE, a place east of the north bend of the Allegany mentioned in 1795. The name is so corrupted that it is difficult of interpretation.

DA-U-DE-HOK-TO, from Dyudehakto, means "at the bend." It was a village on the Allegany at Horseshoe. It is an old Seneca village name, and it will be remembered that the great town of the Seneca people in 1687 was called Totiakton, an identical name with a different spelling.

DE-A-HEN-DA-QUA, "place of the court," is the Seneca name for Ellicottville.

DYO-NE-GA-NO, or Tionigano, is the name for the village and station of Cold Spring which is a literal interpretation for the Indian term.

DYO-NOH-SA-DA-GA or Dio-noh-se-de-ga, "place of burnt houses," was Cornplanter's town.

GA-NYES-TA-AGEH, "place of the chestnuts," is the Seneca for Perrysburg.

GA-NES-IN-GUH-TA, an Indian village near the present Elko, mentioned in the life of Mary Jemison.

GUS-TAN-GOH, the Seneca name for Versailles, means "among the rocks," or "among the cliffs." The Seneca people always speak of this village as Gustango. It is one of the trading centers of the Cattaraugus people and is near their courthouse, fair grounds and the Thomas Indian School.

JE-GA-SA-NEK, the Indian term for Burton Creek, is a personal name.

JON-E-A-DIH, said to mean "beyond the bend," was a Seneca village.

O-DAS-QUA-DOS-SA, the Seneca name for Great Valley Creek, means "around the stone." (Beauchamp.)

O-DAS-QUAW-A-TEH, corrupted to Squeaugheta, the Seneca name for Little Valley Creek, means "Small stone beside a large one."

O-DOS-A-GI, "spring water," is a location near Machias.

O-NOGH-SA-DA-GO, a Seneca town near the present Conewango, flourished in 1744. The term has been interpreted "where things are dug up." There are a number of ancient pits or caches near there.

O-HI-O, or O-hee-yuh, is the Seneca term for the Allegany. It means "beautiful stream."

O-SO-A-WENT-HA, "by the pines," is Haskett Creek.

O-SWA-YA, "pine forest," is a stream running north into the state from Pennsylvania.

SQUE-AUGH-E-TA, *vide* Odasquawateh, *supra*.

TE-CAR-NOS, from Ganos, is the oil spring.

TE-CAR-NO-WUN-DO, meaning "lime lake," is the present Lime Lake.

TE-U-SHA-NUSH-SONG is a village on the Allegany Reservation.

TIO-HA-WA-QUA-RON-TA is Zeisberger's name for an easterly Allegany town in 1766. The name is similar to Guy Johnson's Tionionga-runte, meaning perhaps "a wooded point." It was near the present site of Olean.

TIO-ZIN-OS-SUNG-ACH-TA is mentioned by Zeisberger in 1766 as a Seneca town on the Allegany. It was thirty miles west of the Olean site and may have been the present Old Town near Onoville.

TO-SQUI-A-TOS-SY was the name given Great Valley Creek in 1795.

TU-SHAN-USH-A-A-GO-TA was a village at the forks of the Allegany in 1789.

CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY.

Few Indian place names in the state have a wider distribution or are more widely known than that of Chautauqua. It is a household word because of its association with the popular lecture sys-

tem and the summer forums at "lakeside assemblies," the original of which is at Chautauqua, Chautauqua County.

Chautauqua as a name is a contraction of the Seneca Indian word Tken-chiata-kwan, meaning "where the fish was taken out." According to a Seneca tradition, a party of fishermen caught a muskellunge in the lake and placed it in a canoe which they then carried down the Chautauqua portage to Lake Erie where they found the fish still alive. This interested the fishermen who out of regard for the fish, so bravely struggling for life, cast it into Lake Erie. The story was related at many camp fires and the lake received its name, "Where-the-fish-was-taken-out-of-the-water."

French explorers had two names for the lake, Oniasontke (from Otshataka) and Chadekoin. The first means "foggy" and the latter is a corruption of the Seneca term. There are many variations of the name and as many spellings.

CURRENT PLACE NAMES OF INDIAN ORIGIN.

CAN-A-DA-WAY Creek takes its name from Ganadawao (Gané-da-wey-o), meaning "flowing through hemlocks." Colonel Johnson in 1761 gave it the Mohawk name of Kanandaweron. The headwaters of this creek have their source high on the watershed near Cassadaga Lake and with the raising of the water in the spring the lake overflows to the north and runs into the Canadaway, though most of the flow is to the south. There was a Seneca settlement at the mouth of the creek early in the last century. It was called Canadaway.

CAT-TA-RAU-GUS, see interpretation under the county name.

CHAU-TAU-QUA, see interpretation under the county name.

CO-NE-WAN-GO is derived from Ganowungo, meaning "in the rapids." DeCeleron, who went down the creek in 1749, engraved the name on a lead plate and spelled it Kanaaiagon and on Bonne-camp's map it appears as Kananouangon. There was a Seneca village of this name at the mouth of the stream.

E-RIE, as applied to the lake, is derived from an Erie Indian word, Erieh. See the name as applied to the county.

KI-AN-TONE, from Gentaïeton, "planted fields," was the name of an Erie village where dwelt Catherine, an Oneida converted to the Jesuit faith. On the Prendergast flats not far from Frews-

burg there are many evidences of an early occupation and in certain spots it is undoubtedly Erie.

WAN-GO is a shriveled corruption of Conewango, which see.

INDIAN NAMES AND PLACE NAMES ON OLD MAPS.

AT-TON-I-AT was a location in the middle of the Chautauqua portage trail. Beauchamp thinks the word may be from Attentioniaton (a Huron word), which Bruyas defines "to cause to depart."

CA-YAN-TA, from Gaiyanta, "planted fields." This was one of Cornplanter's towns in 1789. It was on the Conewango a mile north of the 195th Pennsylvania mile stone.

CON-NON-DAU-WE-GEA, the name of Canadaway Creek mentioned in the land purchase transactions.

DYOH-GEY-JAI-EY, "grassy flats," is the Seneca name for Irving. The term well describes the great meadows at the mouth of the Cattaraugus, found cleared and waving with deer grass when the settlers came.

GA-A-NUN-DA-TA, "leveled hill," is the Seneca name for Silver Creek.

GUS-DA-GO, probably from Gustaagoh, is Morgan's name for Cassadaga. It means "under the rocks."

JO-NA-SKY from Kasanotiyago was a carrying place on Chautauqua Creek.

KO-SHA-NU-A-DE-A-GO was the name of a stream on the southern boundary of the county.

CHEMUNG COUNTY.

The name Chemung is derived from a Delaware word which Zeisberger wrote as Wschummo. It means "the big horn." There are various spellings as, Shimango (French, 1757), Shamunk (1767), Skeemonk (1777) and Shimango (1779).

The Indians applied the name because they had found a mammoth or mastodon tusk in one of the river beds, leading to an elaborate legend of a mighty man-eating bear which the Iroquois called Ga-nyah-gwa-hey-go-wa. If the white settlers ever doubted the finding of such a tusk, they found their doubts overcome in 1799 when another tusk was washed out of the river silt to be-

come a local seven-day wonder. It was sent to England where it was examined by eminent scientists, and so became lost to American collections. As if to confirm the name once more by material evidence, still another tusk was discovered of which Senator Thomas Maxwell of Elmira wrote in 1855:

"One of much the same character was found on an island in the river below Elmira, a few weeks since and it is now here. I have recently examined it. It is about 4 feet in length, of hte crescent form, perhaps three or four inches in diameter * * *."

The description makes it appear to have been a mammoth tusk and not a mastodon's, which is much thicker.

ACH-SIN-ING (Mount Achsining), south of the Chemung and opposite the mouth of Sing Sing Creek, is a Delaware name meaning "stone-upon-stone." It is similar to Ossining on the Hudson but from a different dialect. The hill takes its name from a Munsey village on the east side of Sing Sing Creek, variously spelled Achsinnessink, Assinissink, Asinsan and Atsinsink.

CAYUGA branch was often applied to the Chemung. Cayuga means "canoe landing."

CA-YU-TA may be from Ka-nya-ta, meaning "lake."

SING SING Creek takes its name from a Delaware word meaning "stone upon stone," being a variation of Achsining.

CURRENT INDIAN NAMES AND OLD MAP NAMES.

CON-ON-GUE is given by French as the Indian name for the Chemung from ganonggais, a Seneca word for horn.

EH-LA-NE-UNT is a Delaware word for the home of French Margarat Montour in 1758.

GA-HA-TO, "log in the water," is the name given by Morgan for the Chemung River, which reminds one that the Indians frequently had several names for places.

GAN-HO-TAK is applied to a creek in old journals (Cammerhoff), and authorities disagree as to its location, General Clark believing it to be Newton Creek and Beauchamp, Wynkoop. It is similar to Catatonk and may mean "fallen tree."

KA-HIS-SACK-E is also from Cammerhoff's journal and applied to a "place of tall trees" between Cayuta Lake and Ganhotak Creek.

KA-NO-WA-LO-HALE (also Conewawawa and Kanawaholla), is

translated "head on a pole," and was the name of an Indian town on the present site of Elmira. It was burned in the Sullivan raid.

KO-BUS was an Indian village on the Chemung opposite Hendley's Creek. Jacheabus, a noted chief, lived there, the village name being an apparent contraction.

RU-NON-VE-A was the village of Big Flats, burned in 1779, and according to Albert Cusick, Dr. Beauchamp's informant, means "place of the king," a doubtful interpretation. The name is very likely a corruption of an Indian word which may be Ho-non-wey-a, "flowing by the settlement."

SHE-AG-GEN and Theaggen is placed by Pouchot on the Susquehanna east of Elmira and is perhaps Tioga.

SKWE-DO-WA, "great plain," is Morgan's name for Elmira.

TU-TE-LO Town was a settlement on the Chemung near Waverly. It took its name from a settlement of Tutelo Indians who, as captives of the Iroquois, lived there. They were of the Siouan stock.

WIL-LE-WA-NA, or Wilewana, is Zeisberger's Delaware name for a village on the Chemung. The name means "horn."

ERIE COUNTY.

The name Erie, according to the Handbook of American Indians, a Government publication, is derived from the Huron word *yenresh*, meaning "it is long tailed." The term refers to the panther and is a descriptive name. The custom of wearing panther skin robes with the beast's head as a hood over the man's, or some totemic usage, caused the Erie people to be called "the Cat nation," *le nation du chat*, by the French. The Erie nation was broken up and destroyed by the confederated Iroquois in 1654 and about the only glimpse we have of them is in the *Jesuit Relations*. They are described as living in what is now northern Pennsylvania, northeastern Ohio and western New York, west of the Cattaraugus Creek.

BUFFALO is not an Indian name, of course, but the name as applied has an Indian derivation. The common Seneca name for the creek and tract is Doshowey, meaning "basswood." When the first settlers came they found several Indian villages along the creek, one of them being a cluster of cabins where the head

man, of the wolf clan, was De-gi-yah-go, or Buffalo. From Buffalo's association with the stream the white settlers applied his name to it and, because of contiguity, to the entire region.

Much has been written concerning the name Buffalo and its origin, but the above statement is the simplest and most plausible.

CA-YU-GA as applied to the creek near Buffalo is so named because of the Cayuga Indian village on its banks. Morgan gives the Seneca name of this village as Ga-da-geh, meaning "through the oak opening." The name Cayuga is from Gwe-yu-gweh, meaning "where boats are hauled out." This was perhaps an allusion to a settlement on Cayuga Lake where canoes were drawn up for safety or for portage.

CHEEK-TO-WA-GA, earlier Chic-ta-wau-da, is from the Seneca Jik-do-waah-geh, meaning "Crab-apple-place."

GA-AN-NA-DA-DAH Creek is the east branch of Buffalo Creek. The word means "creek with a slaty bottom." Ga-an'-na-da'dah shows the syllables as pronounced.

KEN-JOCK-ETY from Sken-dyough-gwat-ti, "beyond the multitude," as applied to the creek, takes its name from an old Kahkwa or Attiwandaronk Indian who lived on its banks. He was a noted leader and wise councillor whose word was eagerly accepted by the people who adopted him.

ON-TA-RO-GO, near Akron. The name appears to be an adaptation of the word Ontario, *q. v.*

PON-TI-AC, so named from the celebrated chief of the Ottawas, a western tribe. Pontiac came into New York and landed at Oswego. See Parkman's "Conspiracy of Pontiac."

WAN-A-KA appears to be a fabricated name but it may be a contraction. Beauchamp suggests that the word means "to frolic."

WEST SENECA. The name Seneca is derived from Otsinaki, the Algonkian (Mahikan) equivalent of the Iroquoian Onenieu-teaka, meaning "place of the stone." This is the tribal name of the Oneida but the Dutch settlers thought all Indians west of the Mohawks were "people of the stone." Thus as each tribe in turn was identified, the most western and unknown were called "Sinnekars." The Seneca, whose native appellation is and was Sonnon-touan or Nundawaagah, thus received the term Sinnekars which gradually became contracted to the classic Seneca.

PRESENT INDIAN NAMES AND PLACE NAMES ON OLD MAPS.

CA-HA-QUA-RA-GHA, or "Place of the hat," was the upper part of the Niagara near Lake Erie. Here during early days there was a battle on the water between the Indians and the French, who fought from their batteaux. After the skirmish a number of French hats were found floating serenely down the river. The locality was thereafter called "Place-of-the-hats," and the name also applied to Fort Erie.

DA-DEO-DA-NA-SUK-TO is the Seneca name given by Morgan for Smoke's Creek. The word is a variation of a common Seneca place name and means "at the bend."

DE-AS-GWAH-DA-GA-NEH, "place of the lamper eel," is the name for Lancaster, according to Marshall, but Morgan gives it as

GA-SQUEN-DA-GEH, "place of the lizard." The lizard is a character in many old place-myths.

DE-DYO-NA-WAH'H, "the ripple," is Middle Ebenezer.

DE-DYO-WE-NO-GUH-DO, "divided island," is Squaw Island, once owned by old Chief Kenjockety. The name is descriptive of the island from its division by Smuggler's Run.

DE-ON-GOTE, "place of hearing," is the name of Murder Creek near Falkirk. It refers to the sound of the waters.

DE-YEH-HO-GA-DA-SES, "diagonal ford," is Marshall's name for the Buffalo Creek ford.

DE-YOH-HO-GAH, "forks of the river," is sometimes spelled Taiyah-ho-gah, and is the original for Tioga. The place is at the junction of Cayuga and Cazenovia creeks.

DYO-A-HIS-TA, "depot place," is the Seneca name for Angola.

DYO-E-O-GWES, "tall flags," is the name for Rattlesnake Island.

DYOS-HOH was the name for a sulphur spring near Buffalo.

DYO-NAH-DA-EES, "hemlock elevation," was Jack Berry's town, near the present site of Upper Ebenezer.

DYOS-GAA-GA-EH was Black Rock, with the meaning of Rocky bank. A more correct form is given by Morgan as De-o-steh-ga-a.

DYO-NE-GA-NOH is the literal Seneca for Cold Spring.

DYOS-DA-O-DOH, "rocky island," is Bird island, now obliterated.

DYOS-GE-OH-DJAI-EY, "grassy meadow," or "wet grass" is the Seneca name for Red Bridge.

GA-AN-NA-DA-DAH, interpreted "slate bottomed creek," is the Seneca name for East Buffalo Creek. After Sullivan's destruc-

tive campaign of 1779 the Cayuga, Seneca and Onondaga nations sent many refugees to Buffalo Creek by way of Niagara. At least eight Indian villages were situated in the general region.

GA-DA-O-YA-DEH, the Seneca name for Ellicott, is interpreted "level heavens." The first "a" has the sound of "a" in "can."

GAH-DA-YAH-DEH is cited by O. H. Marshall as the Seneca name for Williamsville, with the interpretation of "place of misery." This translation is doubtful. Old Chief Bracksmith of Tonawanda said it meant "open sky." The word for sky is gǎ-o-yah.

GA-GAH-DOH-GA, "white oak," is applied to the north branch of Buffalo Creek by the Seneca people.

GA-NAH-GWAHT-GEH, "saw grass," is the name applied to Kenjockety Creek.

GA-NOH-HO-GEH, "flooded basin," is a traditional name for Lake Erie. It alludes to the legend of the giant beaver who dammed the lake. Presque Island and Long Point in Canada are the abutments of the dam.

GA-NUN-DA-SEY, "a new town," is the present Seneca name for their village near Lawton. Here they have their Long House.

GA-NUS-SUS-GEH, "the place of the long house," is the council house square just at the top of the hill on the Cattaraugus Reservation near Lawton. It is here that the tribal games are played.

GA-SKO-SA-DA, "waterfall," was the Seneca village at Akron.

GA-SKA-SA-DA-NE-O, interpreted "many falls," is the site of Williamsville.

GA-WA-NO-GEH, "on the island," is given by Morgan as the name for Grand Island. It has also been called Ga-we-no-dowan-neh, "great island," and Marshall records it with this same interpretation but under the name of Ga-we-not.

GA-YEH-GWA-DOH is Smoke's Creek, the name meaning smoke. The place name is from "Old Smoke," the noted Seneca chief who lived at Kanundasaga, near the present site of Geneva, Seneca County.

HA-DO-NEH-GEH, "June berry place," is the south fork of Buffalo Creek.

HEY-YAH-A-DOH, "Intersecting Roads," is the Seneca name for North Collins.

HE-YONT-GAT-HWAT-HA, "the picturesque spot," is Cazenovia Bluff near lower Ebenezer.

I-O-SI-O-HA, a variation of the Seneca name for Buffalo, is mentioned in the Pennsylvania Archives as an Onondaga town on Buffalo Creek.

KAH-GWA-GE-GAAH, "Place of the Kah-Kwas," is spelled Ka-e-oua-ge-gein on Pouchout's map. It is the name of Eighteen Mile Creek. There is a persistent tradition that the Kah-Kwas, a branch of the Eries, lived along the southwestern side of the creek.

KA-OH-DOT, "standing pole," is the Seneca name of Brant Center. This alludes to the liberty pole once in the village square.

KAN-HA-I-TA-NEEK-GE, "place of many streams," is David Cusick's name for a spot near the Onondaga village on the Buffalo.

KEN-JOCK-E-TY, or Skendyuhgwadih, as applied to the creek near Buffalo, is named from Chief Kenjockety, the descendant of the Kah-kwa tribe. The word means "one just outside a crowd," though it is popularly interpreted "beyond the multitude."

NIAGARA, "the neck," is mentioned further under the county name.

NI-DYOH-NYAH-A-AH, "narrow point," is Farmers Brother point.

NI-GA-WE-NAH-A-AH, "the small island," is Tonawanda Island.

O-GAH-GWAAH-GEH, "sunfish place," is at the mouth of Cornelius Creek and so named from "Captain" Sunfish, a negro who lived there after the Revolution.

ON-ON-DAH-GE-GAH-GEH, "Onondaga place," was at Lower Ebenezer. There was an Onondaga settlement here after the Revolution.

SEE-UN-GUT, "roar of waters," is given in French's Gazetteer as the name for Murderers' Creek, but this name is doubtful.

SHA-GA-NAH-GAH-GEH, "Mahikan place," is given as the name for the lower end of Lower Ebenezer where the Stockbridge people once dwelt.

TA-NUN-NO-GA-O, "full of hickory bark," is a name for a strip on Eighteen Mile Creek and also Clarence Hollow.

TE-KAH-NA-GA-GEH, "black water," is Two Sister Creek.

TE-CHA-RON-KI-ON is given as the name for Lake Erie in a document dated 1671.

TGA-DES, "long prairie," was applied to the flat land meadows east of Upper Ebenezer.

TGA-NOH-SO-DOH, "where houses stand," was the name of a village at the forks of Smoke's Creek about 1800.

TGA-NON-DA-GA-YOS-HAH, "blanket village," was an early village of mixed refugees who fled from Sullivan's raiders. It was located on Buffalo Creek.

TGA-SKOH-SA-DEH, "falls place," was the waterfall above Jack Berry town on the Buffalo.

TGA-IS-DA-NI-YONT, "place of the hanging bell," was the name for the Seneca mission house in South Buffalo.

TGA-SI-YAH-DEH, "rope ferry," was the old ferry over Buffalo Creek.

YO-DA-NYAH-GWAH has been interpreted "fishing place with hook and line," but though this may be implied in the word the translation is not literal. It was a certain place above Black Rock.

YU-A-GAH, "hollow," was the name for Taylor's Hollow near Collins.

GENESEE COUNTY.

Widespread and far-famed is the name of Genesee. This musical word, so descriptive of a fair country, was adopted as a name for all of western New York beyond the preemption line running south from Sodus bay and through the northern lobe of Seneca Lake. The name means "good valley" or "pleasant banks." The word was originally spelled by the first settlers "Geneseo," but there were many variations.

Strangely, Genesee County has few Indian names and of the several that do appear there are at least four derived from extra-limital sources, namely: Alabama, Canada, Kentucky and Roanoke. This is odd enough since the settlers might easily have applied ordinary English names or have taken over existing Seneca names; but, when it comes to the rhyme and reason for names, the wise historian and cautious philosopher will turn his head and observe the virtue of silence. The county can at least be happy in the possession of the finest of all Indian place names.

ALABAMA is a modification of Alibamu, derived from the Choctaw *alba ayamule*, and meaning "I clear the thicket." Perhaps, as some wag has said, "It's not to be wondered at that a white mule could clear a thicket. The name Alabama is applied to the town and post office in the northwestern corner of the county.

CANADA, literally meaning "a hill-village," is a settlement in Bethany Township.

INDIAN FALLS, a village at the falls of the Tonawanda, was originally planned as the city of Tonawanda Falls. The land here, or at least 1,000 acres, was once owned by William Parker, father of Gen. Ely S. Parker, the "last grand sachem of the Senecas." It had the name of Gah-hon-da-ska-no, "Strong Water" or "Strength in the stream."

KENTUCKY is probably an Algonkian name meaning "river head." If this were spelled Ken-teh-keh, it would be good Seneca for "meadow lands."

OATKA, as applied to the creek running through Le Roy, means "through the opening."

ROANOKE, a village in Stafford Township, is derived from a Virginia Algonkian word, probably from the Powhatan dialect, meaning "northern people."

TONAWANDA, as applied to the creek, means "swift water."

NAMES FROM OLD MAPS AND NAMES USED BY THE INDIANS.

BLACK CREEK was called Check-a-nan-go, is a corruption of a word meaning "pigeon village."

DEH-A-SEN-NO-GEH, "no name," is Alexander.

DYON-NO-ES-DO-WA was Indian Falls, in allusion to an old Indian who lived there. The word means "dragon fly."

DE-O-ON-GO-WA, said to mean "great hearing place," is given by Beauchamp as the name for Batavia.

GA-A-YAN'-DUK-GEH, meaning "the place of the fort," is Le Roy. There was a conspicuous fortification not far from Le Roy.

GA-SWA-DUK, "cedar swamp," is the Seneca name for Alabama.

GAU-DAK, "by the plains," is Caryville.

GA-NE-UN-DAH-SA-IS-KA is another name for Batavia. The name has been translated "mosquito." Batavia had a number of names.

GWEH-TA-A-NE TE-GAH-NUN-DO-DEH, "Bloody-town," is given as a name for Attica. Morgan spells the Indian word and translates a bit differently, calling it "red village."

JA-GO-O-GEH, perhaps from Tcak-o-wa-geh, means "pigeon place." It is the name for Black Creek.

JO-A-I-KA (or JOI'-A-GAH) is the name applied by Kirkland for Batavia. It means "raccoon."

KE-TI-YEN-GOO-WAH, "big swamp," is the swampland near Tonawanda Indian village. David Cusick gave it as the name of a prehistoric fort of the Iroquois.

NA-TWAIS-HA SKAN-YA-DA, literally "Spirit lake," is the pond near Indian Falls now known as Divers Lake.

O-AT-KA Creek has its name from a Seneca word meaning "the opening."

O-AH-DEH-GOH, "on the road," is Pembroke. It was the stopping place in traveling to other trading centers.

OH-SOAN-GEH, "Turkey place," is Darien.

TE-CAR-DA-NA-DUK is an old name for Oakfield, meaning "trenched enclosure." There was a large enclosure near the village.

TE-CAR-NO-WUN-NA-DA-NE-O, "many rapids," is given for Le Roy.

TE-GA-TAIN-E-A-AGH-GWE, "double forts," was a place near Batavia mentioned by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, who visited the region in 1788 with some Seneca guides.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY.

Livingston County was long the home of the Seneca people, especially after their early Ontario County residence. Before they came there had been other branches of the Iroquoian people, perhaps, and before these, settlements of people influenced by the peculiar material culture of the mound building peoples. Before that were three long periods of occupation by Algonkian hordes with an intrusion of Eskimo-like people.

CURRENT NAMES OF INDIAN ORIGIN.

BIG TREE is the literal interpretation of Gain-do-wa-neh, Big Tree, a celebrated Seneca chief. There was a large swamp oak in the valley known as "the big tree." One of the most important treaties was held at Big Tree.

CAN-A-SE-RE-GA, to the Seneca people known as Ga-nus-ga-goh, meant "among the milkweeds." The name is spelled in various ways. Kanuskago was used in early days.

CA-NA-WAU-GUS, meaning "fetid waters," was spelled Ga-no-wau-ges by Morgan and this closely approximates the Seneca word. The location originally was at Avon Springs but came to be applied to the village and tract on the west side of the river opposite Avon where there is a village of Canawaugus.

CO-NE-SUS, the name of a creek and village, is derived from Ga-ne-o-sos or Ga-nyuh-sas, meaning "sheep berries." The original Conesus was destroyed by Sullivan. It was the home of Big Tree, the friend of the colonies. It was here that he endeavored to persuade his kinsmen to support the armies of Washington.

GAR-DOW or Gardeau is the Anglicized form of Ga-dá-oh, "bank before it."

CON-NECT-XIO is shown on Pouchot's map as a village on the east side of the Genesee. It may be an attempt to spell Genesee.

DA-YO-IT-GA-O, or De-yu-it-ga-oh, "where the valley begins to widen," is the Seneca name for the Indian village once on Squawkie Hill. The name has several spellings.

DE-O-NE-GA-NO (Morgan), or Dyu-ne-ga-nooh (Doty), is the name for Caledonia and means "cold water." This was and still is a famous spring and there are several traditions clustering about it. One was that the water that flowed from it must not be obstructed.

DE-O-NUN-DA-GA-A, "where the hill is near," is Morgan's name and definition for Little Beard's Town, in Leicester.

DE-O-WES-TA is a neck of land below Portageville. There is an interesting fortification on a hill near this spot.

DYU-DO-O-SOT, "flowing spring," from de-o-dou-sot, is the village site in Avon Township north of Livonia station.

DYU-HAH-GAIH, "where the banks are eroded," was an Oneida town on the Genesee.

GA-HAH-DAE-ONT-HWAH, "where hemlock was spilled," was a village in Moscow.

GAH-NI-GAH-DOT, "standing pestle," was a village near East Avon.

GA-NE-O-DE-YA, "good lake," or "clear small lake," is Doty's name for the Caledonia spring.

GA-NOU-NA-TA was probably the Seneca village north of Lima. This place has been associated with Keinthe, "Meadowland," but whether the two were identical or separated has been a matter of

dispute. Certain it is that Ga-nou-na-ta, if it is beneath the present site of Lima, left an abundance of remains, for under the streets and in the yard of the Presbyterian church many specimens have been found, but of late eighteenth century type.

GA-NON-DA-SEEH was a small place near Moscow. The name means "a new settlement."

GA-NUS-GA-GO, meaning "among the milkweeds," was a settlement on the present site of Dansville. There are several spellings.

GA-ON-DO-WA-NUH, "Big Tree," was a settlement in Leicester. There were many large trees, elms and oaks, in the Genesee Valley.

KE-IN-HE, "meadowland," appears to have been a settlement near the present site of Lima. It is mentioned in the journal of Wentworth Greenhalgh in 1677.

NO-EHN-TA, from o-neh-dah, meaning "hemlock," is used in the Moravian journals as the name for Hemlock Lake.

O-HE-GECH-RAGE is also a Moravian designation and applied to Conesus Lake.

O-NEH-DA, "hemlock," is the Seneca name for Hemlock Lake.

GE-NE-SE-O, or Genesee, is from Gen-nis-he-yo, meaning "pleasant banks," or "beautiful valley." The original Indian town was one of the most famous and in it resided the most conservative of Seneca people. Those who fled to Buffalo were mostly from Geneseo and many of the non-christian Seneca Indians today who continue their old rites on the reservations keep as a precious inheritance their traditions of Geneseo.

KE-SHA-QUA, or Coshagua, is from gah-she-gweh meaning "a spear." When the Seneca people came in their migration to this spot they found a spear stuck in the bank of the creek whereupon the stream was called Gah-she-gweh.

LIMA is a Peruvian word derived from Rimac. The soft "r" was changed to "l" by the Spanish.

NUN-DA is from Nun-da-o, or O-nun-da-o, meaning "hilly." The original Indian town was two miles nearer the river.

SON-YEA, from Son-yea-o-wa, the name of Captain Snow, is the name for a village below Mount Morris.

SQUAWKIE, or Squakie, as applied to the hill near Mount Morris is derived from the Seneca name Ha-di-squaw-ki-ha, meaning "they are (Mus) Squakie." The Squakie people were the

Sauk. The Seneca had made war upon these people in early colonial days and captured many of them. These were settled at Newtown, near Elmira, and near Mount Morris. Squawkie Hill is a sightly place and the last high bank of the Genesee. It ends the line of cliffs and faces the broad, fertile valley to the north.

TUS-CA-RO-RA, a village in Mount Morris Township, was so named from a small settlement of Tuscarora Indians there in pre-Revolutionary times. Tuscarora comes from a native word meaning "shirt wearers."

NAMES FROM OLD MAPS AND NAMES USED BY INDIANS.

ADJUSTE, Adjutso, Adyutro, Adjulsa, Augusta, Adjutoa and Adjuton, are names given to Big Tree's village at Conesus. Some of these spellings will be found in Sullivan's journals. The word appears to mean "spear" in Onondaga, according to Beauchamp.

CHE-NON-DA-NAH, or Che-nan-do-a-nes, are the names of 1754 and 1774 respectively for Little Beard's Town. The name is from a Seneca word meaning "it is a great hill."

SHO-NO-JO-WAAH-GEH, meaning "the kettle is large," appears with Doty's spelling. Morgan differed somewhat. There was a Seneca chief having this name and it was also bestowed upon General Morris, after whom Mount Morris was named. Shono-jo-waah-geh was the Seneca settlement at Mount Morris.

SIN-NON-DO-WAE-NE appears as the name of a Seneca settlement in 1720. The word means "they of the great hill."

SKA-HASE-GA-O, "a long creek," appears as a name for a settlement near or at Lima.

TE-GA-RON-HI-ES appears on a map of 1756 as west of the river.

MONROE COUNTY.

CURRENT NAMES OF INDIAN ORIGIN.

CHI-LI, from the name of the South American country, is a Peruvian word meaning "land of snow." The word is one of those strange importations, seemingly inexcusable in a land where beautiful native names might be chosen.

GE-NE-SEE, as applied to the river, has been interpreted under this name in Genesee and Livingston counties.

HO-NE-O-YE, as applied to the falls, village and creek, comes

from a Seneca word meaning "finger lying." It was originally applied to the lake. See under Ontario County.

I-RON-DE-QUOIT, from O-nyuh-da-on-da-gwat, "a bay." The current form is a modification of the Mohawk name. Some authorities say that the word means "lake turning aside," in allusion to the bay, and the definition seems plausible.

O-AT-KA, "an opening," was the name for Scottsville.

ON-TAR-IO, from Kanyatario, "pleasant lake," is the present Lake Ontario.

TO-TI-AK-TON, "at the bend," is perhaps not a map name, but the name has achieved currency among archeologists and historians as the name for Rochester Junction, where the celebrated Seneca village site of the 1687 period is located. It is a name that might well be adopted for the locality and station.

OLD MAP NAMES AND INDIAN NAMES FROM RECORDS.

GA-DOKE-NA, "place of minnows," is given by Morgan as the name for Salmon Creek.

GAN-DACH-I-O-RA-GON is mentioned in the *Jesuit Relations* as an Indian village in this region, but it may have been over the county line and near Lima.

GA-NYE-O-DAT-HA, was a landing place on the Irondequoit where Marshall believes Denonville landed.

GA-SKO-SA-GA, "at the falls," is the Seneca name for Rochester. There are many references to the locality by this name with various spellings. Gaskonchiagon and Gaskonchiagou were names frequently used in early days and Charlevoix describing the lower end of the river says, "This river is called Casconchiagon"

GI-NI-SA-GA, "in the valley," is the name for the lower end of Allen's Creek near Irondequoit Bay.

GWEH-TA-A-NE-TE-CAR-NUN-DO-TEH, "red village," is the name given by Morgan for Brockport.

O-NEH-CHI-GEH, "long ago," is given by Morgan for Sandy Creek.

SGO-SA-IST-HOH and Sgoh-sa-is-thah are Harris and Marshall's names respectively for the rifts on the Irondequoit.

SKO-SA-IS-TO, a name similar to the above, is translated by

Morgan as "falls rebounding from an obstruction," and applied to Honeoye Falls.

TA-E-GA-RON-DI-ES is one of the early names of Totiaction, *q.v.*, and LaHontan, called the village Thegarondies. It must be remembered that Huron and Mohawk speaking people pronounced Seneca words to suit their own tongues and that as a rule the Seneca people understood the dialectic change.

WAH-GAH-AH-YEH, "the old fort," is given by Beauchamp as the name for "an old earthwork at Hanford's landing in Rochester."

NIAGARA COUNTY.

There are few place names which have elicited more discussion than that of Niagara. It has been interpreted in many ways and with varying sentimental conjectures. Some poets would have us believe that it means "Thunder Water," but a critical analysis of the word shows that it has little reference to the falls. The word as we have it is probably, through French Jesuit sources, from the Huron or Neutral tongues. In 1641 the name is given as Onguiaahra, the "u" probably being a typographical error for "n," for Cruxius in 1660 spelled the word Ongiara. In Seneca this would be Ohniaga. The word means "the neck," according to good authority, but Hewitt in the Handbook of American Indians defines it as "bisected bottom lands." The name has reference to the Niagara plains between the two lakes through which the river runs. The Indian town of Niagara was at Youngstown, according to Morgan.

CURRENT PLACE NAMES OF INDIAN ORIGIN.

CA-YU-GA, as applied to the creek and island above the falls is derived from the national name of the Cayuga people. The word means "drawn up from the water," according to some authorities, but it is probable that the native name Gwe-yu-gweh means "boat landing," in allusion to a spot where canoes were landed along the mucky shore.

HICKORY CORNERS derives its definitive name from an Algonkian word for the hickory tree.

KI-EN-U-KA, "fine view," the site of the Neutral fort and village on the Niagara escarpment near Lewiston, while not a map

name, is well known to historians and archeologists. This was the home of the Neutral chieftainess who ruled the destinies of the Attieandaronk people. Her lodge was the aboriginal peace court where the Five Nations went for advice.

NIAGARA has been defined under the county name.

SHAW-NEE comes from Shau-wa-no, meaning "southerners." It is now a town in Wheatfield.

TO-NA-WAN-DA is from a Seneca word meaning "swift water."

TUS-CA-RO-RA, as applied to the Tuscarora reservation, comes from an Iroquoian word meaning "shirt wearers." The Tuscarora people came from the Carolinas between 1714 and 1723, though there were other migrations up to about 1854.

OLD MAP NAMES AND CURRENT INDIAN NAMES.

A-JO-YOK-TA, "fishing creek," is given by Morgan for Johnson's Creek. The word "creek" is not contained in the name.

A-QUA-RA-GE is one of the numerous names for Niagara and was used in 1687.

KA-NA-DE-SA-GA, from Ganundasaga, means "the settlement is new." The original town was west of the present Geneva and in 1755 it had attained considerable importance as an Indian trading post. It was here that Old Smoke or Old King lived. Some of the old spellings are Cunnesedago, Kennesdago, Kanasasago and Kannadasegea.

KA-SHONG, a creek and early Indian village, now a local name, is interpreted "fallen limb."

NUN-DA-WA-O, "great hill," is applied to the hill near Naples. It was the name of a Seneca town in that locality.

SE-NE-CA, as applied to the lake and town, comes from the Algonkian word "assin" meaning "a stone." This was corrupted to Sinnekars from which Seneca was derived.

OLD MAP NAMES AND NAMES APPLIED BY INDIANS.

AH-TA-GWEH-DA-GA is the form employed by Morgan as the designation for Flint Creek. The word means "flint."

AX-O-QUEN-TA is a term for Flint Creek employed in Camerhoff's journal.

CA-NA-GO-RA, Ganagora, Gaensera, the great Seneca town on the present Boughton Hill, is derived from an Iroquoian word meaning "basswood bark." A spring at the west of the hill supplied the village with water conducted by a basswood trough and from it the name is thought to have been derived, but this is doubtful. In the metaphorical language of the League a mat of slippery bark was laid at the entrance of the metaphorical doorway of the "Long House" and strangers were told to "watch their step" that they might not fall upon entering the domain of the Iroquois. This explanation is more in keeping with the name of the Seneca capital. It became the Catholic mission of St. James but the Frenchmen afterward called it "that Babylon of the Senecas."

GA-NUN-DA-EH or Ganundaok was a village on the east side of Honeoye Creek where the Genesee turnpike crosses. (Morgan.)

GAN-DOU-GA-RA-E was a town of captives situated south of Boughton Hill. The name as used is the Mohawk form, as so many are derived through French channels.

GA-NECH-STA-GE was a village near Old Town (Geneva), and is mentioned in Camerhoff's journal.

O-NA-HE, Onaghe or Onnachee, are names applied to the Seneca village east of Canandaigua. The site is in the town of Hopewell where so many relics have been found. The name has been defined as "behind another."

O-NEH-DA and Nah-daeh are terms used for Hemlock Lake. The word means "hemlock."

O-TOCH-SHIA-CO is Camerhoff's name for a village and creek west of Ohahe. The spot is now Fall Brook.

SHE-NA-WA-GA appears in the Sullivan campaign journals as the name of the town burned at Kashong. The word may mean "name place."

SIN-NON-DO-WAE-NE appears for Sonnontouan in 1720 and probably refers to the land of the Seneca people.

THAU-GWE-TOOK is an odd name applied by David Cusick to a fort on the west side of Seneca Lake.

There are variants of all these names but for our purposes they need not be cited. Ontario County with its wealth of Indian history has all too few native names in current use.

ORLEANS COUNTY.

All the names of Indian origin will be considered in one classification since there are few distinctively Indian names in this county in current use.

A-JO-YOK-TA, "fishing place," is given for Johnson's Creek.

DE-GE-A-NO-GA-UNT, "two sticks coming together," is given by Morgan for Oak Orchard Creek.

DET-GEH-HO-SEH, "one stream across another," is given as the name of the aqueduct at Medina. (Morgan.)

DE-O-WUN-DAKE-NO, "boats burned," is the aboriginal name for Albion.

KEN-AH-KA-RENT and Keanauhausent are given by Cusick for Oak Orchard Creek and it may be applied to the ancient earthworks at Shelby. The name appears to be of Tuscarora form.

TO-NA-WAN-DA as applied to the swamp derives its name from the creek. It means "swift water."

DET-GAH-SKOH-SES, "high falls," is Marshall's name for Niagara.

DET-GE-A-DE-HA-NA-GEH, "parallel stream place," is applied to Eighteen Mile Creek.

DE-O-DO-SOT, "flowing spring," was the name of Lockport.

DE-O-NA-GA-NO, "cold spring," is a place north of Lockport.

DE-YO-WA-GEH, "among the reeds," is the west branch of Tuscarora Creek.

DUH-JIH-HEH-OH, "walking on all fours," is cited by Marshall as the name of the portage place at Lewiston Heights.

DYU-NO-WA-DA-SE, "current goes around," is the famous whirlpool.

DYUS-DA-NYAH-GOH, "cleft rocks," is the Seneca name for Devil's Hole and Bloody Run.

GA-A-NO-GEH, or Gai-a-no-ga, is sometimes rendered Kienuka and is the site on the Lewiston escarpment where the Neutral fort and village once stood.

GA-SKO-SA-DA-GEH, "place of the falls," is applied to the vicinity of Niagara Falls.

GA-O-WAH-GO-WA, "big canoe," was applied to Navy Island from the fact that the French built ships there.

GAU-STRAU-YEA, "bark laid down," is Cusick's name for the

fortification at Kieneuka. It alluded to the idea that in this neutral refuge the insincere would slip upon the new bark which had been laid as a mat.

GA-WE-NOT, "island," is Grand Island.

HET-KEH-NIT-GA-ON-DA is given for Golden Hill Creek.

KAS-SKO-SO-WA-NAH, "great falls," is cited for Niagara.

NI-GA-WE-NAH-A-AH, "little island," is Tonawanda Island.

O-GE-A-WA-TE-KA-E, "butternut place," is cited by Morgan for Royalton Center.

ON-DI-A-RA, appears in the *Relations* of 1665 as a village at the mouth of the Niagara.

OUA-RO-RO-NON, or Wenrohronon, is given as the most easterly town of the Neutral people in 1626. By some the name of this village has been applied to a tribe, but others think it only the separated villagers of the Canadian Neutral people, and Albert Cusick, the Tuscarora-Onondaga interpreter, defines the name as "separated people." The town may have been at Youngstown.

O-YONG-WONG-YEH (Oyonwayea and Ononwayea) is mentioned in the Canandaigua treaty. It is Four Mile Creek. Cusick translated the word to mean "something sunk in the bottom."

SKA-NO-DA-RI-O is given by Morgan as the name of Lake Ontario. It means "beautiful lake," though usually translated "handsome lake."

TE-CAR-NA-GA-GE is the east branch of Tuscarora Creek, and is translated "black creek."

TE-KA-ON-DO-DUK, "signpost," is given to Middleport, in allusion to an old guide-post directing travelers.

ONTARIO COUNTY.

Ontario County originally bordered on Lake Ontario, whence its name. Ontario is a dialectic variation of the Seneca Skanyadaio, which form we find in Skanyadario. The Seneca tongue did not have the rolling "r" but substituted a broad "a" or "ah" which approximates "a" soft "r." Some writers, including Lewis H. Morgan, frequently used the "r" in recording Seneca names. The word "Ontario" is derived from Iroquoian words meaning "lake" and "beautiful" or "good." It is thus translated, "beautiful lake," but when used as a personal name it is given as "Handsome Lake."

CURRENT NAMES OF INDIAN ORIGIN.

CA-NA-DICE from Skaneadice is interpreted "long lake." There are several variations of the name, one of them, Skaneatic, being applied to the lake and Canadice to the town.

CA-NAN-DAI-GUA, from Ga-nun-da-gwa, "chosen village," from which both town and lake have their name. There are several variations of the term. In 1763 it is given as Canadara-gey and in the Sullivan journals the spellings are Kennendauque, Konondaqua, Kanandalaugua, etc. Canandaigua was an important Seneca town and the lake one of their cherished possessions.

HON-E-O-YE comes from a Seneca term meaning "finger lying." The original Indian town was spelled in several ways as the recorders heard the name. It appears as Anayea, Hanyaye and Hanneyaugen, etc.

HO-NE-OYE, as applied to the lake and township, is derived from a word meaning "finger lying there." There is a legend that when the Seneca people come to Honeoye Lake they saw a finger upon a log and thereupon the leader exclaimed, "Henceforth this place shall be called Honeoye."

SCHUYLER COUNTY.

CA-YU-TA, a name applied to a lake, village and township, is probably not a variant of Cayuga, which in sound it closely resembles. It may have been derived from an abbreviation of the word for "lake," Ka-nia-ta.

CHE-O-QUOCK, Queanettquaga, Shughquago, and Sheoquago are various spellings of the Indian name for Katherine's Town. It was the home of Catherine Montour, after whom Montour Falls were named. The word is so corrupted that it is difficult to make a translation.

CON-DAW-HAW was a settlement south of Kendaia in 1779. The word is probably derived from the Seneca for "meadowland."

GA-NI-A-TA-REN-GE, meaning "at the lake," is given by Camerhoff in 1750 for Cayuta Lake. Cayuta may be a contraction of this.

LA-MO-KA, the name of one of the twin lakes in Tyrone

Township. It appears to be a contraction of a Delaware word, Allumhammochwen, meaning, "set off by water." This probably refers to the lake as an obstruction on the trail to Keyuka.

SENECA, from assini-aki, means "place of the stone." (See Ontario County.)

TO-BE-HAN-NA, the stream which empties into Lamoka Lake, comes from a Delaware word meaning "alder stream." There is an unusually large prehistoric Algonkian site at the northeast end of Lamoka.

WA-NET-TA, the name sometimes applied to Little Lake in Tyrone, derives its names from an Iroquoian word meaning "hemlock."

STEUBEN COUNTY.

CA-NA-CA-DE-A, a creek near Hornell, is an old spelling. The "ca" in the third syllable is probably for "sa" and the word pronounced Ka-na-sa-de-ga. This means "burnt house." There are several words with similar sounds, making an accurate translation difficult.

CA-NA-SE-RE-GA Creek has its source in Steuben County. The name appears in Livingston County, *q.v.*

CA-NIS-TE-O, "board on the water," or "floating board," is the name of a township, a lake and a river in the county.

CA-TAW-BA, from katapa, is a Choctaw word applied to an eastern Siouan tribe and meaning, "separated."

CHE-MUNG, a Delaware word, means "big horn" and it is alluded to in the story of the discovery of a mammoth tusk in the gravel of the river near the state line.

CON-HOC-TON as applied to the river which has its source in the county, is derived from Ga-naks-to, a Tuscarora word meaning "log in the water," according to Morgan.

CON-HOC-TON has had various fanciful and prolix translations, but probably means "trees in the water."

KA-NO-NA, the outlet of Mud, or Lamoka Lake, comes from a word meaning "water basin."

KE-U-KA is probably a shortening of Cayuga and means "canoe landing."

MICH-I-GAN applied to a creek means "large lake," from miche-gaumee.

TUS-CA-RO-RA Township has its name from the sixth Iroquois tribe. The name means "shirt wearers."

OLD MAP NAMES AND NAMES USED BY INDIANS.

GACH-TOCH-WA-WUNK, a Delaware town (spelling is Moravian), situated at the junction of the Conhocton and Tioga rivers in 1767.

GA-HA-TO, "log in the water," is Morgan's name for Conhocton.

GO-WAN-IS-QUE, or Cowanesque Creek, meaning "at the long island," is applied to the creek flowing into the Chemung at Painted Post.

KAN-HANGH-TON seems to be Conhocton, but it was applied to a Delaware Indian town in 1764. It was on the Cayuga branch.

KAY-GEN, a river, is shown on Pouchot's map, and there is a village of the same name. (1767.)

KNAC-TO is also given by Pouchot as a village.

PA-CHI-SAK-CUNK was a Mingo town in 1758. The name is Delaware, which might be expected in a town of refugees. It was at the mouth of Colonel Bill's Creek. There are various spellings of the name, among them Pasecksahkunk, Pasigachkunk, Passigachgungh and Passekawkung. The word may mean "divided rocks."

SE-CAUGH-KUNG was a Delaware town of 1758.

TE-CAR-NASE-TE-O is Morgan's name for the Canisteco.

TE-CAR-NASE-TE-O-A, "board sign," is Painted Post. The post was the grave marker of a chief and had a number of glyphs upon it according to tradition.

WO-A-PAS-SIS-QU was a Delaware town at the confluence of the Tioga and Canisteco. Zeisberger mentioned it in 1767.

WAYNE COUNTY.

CANANDAIGUA Creek takes its name from the city of Canandaigua which means "a chosen settlement."

GA-NAR-QUA, from Ganagweh, "village suddenly spring up," might in common parlance be "boom town." It is the name for Mud Creek.

HURON has been generally thought an Indian word, since it designates a tribe. It is more probably from the French *hure*, meaning "bristle head." It is suggested by Beauchamp that it may come from the Huron word "ronon" meaning "nation."

ON-TA-RI-O, "beautiful lake."

SENECA from assini-aki, meaning "place of the stone."

SO-DUS, from a-sa-re-dos or se-o-dos, has many spellings and means "knife."

OLD MAP NAMES AND NAMES USED BY INDIANS.

AS-SOR-O-DOS is variously spelled Ahslodose (Oneida), and Seodose (Seneca), and on a map of 1771 it is Aserotus.

CAH-RA-TON appears on a map of 1668 for Sodus Bay.

GA-NA-AT-I-O appears on the Jesuit map of 1665 for Sodus Bay.

SQUA-GON-NA is used by J. V. H. Clark for Montezuma marsh with the definition "a great way up."

TE-GA-HONE-SA-O-TA is given by Morgan for Sodus Bay Creek. The application is literal, being "creek of Sodus."

TE-GER-HUNK-SE-RO-DE is the hill east of Sodus Bay. It probably means "Sodus Hill."

THI-O-HE-RO, "river of rushes," is given by Beauchamp.

WYOMING COUNTY.

The name Wyoming is derived from a Delaware word, M'chwewormink, meaning "extensive flats," or "great bottom lands." It was originally the place name of the flats of the Susquehanna near Wilkes-Barre. The name is pleasing to the ear and for this reason there is a temptation to use it in places where its meaning does not apply, as in the present instance, where one of the most hilly of counties in western New York is called Wyoming, the extensive flats, and in the case of the State of Wyoming, one of the most mountainous in the country. The Moravian missionaries usually wrote the word Wajomink, whence came the present modification.

CATTARAUGUS Creek and Lake are in Java Township. The word means "foul smelling banks."

CAYUGA Creek rises in the county. The word means "canoe landing."

GAR-DOW or Gadaho, the flats of the Genesee, means "bank

before it." It was here that Mary Jemison had her reservation of land.

GA-NA-YAT for Silver Lake, is "stone in the bottom." (Beauchamp.)

GAH-GWA-GEH for the high falls of the river means "place of the sun." It was here that the sun paused to behold the beauties of the landscape, according to Seneca tradition.

GE-NE-SEE, the name of the river, means "pleasant banks."

O-AT-KA, "the opening," is used for Allen's Creek.

PE-O-RI-A is an Algonkian name from Illinois. It means "pack carrier."

TE-CAR-ESE-TA-NE-ONT, "place of the sign post," is Wyoming village.

TO-NA-WAN-DA Creek has its name from "swift running water."

WIS-COY Creek is from Owaiska, "under the bank."

YATES COUNTY.

AH-TA-GWEH-DA-GA, "place of the flint," is Flint Creek.

CAN-AN-DAI-GUA, applied to the lake on the western border of the county means, "chosen settlement." It could equally mean "the selected hill."

GE-NUN-DE-WAH is the great hill of the Senecas. Geologists have so named a friable shale.

KA-SHONG Creek derives its name from a word meaning "fallen limb."

KE-U-KA, "boat landing," is a variant of Cayuga.

O-GO-YA-GA, "promontory," is given for Bluff Point. There are few or no traces of the Senecas on the point, all the evidences seeming to be early and middle Algonkian.

SHE-NAN-WA-GA is one of the names for Kashong in the Sullivan journals.

CHAPTER X.

THE SULLIVAN EXPEDITION OF 1779.

BY ARTHUR WOODWARD BOOTH.

Military events should endure in history on account of their strategic value; their scope and magnitude, or the valor displayed by those engaged. Measured by any or all of these standards, the Sullivan Expedition against the Iroquois in 1779 deserves far greater emphasis and a more illumined page in the annals of our Revolutionary period than writers on American history have ever accorded it.

Possibly the earlier historians lived too near in point of time to view the matter in its proper perspective, but we cannot condone so readily the influence of the later writers who, in most instances, have apparently been satisfied with the original meagre accounts and have betrayed no further knowledge or interest in the subject. In consequence, this thrilling adventure, which has no counterpart in American history, is but little known save by a few specialists in New York colonial history. Seemingly it has been unjustly omitted from its proper place in the sequence of important moves, which made victory possible for the colonists, and which eventually determined the character of our people and our government, especially in New York State.

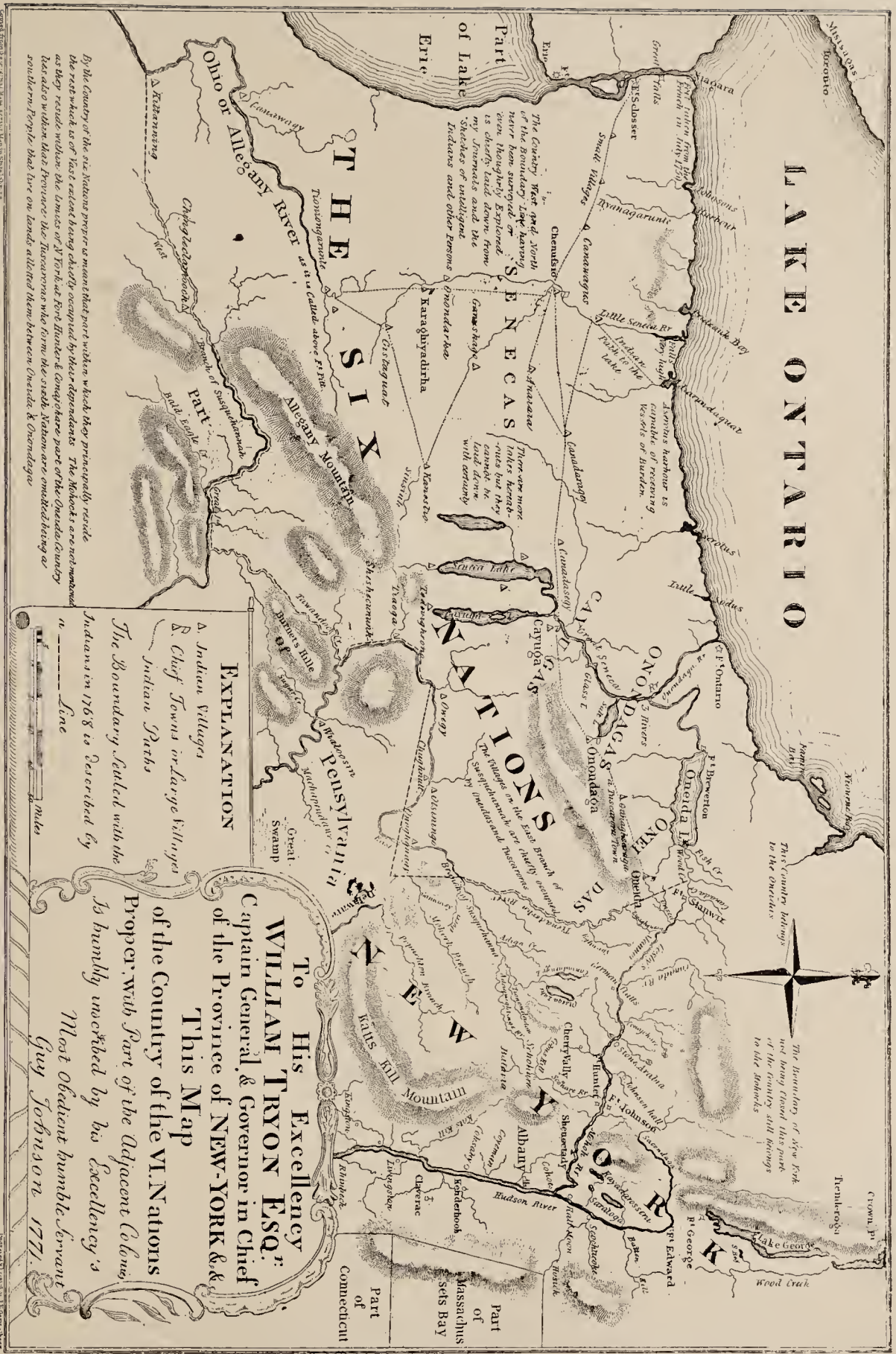
It is essential, here, to review briefly the situation between 1777 and 1779, to better understand the cause for this invasion. After Lexington and Bunker Hill, the British realized the serious temper of the New England colonists, and the impossible task of subduing them by force of arms. The London war ministry thereupon conceived the plan of isolating New England by establishing a military barrier along the Hudson River, thrusting a wedge, as it were, into the very center of the colonies. This would eventually starve New England and effectually prevent her men from going to the aid of her sister colonies. It would,

furthermore, provide an opportunity to invade the Mohawk Valley, and thus control substantially all of New York then settled by the whites.

This plan was launched in 1777, when Burgoyne descended from Canada with a large force and captured Fort Ticonderoga. He then continued on towards Albany, where he had hoped to be joined by Sir William Howe, who, according to plan, was to ascend the Hudson from his base in New York City. The determined resistance of the colonists at Oriskany and Saratoga culminated in the defeat of Burgoyne and his surrender, on October 17, 1777. This epochal event has placed Saratoga among the few great decisive battles of history. Notwithstanding this victory, which brought renewed hope to the colonists and invoked substantial foreign aid, Yorktown was still four years hence. The British troops retired to their barracks in New York City, Philadelphia and Newport, where they were held for a time by the vigilance of the colonial forces.

The military strategy of the British now became one of wearing down the resistance and exhausting our patience and resources. When, however, the news reached England of Burgoyne's disaster, there was consternation. This, coupled with the knowledge of the impending treaty between France and America, prompted Lord North to propose conciliatory measures, in the vain hope of effecting an early peace and saving the colonies to the crown. Commissioners were sent to America to arrange the terms, but Congress most emphatically rejected them. This rebuff was received with great resentment. In a farewell manifesto the commissioners declared "the conduct of the war was now to be changed and no mercy was to be shown." This threat could have but one meaning—arson along the coast by the British fleet and murder on the frontier at the hands of the Indian allies.

The territory extending from the St. Lawrence to the Potomac, north and south, and from the Hudson to the Ohio, east and west, was then controlled by a powerful federation of Indian tribes, the Iroquois or League of the Six Nations. Their contact with the French of Canada, the Dutch, and later the English, of New York had made them familiar with many of the elements of civilization. They possessed firearms, metal tools and domestic animals. They lived in well constructed wooden houses, grouped in villages, surrounded by gardens, orchards and extensive fields



By the Country of the six Nations proper is meant that part within which they principally reside the rest which is of vast extent being chiefly occupied by their dependants. The Mohocks are not mentioned as they reside within the limits of York & Westchester & consequently part of the Ontario Country has also within that Province the Tuscaroras who form the sixth Nation are omitted being as southern People that live on lands allotted them between Oneida & Onondaga

EXPLANATION
△ Indian Villages
△ Chief Towns or large Villages
The Boundary settled with the Indians in 1768 is described by a ----- Line
miles

To His Excellency
WILLIAM TRYON ESQ.
Captain General & Governor in Chief
of the Province of NEW-YORK &c.
This Map
of the Country of the SIX NATIONS
Proper, with Part of the Adjacent Colonies
Is humbly presented by his Excellency's
Most Obedient humble Servant
Guy Johnson 1771.

GUY JOHNSON'S MAP OF NEW YORK, 1771

of corn, potatoes and beans. They actually lived in greater comfort and security than the pioneer whites who succeeded to their lands.

Theirs was a true democracy, anticipating our own by over a century. We are too prone to look upon these Indians as untutored and unworthy savages, yet from all accounts of the few whites who ventured among them, we are credibly informed they were an unusually intelligent, hospitable and industrious people, proud of their homeland in central and western New York, which they regarded theirs by generations of unopposed and undisputed occupation. Their sovereignty extended far beyond these limits, and was maintained by the superior strength of their warriors, who exacted tribute from primitive tribes as far south as Florida. Doctor Sherman Williams has appropriately called them "The Romans of the West." Like the Roman citizen of old, the Iroquois was respected wherever he chose to go.

Unfortunately history will never know their numerical strength, though it is conservatively estimated at 25,000 just prior to the Revolutionary period. For many years preceding this struggle, they enjoyed the most cordial relations with the English of upper New York, where Sir William Johnson, the royal Indian commissioner, lived. His tactful management had won their friendship and sympathy. His dream of civilizing them took form in the encouragement he gave the early New England missionaries who labored among them; in fostering schools for the children, and in sending several of the promising youths to Mr. Wheelock's school in Lebanon, Connecticut (later Dartmouth College). At his death, just before the war, he was succeeded by his nephew, Colonel Guy Johnson, a man of lesser character, but one who managed, with the help of Sir William's son, John, to maintain the oldtime discipline and influence.

When the news of Lexington and Bunker Hill filtered through to the Mohawk Valley, the Johnsons realized their untenable position and fled to Oswego and thence to Canada. Nearly all the Mohawks went with them, as well as some 500 white retainers, over whom Colonel John Butler was placed in command. He later organized the Royal Greens from these men.

At Montreal, Sir Frederick Haldimand addressed the Indians, saying: "Now is the time for you to help the King. The war has begun, and you will find it to your advantage. Whatever you lose

during the war, the King will make up to you when peace returns." A month later Colonel Johnson received an official letter from England saying, "It is the King's pleasure that you lose no time in taking such steps as may induce the Indians to take up the hatchet against his rebellious subjects in America."

In Burgoyne's campaign the following year, over five hundred Indians accompanied him southward, while St. Leger, who left Oswego to join Burgoyne, had over seven hundred Indians under the leadership of Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea). At Oriskany these Indians threatened at one time to turn the tide against the colonists, but their casualties were serious at the end, which caused the surviving members to swear vengeance for the loss of their brothers. Iroquoia at last was aflame with the passions of war and revenge.

With the exception of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, who were restrained by Samuel Kirkland, the famous missionary, the Iroquois tribes dispatched their warriors with Joseph Brant, to join the forces of the Johnsons and Butlers who had erected forts at Oswego and Niagara. During 1778, the Tories and Indians marched forth from these strongholds, to raid and pillage the frontier settlements and isolated cabins of the pioneers on the upper Susquehanna, Delaware and Mohawk rivers. The inhabitants were mercilessly tortured and killed, with no regard to age or sex. The entire frontier became the scene of utter misery and desolation. These attacks were inspired and carried out by the Tory leaders, who were acting under specific orders from the British war office.¹

In July the country stood aghast at the massacre of Wyoming in Pennsylvania, and again in November, when Cherry Valley in New York suffered a similar fate. The authorities of Pennsylvania and New York were aroused, and they decided to send forces into the Indian country to check these atrocities. In September, 1778, Pennsylvania sent Colonel Thomas Hartley with

¹ See Lord Chatham's speech in the House of Lords protesting against the use of Indian warriors in the Revolutionary war.

two hundred men from Sunbury to "penetrate the Indian country." He ascended the west branch of the Susquehanna to Fort Muncy, near the present city of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, thence up Lycoming Creek to Cedar Ledge and across the mountains to Tioga Point, now Athens, Pennsylvania. He did not meet Clinton there, as expected, and, learning of a superior force of Indians gathered at Chemung, a few miles up the river, he retreated down the Susquehanna to Sunbury, after destroying Queen Esther's Town at Tioga Point. In October, 1778, Colonel William Butler led a small force from Fort Defiance in upper New York, and marched into the region about the headwaters of the Susquehanna and Delaware, but owing to the lateness of the season nothing further was done by New York that year.

In April of the following year Colonel Goose Van Schaick and Lieutenant-Colonel Marinus Willett commanded a force of 500 men from Fort Stanwix to invade the Onondaga settlements. They covered about 90 miles outward march. A few Indians were killed, several villages destroyed and considerable grain and domestic animals carried back as plunder. This was accomplished without the loss of a single man.

These brief preludes to the Sullivan invasion accomplished little by way of subduing the enemy, but demonstrated the magnitude and serious difficulties of the task.

With life on the western border in constant jeopardy, it was becoming increasingly hard to induce the pioneer to enlist in the regular line to fight a distant king, when the enemy at his very door was threatening his own fireside and family. Meanwhile, an abundance of food from the fields and gardens of the Iroquois in central New York was pouring into the British garrisons.

For a year back, Washington had been quietly gathering information, more or less fragmentary, from friendly Indians, frontiersmen and British deserters, in anticipation of launching a campaign to effectually remove this menace, which was actually threatening the success of the colonist's cause. At that time central New York was totally unknown to the colonists, as was also the numerical strength of the Six Nations.

The ease with which the hordes of Tories and Indians swept down from Niagara and Oswego forts to points as far south as Wyoming in Pennsylvania, must have suggested to Washington the possibilities of a British descent from Canada, through this

friendly Iroquois country, in a renewed attempt to split the colonies or attack them from the rear.²

From the above facts it is readily seen that the situation on the western fringe of the New York and Pennsylvania colonies was most serious, and called for prompt and drastic measures. Early in 1779, Washington had definitely decided that the most urgent and important military movement of the year was the complete destruction of the Iroquois and their country. The legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania had importuned Congress to relieve the intolerable conditions, so, on February 27, 1779, Washington was authorized to organize an expedition against the western Indians.

At this juncture mention should be made of General Washington's attitude toward the Iroquois. At the very beginning of the war, he had urged the Indians to remain neutral. He very consistently declined the services of the Oneida warriors, who volunteered to serve with the colonial troops. Washington gave every assurance to the Iroquois that neutrality would insure to them a peaceful occupation and autonomy of their ancestral homeland in the future. This fair and honest offer was futile against the extravagant promises and manipulations of the British. Three years later, Washington, no doubt still burning with righteous indignation and resentment at their unjust attitude, wrote to General John Sullivan, "The Expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate object is their total destruction and devastation and the capture of as many persons of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more." This severe order calling for ruthless destruction was a military necessity under the circumstances. Washington gave Sullivan 5,000 men—a full third of the entire colonial army. These men were specially selected on account of their experience in former campaigns—veterans of Saratoga and Monmouth; frontiersmen and Morgan's Riflemen from Virginia, skilled in Indian warfare, along with seasoned troops from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New

² When Sullivan's men marched through this territory, they found enormous stores of dried fruits, corn and beans distributed along the route, as though in preparation for just such a contingency.

Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Sullivan arrived, on May 7, 1779, at Easton, Pennsylvania, where he established headquarters and began active preparations for the expedition.

The general plan of the campaign involved approaching from three widely separated points and converging in the heart of the Indian country. The commander-in-chief with the main army was to march from Easton, Pennsylvania, across the Pocono Plateau and enter the Susquehanna River Valley at Wyoming, thence up the river to Tioga Point. Clinton, who was at that time in the Mohawk Valley with 1,600 men, was to pass over to Otsego Lake and descend the north branch of the Susquehanna to join Sullivan at Tioga Point. The combined armies were then to proceed into central New York. Colonel Daniel Brodhead with 650 men was to leave Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) and ascend the Allegheny River to join the main army somewhere in the Genesee Valley, to assist in the attack on Fort Niagara, which was the ultimate goal of the expedition. In addition, Lieutenant-Colonel Pawling with 200 men was to leave Kingston on the Hudson and join Clinton before he reached Tioga Point.

This ambitious design was to encompass nearly all that territory now embraced by the states of Pennsylvania and New York, which at that time was unmapped and practically without roads, other than the narrow Indian trails.

Owing to swollen streams and difficult roads, Pawling failed to connect with Clinton's division, so returned to Kingston with little accomplished. Brodhead, likewise, failed to join Sullivan in central New York. When he reached the present southern boundary of New York State he turned back on account of sickness among his troops, lack of clothing and food supplies. His contribution, however, was considerable, in that he destroyed several Indian villages and 500 acres of growing corn. His presence in the Allegheny Valley diverted many of the Seneca warriors, who otherwise would have reinforced Brant's army at Newtown.

Aside from the force of Brodhead, Sullivan's expedition was made up of four brigades. The first consisted of New Jersey regiments, under the command of Brigadier-General William Maxwell; Brigadier-General Enoch Poor commanded the second brigade with regiments from New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut. The third brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Edward Hand, was composed of several Pennsylvania regi-

ments. The fourth brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General James Clinton, was made up of New York regiments and Morgan's Riflemen from Virginia.

While waiting for Maxwell's and Poor's brigades to gather at Easton, Sullivan sent Van Cortlandt's and Spencer's regiments ahead, to make a road by widening a bridle trail, the only path then existing to Wyoming. Early in the morning of June 18th, 1779, Sullivan gave the order for the army to move. The path led through the wind gap, a pass in the Blue Ridge below the Delaware Water Gap.

At the end of the second day's march, they passed Learned's log cabin, the last house on the frontier. In the following weeks they encountered the greatest difficulties, traveling through extensive swamps, dense forests and rocky barrens. After thirty-six days of this arduous struggle, having covered only 65 miles, they arrived in the beautiful Wyoming Valley, where Brigadier-General Hand awaited them.

The army was obliged to remain here to collect fresh supplies, as the disheartening discovery was made that all salted meat had soured and was unfit for food, owing to its being packed in casks made of unseasoned oak. To provide meat for his troops, Sullivan was forced to send to lower Pennsylvania for live cattle, to be driven along with the army on its advance up the Susquehanna. Likewise, the supply of clothing and shoes had failed; on the 21st of July, Sullivan wrote that "more than a third of his soldiers had not a shirt to their backs."

When the movements of General Sullivan became known to the enemy, bold and desperate measures were undertaken to divert him from his course. On July 28th, Captain McDonald, with 100 British and 200 Indians, attacked Freeland's Fort on the west branch of the Susquehanna. The same week, Brant, with a large party of warriors, fell upon the Minisink settlements in Orange County, New York. Sullivan knew full well the futility of dividing his forces to go in pursuit, and only hastened his departure from Wyoming for the country of the Iroquois.

In preparation for the advance, the artillery and heavy supplies were loaded into 214 boats to be poled up-stream to Tioga Point; also the 1,200 pack horses were made ready. On July 31st, the army broke camp and began its forward march. It followed the age-worn Indian trail along the river, forming a line approxi-

mately six miles in length with 700 beef cattle bringing up the rear.

Colonel Zebulon Butler, with 100 troops, was left in garrison at Wyoming, to forward such supplies as might be collected later.

The army arrived at Tioga Point on August 11th, having made the eighty-mile march without serious incident. To accomplish this, the entire army was obliged to ford the Susquehanna on this occasion, owing to the peculiar topography of the Susquehanna Valley. A few Indians were seen now and then, evidently scouts, but no open engagement occurred.

Sullivan began to erect a fort at Tioga, which was named in his honor. This fort extended from the bank of the Chemung to that of the Susquehanna, at about a mile above the point where these two streams meet. His plan was to remain here until the arrival of Clinton.

General Clinton, who, since the middle of June, had been transporting his brigade and stores from the Mohawk by way of Canajoharie and Springfield, encamped at Lake Otsego on the third of July, where, awaiting orders from General Sullivan, he remained until the ninth of August. He had thrown a dam across the outlet of the lake to provide sufficient water in the upper Susquehanna River to float his 250 boats, which were to carry his stores to Tioga. On his descent of the North Branch he destroyed several Indian villages.

On August 18th two messengers came to Clinton with word that General Sullivan had reached Tioga and that General Poor was marching with a thousand men to meet Clinton. This meeting occurred at a place ever since called Union, Broome County, New York, which village has recently been absorbed in the larger community of Endicott.

Sullivan had sent General Poor to escort Clinton on account of rumors that a large body of Indians was hovering about Clinton's army and planning an attack. Clinton and Poor arrived at Tioga on August 22nd.

While waiting at Tioga, Sullivan availed himself of the excellent pasturage on Queen Esther's flats for his horses and cattle. His men guarding these were subjected to frequent attacks by lurking Indians, who killed two of them and wounded several others.

On the arrival of General Clinton's brigade, preparations

for the onward movement of the army began at once. All cumbersome and unnecessary baggage was ordered stored with the garrison of 250 men at Fort Sullivan, under the command of Colonel Israel Shreve. The invalids and wounded were left here in an improvised hospital. The wives of several of the boatmen, who had accompanied the expedition to this point, served as nurses.

On the 26th of August the army resumed its march into the unknown country. It was known that the Indians were assembled in force somewhere on the Chemung River and not far distant from Tioga. The following day Sullivan reached the site of Old Chemung, where, on August 12th, a small detachment on a reconnoitre had been attacked from ambush with a loss of six men and the wounding of several others.

Late at night on the 27th a scout came in with the information that the enemy had been discovered at work building fortifications a few miles above.

Early on Sunday, the 29th of August, the army advanced with great caution, and had gone scarcely two miles when the advance guard discovered Indian scouts slightly ahead, who upon being observed, ran off at full speed. A small force was also seen on the opposite side of the river, which kept nearly abreast of General Hand's troops, but out of rifle range. After advancing four miles farther, the fortifications of the enemy were discovered in the vicinity of an Indian village, then called Newtown, where now is located the village of Lowman, New York.

The Indian warriors, variously estimated at 700 to 1,500, were commanded by Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), probably the most remarkable Indian then living on the western continent. The Indians had gathered here with the Royal Greens and a few British regulars, to make a determined stand against the further advance of Sullivan into the Iroquois country.

Brant had selected with consummate skill a rise of ground, where he had dug rifle pits and thrown up breast-works for a distance of half a mile, and concealed them by freshly cut saplings and brush. Immediately in front there flowed a considerable stream, Baldwin's Creek, which would necessarily impede the progress of an attacking party. On Brant's left flank was an extensive swamp overgrown with bushes, at his rear was a



MONUMENT ERECTED IN GROVELAND NEAR POINT OF AMBUSCADE OF
BOYD AND PARKER SCOUTING PARTY



BURIAL MOUND OF BOYD AND PARKER AT CUYLERVILLE

high hill, while at his right passed the old Indian trail, over which Sullivan would advance. Some 200 yards beyond this trail and parallel to it, lay a wooded ridge, where 500 British under command of Sir John Johnson, Guy Johnson, Colonel John Butler and his son Walter and Captain MacDonald were hidden. In case Sullivan made a frontal attack, the British would guard Brant's right flank, but if, as the enemy hoped, Sullivan should advance far enough on the trail, he would discover too late that the enemy was on either side of his advancing column. Sullivan's advance scouts brought back sufficient information to save him from this fatal trap.

Sullivan sent Colonel Ogden far to the left, and Clinton's and Poor's brigades by a circuitous route to the right, to gain Brant's left flank and rear. The artillery was sent forward to within 300 yards of Brant's entrenchments, supported by General Hand's brigade. Maxwell's brigade was held at the rear in reserve. By a prearrangement these three divisions were to attack in force and simultaneously, at the first volley from the artillery as a signal.

General Hand advanced a portion of his light troops near the breast-work, to divert the enemy's attention from the movements on the flanks. An hour had been allowed as sufficient time for Poor's troops to be in a position to turn the enemy's left, at which time the attack should be made in force on the front, particularly by the artillery. Poor was delayed beyond this reckoning, on account of the swampy ground, and was still floundering in the morass, overgrown with alders and bushes, and his troops well-nigh overcome with the heat and exertion, when the signal for attack boomed forth from the artillery.

Proctor's battery consisted of six three-pounders, a light cohorn and two howitzers, carrying five and one-half inch shells. These opened with a sharp, severe fire of solid shot. Eventually Clinton and Poor emerged from the swamp and gained higher ground, and were in active combat with the left of Brant's forces.

For a time, at this point, the Americans were threatened with defeat and destruction, notwithstanding Hand's efforts to divert the enemy by his activity on the front. A vigorous artillery fire now began, which no doubt saved the day. The continuous roar of cannon was telling on the morale of the Indians.

Brant realized his lines were wavering and that his right flank and especially his rear were threatened by Ogden, so the signal for retreat was sounded. The Indians and British beat a hasty retreat up the valley, many crossing the river and taking to the high hills. This escape was so precipitous that several of their dead were abandoned on the field, a circumstance seldom observed in Indian warfare.

The engagement lasted three hours preceded by four hours of manoeuvring, during which there were exchanges of shots at some points on the two square miles of battlefield. The mortality on both sides was surprisingly low; Sullivan lost eight men and about forty wounded; these were transported in boats to Fort Sullivan hospital that night. The casualties of the Indians and British were never accurately learned, though inquiries of captured Indians revealed at least thirty dead and a large number wounded; twelve were found dead on the battlefield. A pursuit of the fleeing Indians toward Kanawaholla (Elmira) resulted in a brief skirmish about three miles from Newtown without result to either side.

Sullivan's men, exhausted by the events of the day, encamped that night on the battlefield. This place is suitably marked by a granite rock at Lowman, New York, erected by the Newtown Battle Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution. On the crest of the hill back of the battlefield, the State of New York has created a park and erected a tall shaft commemorating this battle.

Sullivan now began a systematic destruction of the villages and fields in the vicinity, after which he moved his army northward towards Seneca Lake, destroying all in his path. The Indians and Tories kept up their retreat, always far ahead of Sullivan, picking up the women and children as they went. On the present site of Montour there stood at that time a substantial town called Chequaga or Queen Catherine's Town. It contained about forty well built houses, some of framed timbers with glazed windows and chimneys. This was burned and the crops destroyed. The soldiers found several horses, cows, calves and hogs which were taken to camp.

The army now marched along the east bank of Seneca Lake, burning several villages and felling the peach and apple orchards. At the end of the lake, a detachment was sent down the Seneca River to destroy Skoiyase (Waterloo) while the main army

turned west and destroyed Kanadesaga (Geneva), a large village of fifty houses with unusually abundant crops. The route now led to Kanandaiqua, which was reached September 9th. Destroying everything at this place, the army continued on towards the Genesee Valley with the immediate objective of attacking Genesee Castle, the capital of the Confederation, known as Chenandoanes (Dyu-non-dah-ga-eeh), or Little Beard's Town, and here the expedition ended. At nightfall on September 12th, General Hand's light corps, which had left the main body of the army far to the rear, arrived within half a mile of the Indian town of Kanaghaws, at the head of Conesus Lake, and encamped on what is now the McMillan farm in the town of Conesus. Brant and Butler had their forces near here, determined to make another stand against the invaders.

We have the words of the commander-in-chief as to his utter lack of competent guides: "We had," he says, "not a single person who was sufficiently acquainted with the country to conduct a party out of the Indian path by day, or scarcely in it by night, though they were the best I could possibly procure." His maps were also misleading and pronounced by him "erroneous and calculated to perplex rather than to enlighten." He at once sought by a reconnoissance to ascertain the location of the Genesee Castle and the best course by which it might be reached; and ordered Lieutenant Thomas Boyd to undertake this mission and discover the arrangement of the enemy's forces ahead, with the injunction to report at sunrise the next morning. Boyd's party included twenty-nine men, instead of the three or four riflemen which his instructions contemplated, and in this respect a fatal mistake was made.

During the night they passed Butler's right flank unobserved and without themselves knowing the near proximity of the enemy. At dawn they saw four Indians on horseback entering a small village. These were fired upon and one Indian fell dead; the others escaped and no doubt rushed to Butler to inform him of the incident. Boyd now turned back towards camp, and, after going a distance of four or five miles, paused to rest, sending two scouts on to report to Sullivan. They soon returned to Boyd reporting having seen five Indians on the path. Boyd then pushed on and overtook the Indians who started to run. He was advised by Hanyerry, an Oneida guide, not to pursue them, as he sus-

pected a familiar ruse. Boyd disregarded this warning, and was lured by the fleeing redskins into the enemy's lines, where he and his men were surrounded and attacked. In the face of such fearful odds, the little band sold their lives dearly, as they stood back to back against the encircling horde of howling savages. Fifteen of Boyd's men fell; eight escaped, including Tim Murphy, the famous scout, while Boyd and his sergeant, Michael Parker, were captured. It is supposed they were promised their freedom if they would divulge Sullivan's plans and military strength, which they steadfastly refused to do, so they were horribly tortured and mutilated before being put to death. Upon the arrival of the army they were buried nearby with military honors. This tragic episode is known in history as the Groveland Ambuscade. In 1841 the remains of Boyd and his men who had slept so long in unmarked graves, were removed, with elaborate ceremonies to Rochester, where they now rest under a suitable monument in Mount Hope cemetery, provided by the Daughters of the American Revolution of that city. On this occasion, three of Sullivan's men were present, including Paul Sanborn, who was the first to discover the mutilated bodies where they fell sixty-two years before.

General Sullivan now pushed forward on the trail taken by Boyd, and at sundown of September 13th, he found a strong force of Indians at the Indian town of Gathtseqwarohare, the site of the "Hermitage," the ancestral home of the Carrolls. Sullivan immediately brought up his troops in position for action, whereupon the Indians, no doubt recalling Newtown, fled without firing a shot. On the next day the army arrived at the Genesee River, which it crossed and at sunset of the 14th entered Genesee Castle, a settlement of 128 large houses, which the entire army set about demolishing along with extensive fields and gardens just ripening for the harvest.

Owing to the lateness of the season, the rapidly dwindling supplies and Brodhead's failure to arrive, Sullivan decided to abandon further pursuit and to retrace his steps to Pennsylvania. This announcement was received with great joy by the tired and worn soldiers. A detachment of one hundred picked men was sent under command of Peter Gansevoort to go directly east to destroy some Mohawk villages and continue on to Albany. Dearborn was sent with a considerable force to clean up the country

about Cayuga Lake and to rejoin the army at Fort Reed (Elmira).

Sullivan arrived at Fort Reed just one month after his encounter at Newtown. Boats and fresh supplies had been brought up from Tioga. Before embarking for the south, there was held a huge barbecue and celebration by the troops, with plenty to eat and liberal portions of spirits for all. The army now proceeded to Tioga Point and later, taking boats, dispersed into military camps in lower Pennsylvania.

This expedition had marched 280 miles from Easton through an unbroken wilderness until it arrived in central New York. The total loss of men from all causes was only forty-one, a most extraordinary outcome under the circumstances. Sullivan accomplished substantially all that he set out to do, except the destruction of Fort Niagara; no doubt this was highly desirable, but not vital, and it would appear that he exercised excellent judgment under the conditions of approaching cold weather, depleted supplies, and an army worn and weary from three months of strenuous campaigning.

He had destroyed all discoverable habitations, some forty towns, quantities of stored foods, including about 160,000 bushels of corn, countless orchards and all growing crops. The Iroquois occupation was a desolate, smoking ruin, and its people were forced, as unwelcome refugees, upon the British, who were obliged to quarter them in barracks at Fort Niagara that winter, an exceptionally severe one, and a great many died before spring from exposure and scurvy.

Not the least important result of this campaign was that Sullivan had rendered useless and impracticable a very natural and easy path of approach to the colonies from Canada, should such an invasion, once interrupted at Saratoga, be attempted again.

While it is true that in the following years the Indians renewed their attacks upon the border country, they never again gathered in force, but appeared as small roving bands without definite organization or leadership.

When peace with England was finally declared, in 1783, there began a migration of settlers to western New York. Many of Sullivan's men were given grants of land for their services, in many instances the only pay they ever received. In consequence, a very considerable number of the pioneer families trace their

descent from these patriots, the very bone and sinew of the newly rising empire. Richly endowed by nature and disciplined in the hard school of military service, they brought to the Genesee Country the sterling qualities of industrious living; independent thinking, and prodigious bodily vigor. They have left as an heritage their indelible mark upon the character of our people and institutions to this day.



LOWER PORTAGE FALLS

CHAPTER XI.

THE GENESEE COUNTRY.

By CHARLES F. MILLIKEN.

Western New York is a term applied to that part of the state of New York lying west of the preemption line, the line which the Hartford Convention of 1786 arbitrarily established as the eastern boundary of the tract the preemptive right to which New York relinquished to Massachusetts in settlement of a long standing controversy between the two states. The preemption line extended from the eighty-second mile stone on the New York-Pennsylvania boundary due north to the imaginary line which, under the peace treaty of 1783 between the United States and Great Britain, extended through the middle of Lake Ontario and delimited at the north the territory whose independence of the mother country had just been established. All the land west of the preemption line, while still recognized as under the sovereignty of New York, was given to Massachusetts to sell, and, in the negotiations to that end, in which various speculators engaged in the last years of the eighteenth and the first years of the nineteenth century, was exploited as "The Genesee Country." It is the same tract that upon the division of Montgomery County and the organization of the fifteenth county of the state, in 1789, was given the name "Ontario," after the lake of that name which lay along its northern boundary.

The territory to which these various appellations attach has an area of 640 square miles and embraces luxuriant forests, valleys of unsurpassed fertility, lake and river systems that command means of easy access to remote parts of the continent north and south, east and west, together with scenery inspiring alike to writer and artist.

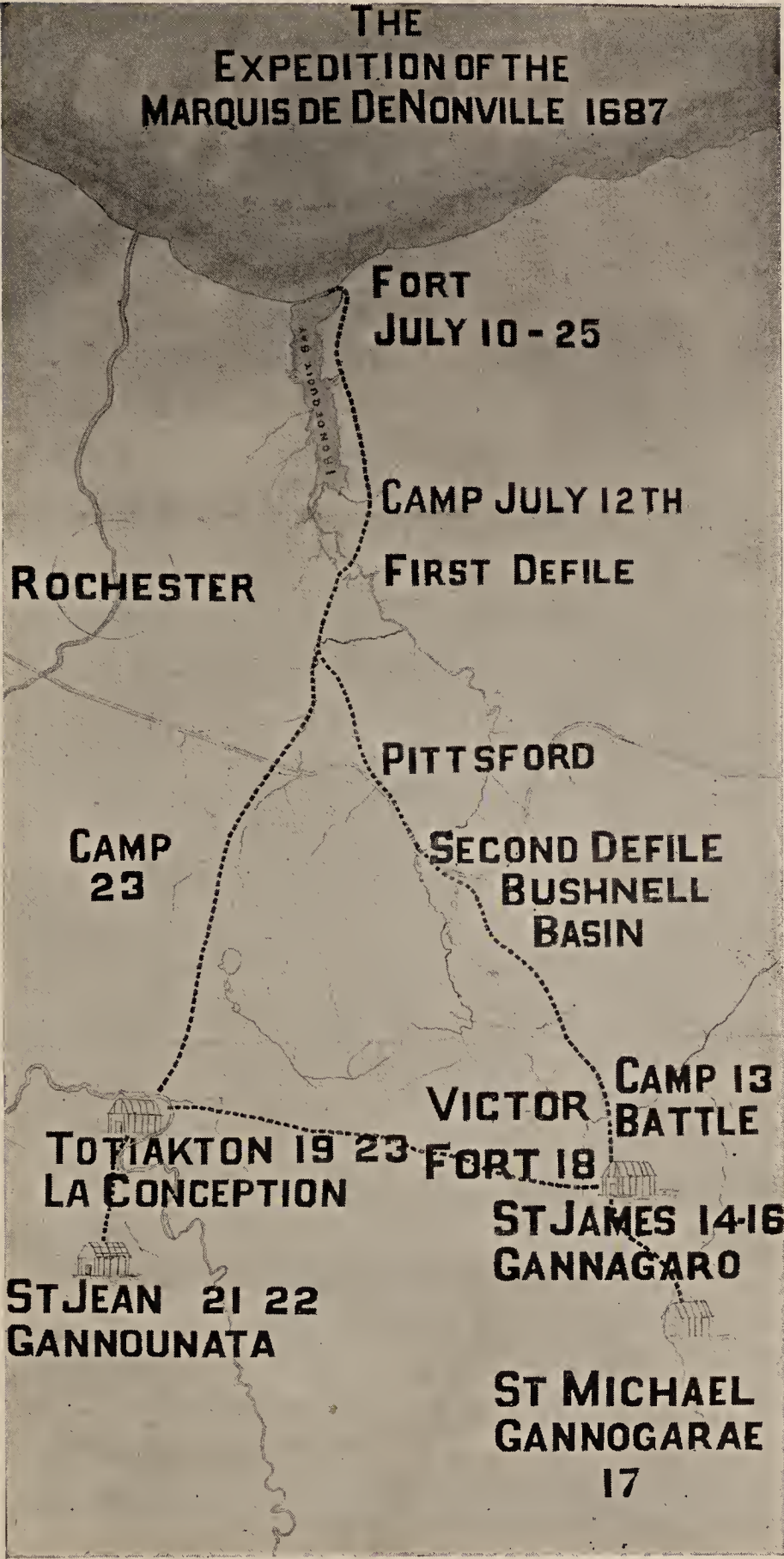
For nearly three hundred years following the discovery of America, western New York was terra incognita to white men. From time immemorial it had been the habitat of savages, arch-

aeologists tell us, of Esquimaux, Mound Builders, Algonkians, until at the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy, about the time of the landing of Columbus, it became the home of one of the Five Nations that united in what has been inaptly termed a "league of peace."

The first of the alien brood of palefaces to penetrate its forests and visit its natives were either French adventurers or French missionaries. Representative of the former was Etienne Brule, Champlain's interpreter, who in company with his great leader is known to have penetrated the Iroquois country as far as Onondaga Lake in 1615, and is believed to have extended his adventurous journeyings into the western part of the state. But however this may be, the record is indisputable that a number of the "Black Robes," as the Jesuit missionaries were called, visited the Senecas in the early years of the seventeenth century in obedience to orders that they should set up a Christian empire in the wilderness. At least we have the authority of the *Jesuit Relations* in stating that Father Chaumonot visited the Seneca towns as early as 1657, and that in 1668 Father Fremin took up his residence among them, built a chapel at Gandougarae (Mud Creek, in what is now the town of East Bloomfield, Ontario County), and labored with small success to instruct them in the truths of the Christian religion and show them the way to heaven. Then in 1669 came the intrepid explorer, La Salle, accompanied by the Sulpitian Fathers Galinee and Dollier, who crossed the Lake of St. Louis, as Lake Ontario was then called, in frail birch canoes, and landing at Irondequoit Bay, on the south shore, proceeded into the heart of the Seneca country in a quest for guides who would show them the way for a projected expedition to the Ohio. La Salle and his companions penetrated as far as Boughton Hill, in the present town of Victor, and perhaps visited the burning spring in the Bristol Valley, a few miles farther south.

It was nine years later, in 1678, after receiving royal license "to endeavor to discover the western part of New France," that La Salle built Fort Niagara, at the western door of the Iroquois "long house," and having made portage of the necessary materials proceeded to construct on the east bank of the river the "Griffon," the first white man's vessel to enter the upper lakes.

After another nine years, in 1687, the Marquis Denonville, then governor of New France, with a force of two thousand



ROUTE OF DE DENONVILLE'S EXPEDITION IN 1687

French and Indians, engaged in a serious attempt to compel the Senecas to respect the lilies of France, which they had previously seemed to hold in light esteem. Landing at Irondequoit Bay on the tenth of July, the invaders marched into the very heart of the region of which we write. Though repelling attacks by the Indians, who, sensing perhaps the fate that the incoming of the strangers presaged, rallied in a desperate attempt to protect their home land, and accomplishing the destruction of several of the Indian villages and large stores of their grain, the Frenchmen gained for themselves only a deepening of the hatred already felt for them by the red men and widened the breach that the English were soon to take advantage of, as they did in 1756, when Sir William Johnson, in an effort to attach the Iroquois to the British cause, erected a palisade fort at Kanadesaga, near the foot of Seneca Lake.

In the meantime the Great Western Wilderness, as the seemingly impenetrable region had come to be known, had been visited by traders, who bought the peltries the Indians had to sell, and by Jesuits, who, with unquenchable ardor, suffered ignominy and torture, even burning and death, that they might establish missions in the homes of the heathen. These devoted missionaries, who had set up the cross in the villages destroyed by Denonville, had previously accompanied La Salle in his travels through the Seneca country. The cross and the sword had an important part in these first attempts to convert or conquer the red denizens of the western New York forests, and often the cross pioneered the way.

But it was finally Sullivan and his Continentals who, in 1779, marching under orders of General Washington to make impossible repetition of the Wyoming and Cherry Valley horrors, opened up the country to the knowledge of white men. Entering the region from the east and south, they proceeded to the Genesee River, completely breaking the spirit of the Indians and laying waste the country from which the Tories had drawn warriors and supplies for their murderous forays on the patriot settlements. It was a ruthless task that was committed to the Colonial force, cruel but necessary from a military point of view, and it was thoroughly accomplished. But beyond and above its military value, great as was this, was the incidental disclosure to potential settlers of the beauty and fertility of the western New York lands. It turned

out to be an enterprise of unparalleled importance, in presenting to the men of New England, who made up the little army, a field for home-making that then and there many of them resolved to cultivate, and that a little later many of them did cultivate to the incalculable advantage of posterity.

The native inhabitants of western New York, at the time its fastnesses were penetrated by Sullivan's army in 1779, were the people of the Seneca "Nation" of Indians, the most numerous and most powerful of that marvelous example of savage statecraft, the Iroquois Confederacy. The Senecas were the invincible Keepers of the Western Door of the Long House, the symbolic figure used by the Five Nations to describe the territory over which they held undisputed sway, extending from the Hudson at the east to the Niagara at the west. The Senecas constituted the buffer that, in the working out of the divine purpose, was destined to protect western New York from French occupation, and save it for settlement by people from New England, who laid foundations for the dominance of the English tongue, the English culture, and the English faith that has persisted in the population of western New York.

The Iroquois Indians were not nomads. Unlike their kin in the far west, they made their homes in villages or "castles" of considerable size and of comparative permanence. The Abbe Belmont, who accompanied the Denonville expedition in 1779, reported that "the Tsonnontauans Senecas have four large villages which they change every ten years in order to bring themselves near the woods and permit them to grow up again." And it is presumable that search for new game trails, for virgin land for tilling, for desirable location on which to rebuild bark houses and palisades destroyed by enemies, or to get away from places which disease or pestilence had made no longer habitable, were causes operating to the same end. However this may have been, there is abundant evidence that the villages were moved from place to place at frequent intervals. At no time, according to the best authorities, did the Iroquois number more than 20,000 souls, but their valor and the efficiency of their organization is attested by the fact that though not having a fighting force of more than 4,000 at the height of their power, they extended their conquests and levied tribute on the red peoples of the continent from New England to the Mississippi, including the Great Lakes, the "Na-

tions" in Canada and those as far south as the Gulf of Mexico. The confederacy, it appears, was more a league for offense than for defense, for war than for peace.

The Senecas were credited with having 1,000 warriors. Sir William Johnson in 1763 reported that they had 1,050; Missionary Kirkland in 1783, following their disastrous war with the French, estimated they had no more than 600. After the war of the Revolution, in 1794, the Federal government found there were then all told 1,780 Senecas. In 1818 Jasper Parrish, the Indian agent, said officially, "the population of the Six Nations of Indians is 1,475," the Five Nations having become six through the adoption of the Tuscaroras in 1693.

Remains of fortifications, burial sites, middens, abound throughout western New York, and would indicate the presence here of a large aboriginal population, but these numerous evidences of Indian occupation cover a long period of time, hundreds, probably thousands, of years, and, in view of the migratory habits of these people of mysterious origin, they do not discredit the figures quoted.

The story of the development of this vast domain from the time its fame was spread abroad by the returned soldiers of Sullivan's army to this year of grace, 1925, when it comprises fifteen of the most prosperous and enterprising counties of the Empire state, is a romance whose chapters are featured by speculation, intrigue, conspiracy, sinister rivalries among the red men of the forest, strife for possession between French and English, participation in the War of 1812, thrilling adventures of pioneers, trappers, and missionaries, large commercial and industrial enterprises, political movements of national importance, the rise of religious cults of enduring influence, and the founding and growth of centers of population that figure large in history and progress. Western New York, a vast wilderness at the close of the eighteenth century, has become in a hundred and twenty-five years a veritable empire, the home of a million and a half of the most intelligent and most prosperous and most happy people in all the world.

With the close of the war of the Revolution and the organization of an enduring and more perfect union of the states, western New York offered an inviting field for settlement. A region theretofore unknown save to adventurous hunters or devoted soldiers of the cross, now lay open to those ready to face the

dangers and endure the privations that from the dawn of civilization have stood in the way of the pioneer. The fertility of its soil, the diversity and beauty of its landscapes, its streams teeming with fish, and its forests abounding in game, had become themes of unfailing interest about New England hearthstones.

The men of Massachusetts and Connecticut and New Hampshire, as well as those of the eastern part of New York State, who had made up the army that, under Major General John Sullivan, had broken the spirit of the red men in its punitive march to the valley of the Genesee in 1779, had carried back to their firesides in the east absorbing stories of the land of promise they had penetrated and alluring visions of what might be their part in its development. But for years following there was no one of whom they could legally buy the newly discovered lands, no authority on which they might rely for protection. Disputes as to ownership and control, arising from conflicting grants in the charters given the original colonists, operated to make entry into western New York impracticable, if not unsafe for would-be settlers.

As early as 1628, Charles I of England had granted to the colony of Massachusetts Bay a charter that covered all the territory between 40 degrees, 2 minutes, and 44 degrees and 15 minutes, extending from the Atlantic Ocean clear across the continent and including, of course, the whole of western New York. In 1664, Charles II of England granted to his brother, James, Duke of York, large possessions in the New World, which, with additions made later, covered the country from the Connecticut River westward to the Pacific. These overlapping and conflicting grants gave rise early to controversies which, following recognition of the independence of the United States, were continued between the commonwealths of New York and Massachusetts. The last named state petitioned the Continental Congress in 1784 to take action toward an adjustment of the dispute under the provisions of Article IX of the Articles of Confederation, which provided that the United States in Congress assembled shall be "the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more states, concerning boundary, jurisdiction or any other cause whatever."

The Congress took the preliminary steps in accordance with this provision to effect a settlement, but, before the Federal Court created for the purpose acted in the matter, and in actual viola-

tion of the article quoted, the legislatures of the two states gave their respective commissioners full power to settle the dispute without resort to the duly constituted national authority.

As a result, these commissioners, at a convention held at Hartford, Connecticut, opening on November 30, 1786, in deliberations occupying only a little over two weeks' time, while confirming New York's sovereignty over its territory, ceded to Massachusetts title to the land in the state lying west of the meridian line extending north from the eighty-second milestone on the Pennsylvania boundary.

The agreement entered into at the Hartford convention was a bad bargain for New York State, and just how it was brought about cannot now be determined. No records of the proceedings of the convention can be found in the archives of either Massachusetts or New York. We only know that the representatives of the two states, having assembled at Hartford and having received briefs on the claims of their respective states, compromised the questions at issue. The dispute as to the boundary line between the two states was determined in favor of Massachusetts, through admission of its claim of title to everything east of a line twenty miles east of the Hudson River, as conceded by the Dutch in their brief occupation of the colony. The second question, that concerning ownership of lands lying east of those which New York in 1781, and Massachusetts in 1785, had ceded to the United States, was settled also in favor of Massachusetts so far as title to the tract lying west of the preemption line was concerned.

The agreement thus entered into, at the city of Hartford aforesaid, the sixteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, and the eleventh year of the independence of the United States of America, was made by commissioners representing the two states as follows: John Lowell, James Sullivan, Theophilus Parsons, and Rufus King, representing Massachusetts, and James Duane, Robert R. Livingston, Robert Yates, John Haring, Melancton Smith and Robert Benson, representing New York.

The agreement provided:

"First, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts doth hereby cede, grant, release, and confirm to the State of New York forever, all the claim, right and title which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts hath to the government, sovereignty and jurisdiction of the

lands and territories so claimed by the State of New York as hereinbefore stated and particularly specified.

“Secondly, The State of New York doth hereby cede, grant, release and confirm to the said Commonwealth of Massachusetts and to the use of the Commonwealth, their grantees and the heirs and assigns of such grantees, forever, the right of preemption of the soil from the native Indians and all other the estate, right, title and property (the right and title of government, sovereignty and jurisdiction excepted) which the State of New York hath of, in or to two hundred and thirty thousand and four hundred acres to be located by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and to be situate to the northward of and adjoining to the lands granted respectively to Daniel Cox and Robert Lettice Hooper and their respective associates, and between the rivers Owega and Chanango:

“And also of, in or to all the lands and territories within the following limits and bounds, that is to say: Beginning in the north boundary line of the State of Pennsylvania in the parallel of forty-two degrees of north latitude at a point distant eighty-two miles west from the northeast corner of the State of Pennsylvania on Delaware River, as the said boundary line hath been run and marked by the commissioners appointed by the states of Pennsylvania and New York, respectively, and from the said point or place of beginning running on a due meridian north to the boundary line between the United States of America and the King of Great Britain; thence westerly and southerly along the said boundary line to a meridian which will pass one mile due east from the northern termination of the straight or waters between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; thence south along the said meridian to the south shore of Lake Ontario; thence on the eastern side of the said straight by a line always one mile distant from and parallel to the said straight to Lake Erie; thence due west to the boundary line between the United States and the King of Great Britain; thence along the said boundary line until it meets with the line of cession from the State of New York to the United States; thence along the said line of cession to the northwest corner of the State of Pennsylvania and thence east along the northern boundary line of the State of Pennsylvania to the said place of beginning; and which said lands and territories so ceded, granted, released and

confirmed are parcel of the lands and territories described in the said Petition.

“Thirdly, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts doth hereby cede, grant, release and confirm to the State of New York and to the use of the State of New York, their grantees and the heirs and assigns of such grantees forever, the right of preemption of the soil from the native Indians, and all other the estate, right, title and property which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts hath, of, in or to the residue of the lands and territories so claimed by the State of New York as hereinbefore stated and particularly specified.”

The agreement further provided (4) that the lands ceded to Massachusetts should, during the time the same should so be and remain the property of that state, be free and exempt from all taxes whatever and that upon transfer of said lands to others their occupants or proprietors should be subject only to town or county charges during a period of fifteen years following confirmation of the agreement.

(5) No rents or services should be reserved in any such grants by Massachusetts. It was also agreed (6) that occupants of said lands should have and enjoy the same and equal rights respecting the navigation and fishery on and in Lake Ontario and Lake Erie and the water communication from one to the other of said lakes, and respecting the roads and portages between the said lakes as should be had and enjoyed by the citizens of the State of New York.

(7) No adverse possession of the said lands for any length of time should be adjudged a disseizen of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The State of New York agreed (8) not to relinquish government and jurisdiction of said lands, without consent of Massachusetts. Massachusetts was given the further right (9) to hold treaties and conferences with the native Indians relative to the property or right of soil with the employment of “such armed force as may be necessary for the more effectual holding of such treaty and conference.”

It was provided (10) that the last mentioned commonwealth should have the right to grant the right of preemption of the whole or any part of said lands to “any person or persons who by virtue of such a grant shall have good right to extinguish by purchase

the claims of the native Indians," provided that such purchase should be made in presence of and approved by a superintendent to be appointed by said state.

The final paragraph of this historic agreement (11) provided that grantees of the said lands under the Commonwealth of Massachusetts should be entitled, within six months after confirmation of their respective grants, to have certified copies of the same filed and recorded without fees or charges, with the secretary of the State of New York, without which formality every such grant should be adjudged void.

The commissioners, having been granted by their respective states, power, "legal and sufficient," "to settle and extinguish interfering claims and controversies between the two states, as well as in respect of jurisdiction as to property," to the end "that peace and harmony might be forever established between them on the most solid foundation," assumed by this agreement to bind their states independently of the loosely bound federation of states and its rights in the matter, and their right and authority to do so, however irregularly exercised, has not been legally questioned.

So far as can now be ascertained, the agreement thus entered into was never formally ratified or confirmed by the Congress, but it has been tacitly recognized by the courts and has been accepted as the basis of titles in transfers like that of Massachusetts to Phelps and Gorham.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PHELPS AND GORHAM PURCHASE.

BY CHARLES F. MILLIKEN.

Eight years elapsed after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and six years after England's formal recognition of the independence of the States, before the dispute as to possession and title was adjusted and a stable government set up so that an organized settlement of the Genesee Country could be undertaken.

It was then that enterprising citizens of Massachusetts and Connecticut, informed of the incalculable riches of the country through reports of those who, under Sullivan, had penetrated the wilderness, and recognizing the opportunities it afforded for speculation, instituted negotiations for the purchase of the state's preemption right to secure releases from the Indians. A number of rival interests sought to avail themselves of these opportunities and there was prospect of competition that might affect their value.

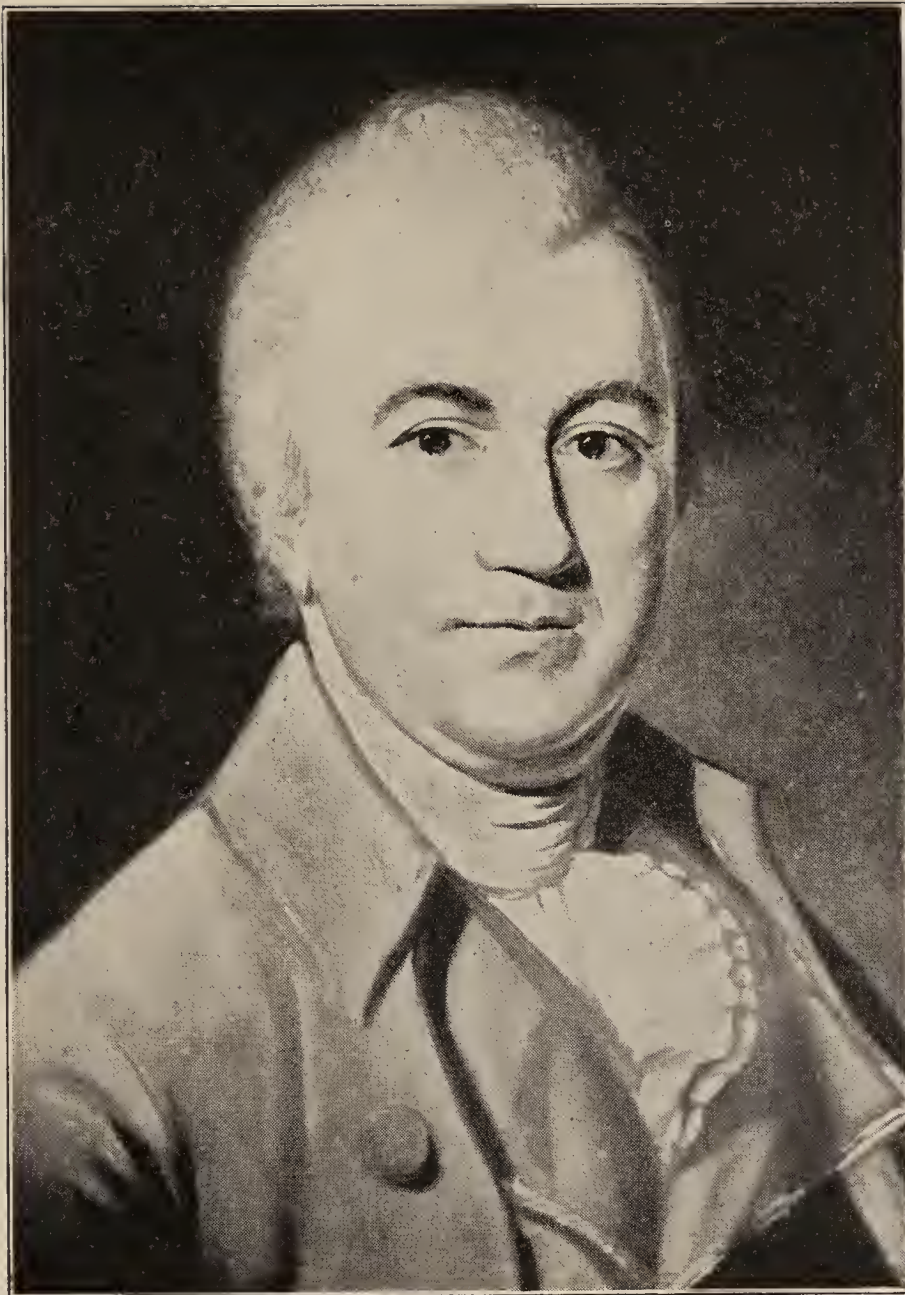
Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps were among those who sought to advantage themselves in this way through the state's need of funds and its consequent desire to realize on its newly acquired western New York lands. These two men, through whose vision and enterprise great things were destined to come to the region, were particularly qualified to steer the negotiations for the purchase through shoals and quicksands to a safe legislative harbor, and later to bring its advantages to the attention of potential settlers.

Nathaniel Gorham was a distinguished citizen of Massachusetts, born in Charlestown, that state, May 27, 1738, and had taken an active part in public events preceding the Revolution. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress (1782-83 and from 1785 to 1787), and was made the president of that body in June, 1786. He was an influential member of the convention that framed the

national constitution and exerted great influence in securing its ratification by Massachusetts. He never was a resident of the tract which he, in conjunction with Oliver Phelps, purchased of Massachusetts. His interests in the Genesee Country were represented by his son, Nathaniel Gorham, Jr., who settled in Canandaigua in 1789, and acted as the agent of his father in the immediate management of the company's business. Nathaniel Gorham, Sr., died in Charlestown, Massachusetts, June 1, 1796.

Oliver Phelps was a native of Windsor, Connecticut. He served in the commissary department of the colonial army, and, settling at Suffield, Massachusetts, at the close of the Revolution, he held successively the offices of member of assembly, state senator, and member of the governor's council. He assisted in the organization of the Phelps and Gorham syndicate, in 1788, and acted as the representative of that company in the exploration of the Genesee Country and in negotiations for the extinction of the Indian title to the land. He removed to Canandaigua in 1802, and, although disappointed in the failure of the land enterprise to yield the expected returns, he had a large part in the development of the region. He served as first judge of Ontario County from the date of its organization, in 1789, until 1793, and he represented the western district of the state in the Ninth Congress, 1803-5. Jesse Hawley wrote of Mr. Phelps: "He was the Cecrops of the Genesee Country. Its inhabitants owe a mausoleum to his memory in gratitude for his having pioneered for them this Canaan of the West." If the tradition is well founded, which ascribes to the first king of Attica credit for the division of that country into states, and for the introduction of agriculture, navigation and commerce, the comparison would not be far fetched, for Oliver Phelps was all this in organizing and developing the Genesee Country. He died at Canandaigua in 1809, aged sixty years.

Oliver Phelps, while using his business talents in providing supplies for Washington's army, had been brought into touch with Robert Morris, to whom belongs credit for financing the struggle for independence, and with Mr. Morris' friend, Major Adam Hoops, who had served as an aid to General Sullivan in his expedition against the Iroquois Indians. The information Mr. Phelps gained from acquaintance with an officer who had himself visited the Genesee Country, and from other veterans similarly qualified



(From oil painting in courthouse at Canandaigua)

NATHANIEL GORHAM

Born at Charlestown, Mass., 1738. Purchased with Oliver Phelps all that part of the State of New York lying west of the pre-emption line. A delegate from Massachusetts to the convention to form the first constitution of the United States. Died in Boston, Mass., 1769.

to vouch for its advantages, inspired him with the conviction that fortunes were waiting for those who would adventure in Genesee lands, and, associating himself with Judge Sullivan, Messrs. Skinner and Chapin and William Walker, he laid plans for acquiring possession; but, before these plans could be matured, Nathaniel Gorham had made a concrete proposition for purchase of a million-acre tract to the Massachusetts Legislature. This was at the session of 1787, but his project failed, or was postponed, in expectation that the ardor of possible competitors might cool and the different parties unite for the venture. This association of interests, for which Phelps and Gorham were constituted agents, was effected, and proposed to the Legislature at its succeeding session "to purchase for the consideration of 300,000 pounds in consolidated securities of the Commonwealth, or 2,000 pounds specie, together with 290,000 pounds in like securities, the right of pre-emption which this Commonwealth has in and to the western territory, so called, lately ceded by the State of New York to this Commonwealth."

This offer was accepted by the Legislature through the passage of an act reading as follows:

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, in the House of Representatives, March 31, 1788.

"On the proposal made to the General Court by the honorable Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps Esquires to purchase for the consideration of Three Hundred Thousand pounds in consolidated securities of this Commonwealth, or Two Thousand pounds specie together with two hundred and ninety thousand pounds in like securities, the right of pre-emption which this Commonwealth has in and to the Western Territory, so called, lately ceded by the State of New York to this Commonwealth as appears by Deed executed by their respective Commissioners at Hartford the 16th day of December, A. D., 1786. RESOLVED that the said proposal for purchasing the Land aforesaid for the consideration of three hundred Thousand pounds in consolidated securities of this Commonwealth be and hereby is accepted And this Commonwealth doth hereby agree to grant, sell and convey to the said Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, Esquires, all the Right, Title and demand which the said Commonwealth has in and to the said Western Territory by the Deed of Cession aforesaid. To have and to hold the same to the said Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, Esquires, their heirs and assigns, forever, upon the Conditions hereafter expressed; and the said Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps are hereby authorized to extinguish by purchase the Claims of the Native Indians holding the fee or right of Soil in the Territory aforesaid, and it is hereby RESOLVED that the Reverend Mr. Samuel Kirkland be and hereby is appointed to superintend and approve at the Expense of the said Grantees the purchase which the said Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, Esquires, shall make of the Claims of such native Indians. And it is hereby further resolved that all such purchases as the said Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps shall make of the Claims of the said Indians in presence of the said Superintendent shall be confirmed by this Commonwealth, provided the said Gorham and Phelps shall give security to the Satisfaction of the Supreme Executive of this Commonwealth separate obligations to pay the

aforesaid consideration monies to the Treasurer of this Commonwealth or his successor in Office for the use of this Commonwealth, one third thereof in one year, one other third thereof in two years and one other third thereof in three years from the date of this Resolve, with interest in like consolidated securities to commence from the date of this Resolve until paid. Sent up for concurrence, James Warren, Speaker. In Senate April 1st, 1788. Read and concurred, Samuel Adams, Presidt. Approved, John Hancock. True Copy Attest, John Avery, Junr., Secretary."

The next step in forwarding the undertaking assumed by Phelps and Gorham was the issuing by the governor of the state, John Hancock, under the great seal of the commonwealth, for the information of all concerned, of the following proclamation, the original of which is preserved, with those of other documents covering the transaction, in the Historical Museum at Canandaigua:

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, (L. S.)

"By his excellency, John Hancock, Esq'r, Governør of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

"I do CERTIFY all whom it may concern that the government of this Commonwealth have granted and conveyed to the Honorable Nathaniel Gorham, Esq'r., and to the Honorable Oliver Phelps, Esq'r., all their right and title which this Government hath or ought to have to the lands lying west of Hudson River in the State of New York.

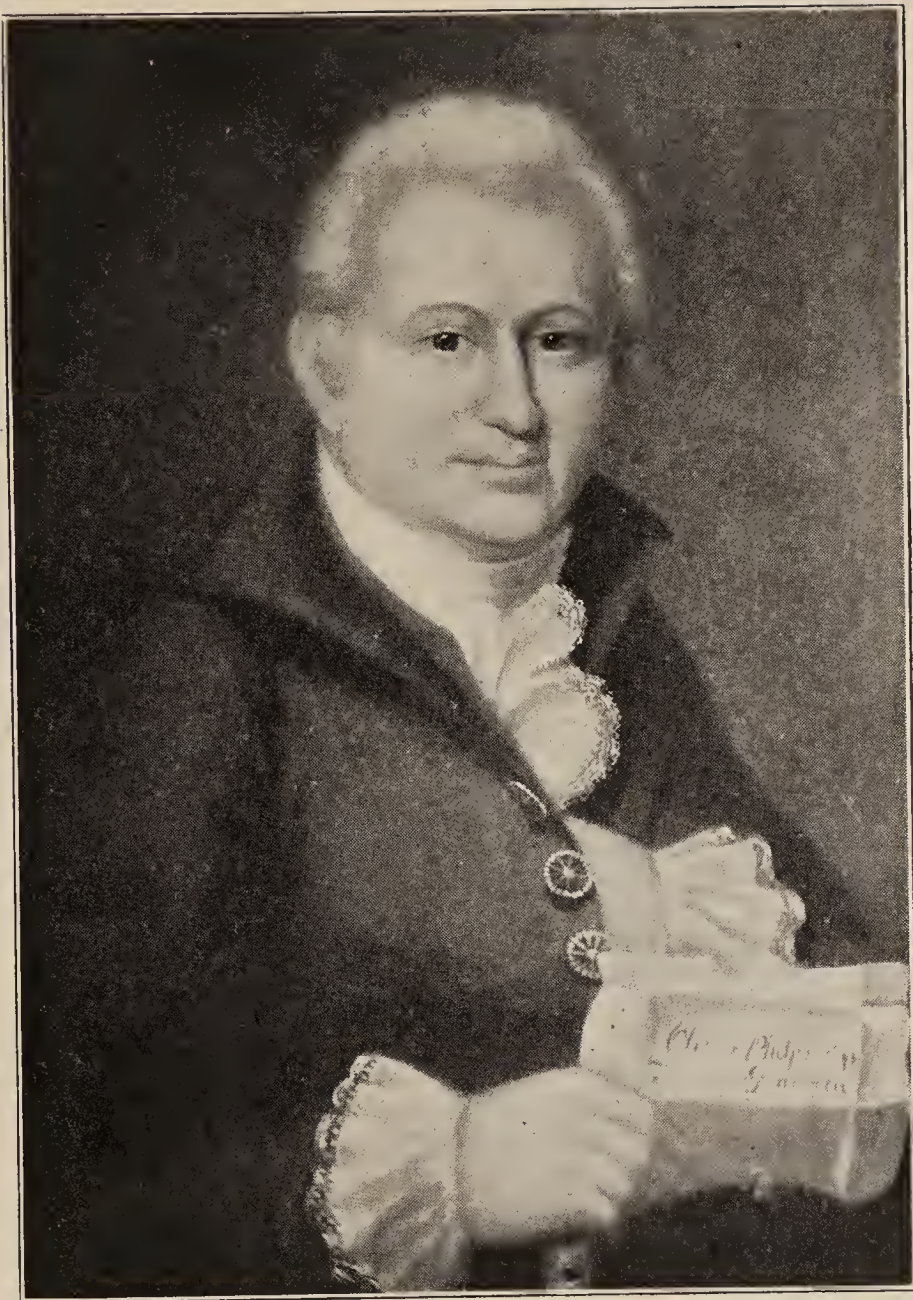
"And the said Nathaniel Gorham & Oliver Phelps, Esq'rs., are authorized to extinguish by purchase the claims of our good Friends and Brethren, the native Indians, holding the fee or right of Soil in the territory aforesaid, and

"We have appointed our good Friend, the Revd. Mr. Samuel Kirkland, to Superintend and approve the purchase that they shall make of the claims of such native Indians & that all such purchases as the said Nathaniel Gorham & Oliver Phelps, Esq're, shall make of the claims of our said Good Friends of the six Nations in presence of the said Superintendent shall be confirmed by the said Government of this Commonwealth.

"IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the public seal of the Commonwealth aforesaid to be hereto affixed this Twenty-third day of April, A. D. 1788, and in the Twelfth year of the Independence of the United States of America.

"By his Excellency's Command, John Avery, Jun., Secretary."

Pending the negotiations between the states of New York and Massachusetts, and the settlement of their boundary disputes, and before Massachusetts had found purchasers for her newly acquired share of the great western territory, covetous eyes had been cast upon the tract by men who conspired to obtain considerable shares of the property without due remuneration to the state, in which the title was soon to be vested. These conspirators, prominent among whom were John Livingston, Major Peter Schuyler, Dr. Caleb Benton, Ezekial Gilbert and others of lesser prominence, organized themselves into what they styled "The New York Genesee Land Company" and, the purchase of lands from the Indians being forbidden by state law, proceeded to secure possession by lease from the untutored people what they could not



(From oil painting in courthouse at Canandaigua)

OLIVER PHELPS

The original purchaser with Nathaniel Gorham of all that part of New York lying west of pre-emption line. Born Windsor, Connecticut, in 1750. Died in Canandaigua, February 21, 1809.

lawfully acquire. In 1787 this company, with its auxiliary association known as "the Niagara Genesee Land Company," including among its members Colonel John Butler, Samuel Street, John Powell, Johnson and Murphy, who were subjects of Great Britain, and Benjamin Barton, a citizen of the United States, held a council with chiefs or sachems of the Six Nations of Indians at Kanasaga, and secured the execution of a lease for a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years of "all that certain tract or parcel of land commonly called and known by the name of the lands of the Six Nations of Indians, situate, lying and being in the State of New York, and now in the actual possession of the said chiefs or sachems of the Six Nations." This instrument bore the date of November 30, 1787, and the yearly rental of 2,000 Spanish milled dollars was to be paid the Indians on the 4th of July in each year.

Governor Clinton, when informed of this scheme to deprive a friendly state of its landed possessions in western New York, took immediate steps to inform the Indians of the fact that they had been duped, and the Legislature at its next session declared the so-called leases to be in effect purchases and, therefore, entirely illegal, and empowered the governor to use force if necessary to prevent consummation of the plot, which, it afterwards developed, was nothing less ambitious than that of laying the foundation for a division of the state, and the erection of its western part into a new and independent commonwealth.

While the leases were thus repudiated by New York State, the project of secession was so far nurtured by its promoters as to prompt two of them, John Livingston and Caleb Benton, to circulate petitions urging the people of Otsego, Tioga, Herkimer, and Ontario counties to join a movement for the organization of a new state embracing the whole of central and western New York.

How this disloyal movement was received by the people of Ontario County, which then comprised everything west of the pre-emption line, may be seen by the resolutions adopted at a meeting of "the Judges, Assistant Judges and a large majority of the Justices of the Peace, together with all the inhabitants convened from different parts of the county," held at Canandaigua on November 8, 1793. Hon. Timothy Hosmer, first judge of the county, was elected chairman, and Nathaniel Gorham, Jr., clerk. The resolutions were as follows:

"Resolved, That the inhabitants of the county of Ontario, sensible of many advantages that they have derived from their connection with one of the most respectable States of the Union, and desirous of the continuation of the same advantages, highly resent the ill-timed and improper attempt made by the characters above alluded to [referring to promoters of the new state scheme] to disturb their peace and harmony, that they conceive their measure as pregnant with danger, and such as, if carried into effect, would introduce into our infant county all the complicated evils which anarchy and confusion can create.

"Resolved, That this meeting highly resent the threats made use of by the said persons, and conceive that, under the protection of the State of New York, they have nothing to fear from any banditti they can collect for the purpose of forcing them into measures which they heartily disapprove of.

"Resolved, That this meeting, fully impressed with the impossibility of the proposed state's defraying expenses of the most moderate government that can be devised, and aware of the impolicy as well as injustice of raising by enormous taxes on uncultivated lands such a revenue, or of devoting to those expenses property purchased under the faith of the State of New York and Massachusetts, and of drawing into our flourishing county people that such iniquitous measures would attract; recommend to the persons above alluded to, to persuade some more laudable mode of gratifying their ambition, and to desist from proceedings altogether hostile to our interest and welfare.

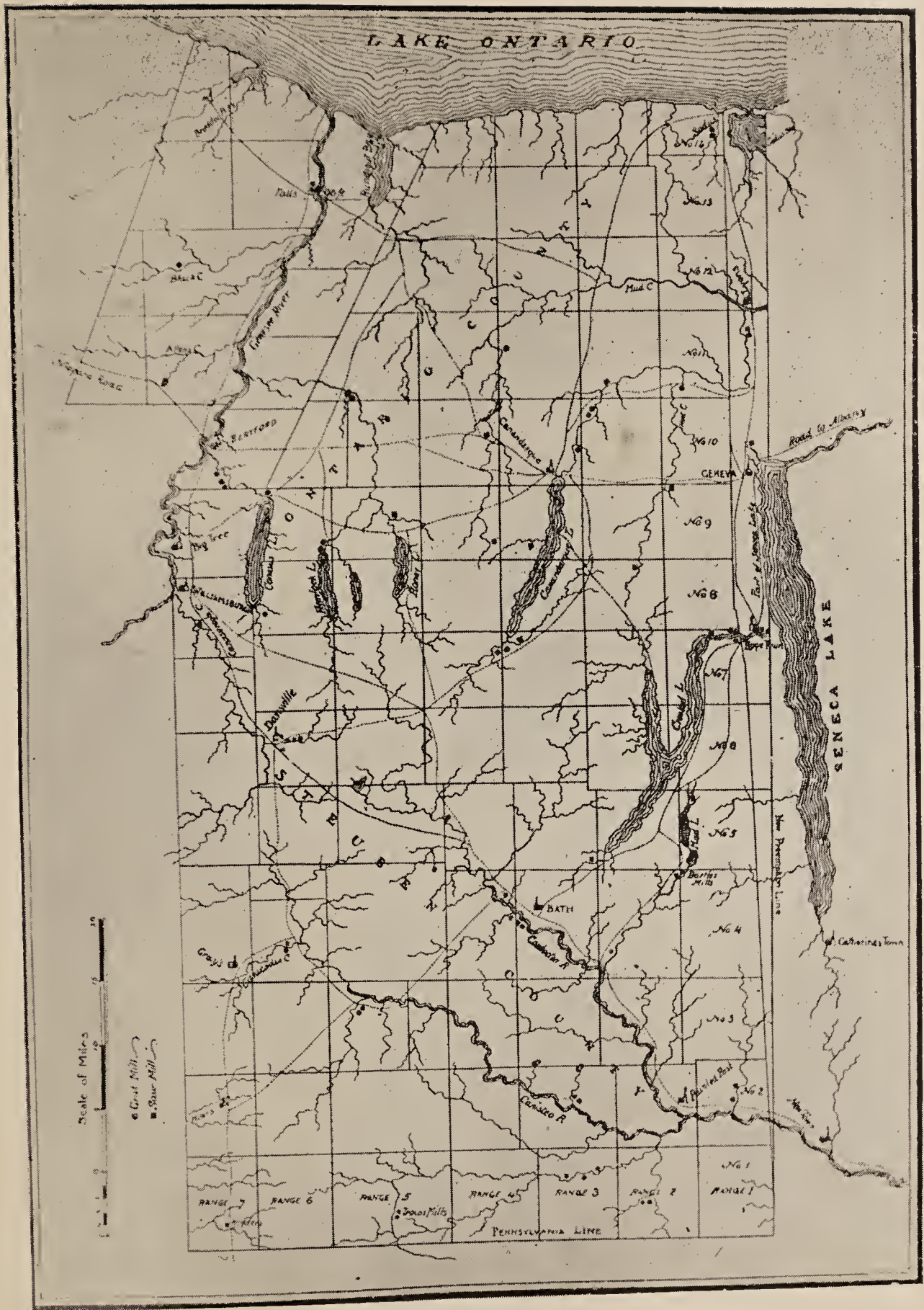
"Resolved, Also, that it is the opinion of this meeting that the proposed meeting at Geneva ought not to be attended, as it was called by strangers to the county, and that we will consider as inimical to the county such persons belonging to it, who, at said meeting, shall consent to any of the proposals before reprobated.

"Resolved, That this meeting, expect, after having made this public declaration of their situation, that those intrusted with the administration of the State, will take the most vigorous measures to suppress any of the attempts made to destroy the peace and quiet of this county."

Phelps and Gorham, following the collapse of the scheme of the lessees, in order to secure their good will and cooperation in negotiating releases from the Indians, gave them certain limited grants of lands and other favors of comparatively small value.

The shareholders in the Phelps and Gorham Company, at a meeting immediately following the passage of the legislative act confirming their purchase, had appointed General Israel Chapin as their representative to explore the country, Oliver Phelps to be general agent with authority to secure releases from the Indians, Nathaniel Gorham to negotiate with the New York authorities for running the east boundary line of the purchase, and William Walker to act as the local agent of sales.

Mr. Phelps lost no time in forwarding his task. He first arranged to hold a council with the Indians at Kanadesaga, but, on arriving there, learned that another and more important gathering under auspices of one of the outlawed land companies was being held at Buffalo Creek. He at once proceeded to that point and, by promises of a share in the land to be acquired,



(Courtesy of Ontario County Historical Society)

MAP OF THE PHELPS AND GORHAM PURCHASE

secured the aid of representatives of the companies in negotiating a treaty.

This treaty, signed on July 8, 1788, conveyed to the Phelps and Gorham Company not all the territory which New York had ceded, but all that the Indians would let them have, estimated at 2,600,000 acres. For this tract the purchasers agreed to pay \$5,000 and an annuity of \$500 forever.

The lands ceded by the Indians at the Buffalo Creek council, and afterwards known as the Phelps and Gorham Purchase, comprised the tract described in the treaty as follows: "Beginning on the north boundary line of Pennsylvania, at the eighty-second milestone and from said point or place of beginning running west upon the said line to a meridian which will pass through that corner or point of land made by the confluence of Kanahasgwaicon (Canaseraga) Creek with the waters of the Genesee River; then north along the said meridian to the corner or point last mentioned; thence northerly along the waters of the said Genesee River to a point two miles north of Kanawageras (Canawagus) village so called; thence running due west twelve miles; thence running in a direction northward so as to be twelve miles distant from the most westward bounds of the said Genesee River, to the shore of Ontario Lake; thence eastwardly along the shore of the said lake to a meridian which will pass through the first point or place of beginning before mentioned; thence south along the said meridian to the point or place of beginning aforesaid, being such part of the whole tract purchased by the grantees aforesaid, as they have obtained a release of from the natives."

The act confirming to Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps all the right, title and demand which the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had in and unto the lands thus described, "together with all the appurtenances to the aforesaid tract belonging," was passed by the Senate and House of Representatives in general court assembled on November 21, 1788. The act was duly approved by John Hancock, Governor, though, in attesting the copy, the latter's secretary, John Avery, Jr., says that he "signed his excellency's name, by his order, he being unable to put his signature by reason of the gout in his right hand." It reads as follows:

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS. In the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty-eight. An Act for confirming to Nathaniel Gorham & Oliver Phelps Esquires, a certain Tract of land pursuant to a Contract made with them for that purpose. WHEREAS the Legislature of this Commonwealth by their

resolve of the first of April last, did agree to grant, sell and convey to the said Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps all the Right, Title and demand which the said Commonwealth has in and unto the said Lands ceded by the State of New York to the said Commonwealth by Deed executed by their respective commissioners at Hartford the sixteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, upon the Conditions in the said Resolve expressed. AND WHEREAS the said Nathaniel Gorham & Oliver Phelps have on their part performed the said Agreement & complied with the Conditions of the said Resolve. AND WHEREAS, the said Nathaniel Gorham & Oliver Phelps by virtue of authority derived from the aforesaid Resolve, have by Deed, from the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Five Nations of Indians bearing date the Eighth day of July last, purchased the claims of the Native Indians to the Fee or Right of Soil in part only of the said Lands as contained within the descriptions of the said Deed hereafter inserted, which purchase appears to have been made under the Superintendence prescribed and in the manner intended by the aforesaid Resolve. BE IT THEREFORE ENACTED by the Senate & House of Representatives in General Court Assembled & by the authority of the same, that there be and hereby is granted & confirmed unto Nathaniel Gorham of Charles Town in the County of Middlesex Esquire and Oliver Phelps of Granville in the County of Hampshire Esquire their heirs and Assigns, All the Right title Claim and demand which this Commonwealth has in and to the following Tract of Land to wit Beginning on the North Boundary Line of the State of Pennsylvania in the parallel of forty two degrees north latitude at a point distant eighty two miles west from the North east corner of Pennsylvania on Delaware River as the said Boundary Line has been run and marked by the Commissioners of the State of New York and Pennsylvania respectively and from the said point or place of beginning running west upon the said Line to a meridian which will pass through that corner or point of Land made by the confluence of Thanahasgwaicon creek with the waters of the Genisee River, thence north along the said meridian to the Corner or point Last mentioned, thence northwardly along the Waters of the said Genisee River to a point two miles north of Thanawageras Village so called; thence running in a direction due west twelve miles; thence running in a direction northwardly so as to be twelve miles distant from the most westward Bounds of the said Genisee River to the Shore of the Ontario Lake; thence eastwardly along the Shores of the said Lake to a meridian which will pass through the first point or place of beginning aforementioned; thence south along the said Meridian to the first point or place of Beginning aforesaid, being such part of the whole Tract purchased by the Grantees as aforesaid as they have obtained a Release of from the Natives, together with all the appurtenances to the aforescribed tract belonging. To have and to hold the same to them the said Nathaniel Gorham & Oliver Phelps, their heirs & Assigns forever, as Tenants in common & not as Joint Tenants.

"IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES November 21st, 1788. This Bill having had three several readings, passed to be enacted. Theodore Sedgwick, Speaker. In Senate November 21st, 1788. This Bill having had two several Readings, passed to be Enacted Samuel Phillips junr. President. By the Governor, Approved, John Hancock. True copy. Attest John Avery, Junr. Secretary. COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS By His Excellency John Hancock, Esqr., Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

Immediately after the settlement effected at the Buffalo Creek council in 1788, Mr. Phelps set Colonel Hugh Maxwell at work to run the so-called preemption line, which was to define the eastern boundary of the purchase, and to divide the land into townships. Unfortunately, an error or fraud occurred in running this line, through a deflection of its course soon after leaving the Pennsyl-

vania boundary, which operated to run it farther west than anticipated for a large part of its length.

The preemption line, as run in the original, and, as it turned out, erroneous, survey, lay to the west so far as to leave outside the purchase the site of the old Indian village of Kanadesaga, where a small settlement of whites had been established and where Mr. Phelps had planned to locate his headquarters. As a consequence of this error and the resulting uncertainty as to what was inside and what was outside the purchase, Agent Walker received instructions from Mr. Phelps, in a letter of October 3, 1788, that, "in order to avoid conflict with the Yorkers," he was to make "Ye Outlet of the Kennadaigua Lake" his headquarters, and, accordingly, on "a beautiful situation and good ground for a town plot," was laid the foundation of what the purchasers planned to make the metropolis of western New York, but which in the providence of God was destined to remain a beautiful place of residence rather than a fast-growing city.

At Canandaigua, at the foot of the beautiful lake of the same name, where the Senecas had set apart a place for their capital, Agent Walker in the fall of 1788 provided for the erection of a building which should be his dwelling and office. This building was completed in time for occupancy the following spring, when General Israel Chapin piloted a little party of settlers into the purchase, and in it Mr. Walker opened the first office for the sale of land to settlers ever established in America.

Under the direction of Colonel Maxwell, with the assistance of Augustus Porter and other surveyors, the tract was divided into "divers tracts or townships and as nearly as regular ranges as the sides contained within oblique or irregular lines would admit," these being seven long ranges, each six miles in width, and in length extending from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario. There were also two or three short ranges at the northwest corner of the tract. The ranges were numbered from one upward, beginning with number one on the eastern side, the eastern boundary being the old preemption line, and each range was divided into townships or tracts of six miles square, numbered in each range from one at the Pennsylvania line to fourteen at Lake Ontario.

The old preemption line as surveyed by Colonel Hugh Maxwell in 1788, running west of Seneca Lake, was early recognized as

erroneous, and its correction was effected in the latter part of 1792 through a survey made at the direction of Mr. Morris by Benjamin Ellicott, assisted by James Armstrong, Frederick Saxton, and Augustus Porter. This was certified by Ellicott as an "accurate representation of the eastern boundary of Massachusetts as run by himself and others"; that the line was run in accordance with the act of cession, and that "the said preemption line was truly performed." In 1796 the description and map were duly attested by Simeon DeWitt, the surveyor-general, and filed in the office of the secretary of the state and the line formally adopted. The new line, whose accuracy has never been questioned, enters Seneca Lake at a distance of two miles, fifty-six chains and fifty links east of that previously run, the divergence having steadily increased from the starting point on the Pennsylvania line. The new line passes out of the north end of Seneca Lake at Preemption Street and thence runs due north nearly parallel to the old line to Great Sodus Bay, on Lake Ontario.

The sales of the land were not as rapid as anticipated. Many of the buyers were shareholders in the enterprise and many were men of small means who had to have help to equip their farms, while others could not meet the payments as promised. Moreover, the advance in the value of Colonial paper, following the foundation of the Federal Government, from about fifty cents on a dollar to nearly par, contributed to their financial embarrassments. The result was that the company could not meet its engagements with Massachusetts, and memorialized the Legislature to release it from their obligation, so far as related to that part of the territory of which they had failed to secure release from the Indians.

On June 9, 1790, Phelps and Gorham, being prevented on account of "several causes of failure" from performing their engagements, were permitted to reconvey to said commonwealth two-thirds in quantity and quality of the whole territory, to be accepted in full satisfaction of two of the bonds which they had originally given for the purchase, and on the 10th of August of the same year, further to relieve their financial difficulties, they sold to Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, all the unsold lands, except township No. 10 of the third range and No. 9 of the seventh range, the two towns comprising about 47,000 acres, which they reserved for themselves.

According to the resurvey made in accordance with the direc-

tion of Mr. Morris by Major Adam Hoops and his assistants, the tract thus acquired by the great Philadelphia financier consisted of 1,267,569 acres. This included the "Gore" of 85,896 acres lying between the old and new preemption lines; and, at the final settlement made by Mr. Morris at Philadelphia, February 16, 1793, he paid to Phelps and Gorham a sum representing eight pence half penny per acre, Massachusetts currency, or between eleven and twelve cents per acre in United States money.

Under his agreement with Phelps and Gorham, dated November 18, 1790, Robert Morris had promised to pay them for the surplus which the lands they had then conveyed to him should be found to contain beyond one million acres. It appeared from the surveys as endorsed on the back of the return made by Major Hoops, February 4, 1793, that "the said surplus doth amount to two hundred and ninety thousand eight hundred and sixteen acres, from which the deductions within specified amounting to twenty-six thousand two hundred and forty-six acres, two rods and thirty perches being made, leaves a residue of two hundred and sixty-four thousand five hundred and sixty-nine acres, one rood and ten perches, to which being added three thousand as the amount finally agreed on between the parties for a tract on the west side of Sodus Bay, and not included in the within survey, the said surplus quantity of land to be paid for by the said Robert Morris will be two hundred and sixty-seven thousand five hundred and sixty-nine acres, two roods and thirty perches, which at eight pence half penny, Massachusetts currency, per acre, amounts to nine thousand four hundred and seventy-six pounds, eight shillings, and which said sum of £9,476, 8s, 0d, Messrs. Gorham and Phelps do acknowledge to have received from Mr. Morris, and the articles of agreement between them have been accordingly cancelled by the consent of the parties and also with the consent of Mr. Charles Williamson, to whom Mr. Morris has since conveyed the lands and who to show his privity to these matters hath, together with the said parties, hereunto subscribed his name."

This endorsement was dated at Philadelphia, 16th day of February, 1793, and was signed by Robert Morris, Oliver Phelps, Charles Williamson, and Nathaniel Gorham.

In the deed of Robert Morris to Charles Williamson, conveying the whole of the property, the consideration named is £75,000

sterling, money of Great Britain, which at \$4.44 $\frac{1}{2}$, the value of the pound sterling, would be \$333,333.33.

Thus after a little less than nineteen months the purchase practically went from Phelps and Gorham, who planned here a development that would make it the seat of a great population of home makers, into the hands of Robert Morris and the train of speculators and exploiters who immediately followed, but, in vindication of their foresight and in recognition of the debt posterity owes them the region is and ever shall be known as the Phelps and Gorham Purchase. Upon the foundation which these men laid, in the face of grievous financial obstacles, machinations of unscrupulous rivals, discontent of the Indians, grumbling of settlers and embarrassments arising from the incompetence or greed of officials and surveyors, was builded a population whose industry, enterprise, integrity and culture have given western New York enduring fame as well as enduring prosperity.

The subsequent history of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase may be quickly outlined. Hardly had Mr. Morris become owner of the land when, in 1791, his London agent, William Temple Franklin, sold it to a company of English capitalists, Sir William Pulteney taking a nine-twelfths interest, William Hornby two-twelfths, and Patrick Colquhoun one-twelfth. Charles Williamson, as their agent, came to America, and becoming a naturalized citizen, took from Mr. Morris and his wife on April 11, 1792, an absolute conveyance of the Genesee tract to himself in fee.

The treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1784, when Washington and Schuyler sought an understanding, by which the Iroquois might remain in New York, took from the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, who had sided with the British in the Revolution, considerable parts of their ancient domain, and fixed a boundary that deprived them altogether of the lands of their western conquests. It was the fortune of war, which the Indians understood quite well, but the New York-Massachusetts convention and the recurring treaties, by which they saw their remaining land holdings decreased and their title made constantly more insecure, not unnaturally aroused a spirit of restlessness that was augmented by outbreaks of hostile feeling among the Indians in the South and West.

The people of the Six Nations, deprived of their lands by the resorts to bargaining comprised in the various treaties with land

companies and individuals who had secured the right of pre-emption from Massachusetts, realized more and more that the whites were crowding in to possess the forests through which they and their ancestors had roamed and in which they had hunted and fished and made their homes undisturbed except by their own savage rivalries. As Red Jacket, speaking for the squaws at the Kon-on-daigua Congress, expressed it, the white people had "pressed and squeezed them together until it gave them a pain at their hearts."

The agreement involved in the Buffalo Creek treaty of 1788 and attested at the time by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland as "duly executed, signed, sealed and delivered in my presence by the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the above mentioned Five Nations" and as "being fairly and properly understood and transacted by all parties of Indians concerned, and declared to be done to their universal satisfaction and content," and accepted without protest, was later disputed by a faction of the Indians. At a gathering in Canandaigua in 1790, when payments on the lands were to be made, Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother charged that they had been deceived and were entitled to receive \$10,000, instead of \$5,000, from Mr. Phelps.

Speaking at a council held at Tioga in November, the eloquent but wily and not always reliable Red Jacket declared they had been confused by treaties with the "Thirteen Fires" and "fires kindled by the Governor of New York." Speaking of the payment from Mr. Phelps, the red orator said: "When we went to Canandaigua to meet Mr. Phelps, expecting to receive ten thousand dollars, we were to have but five thousand. When we discovered the fraud we had a mind to apply to Congress, to see if the matter could not be rectified. For when we took the money and shared it, every one here knows that we had but about one dollar apiece. All our lands came to was but the worth of a few hogsheads of tobacco. Gentlemen, who stand by, do not think hard of us for what has been said. At the time of the treaty, twenty broaches would not buy half a loaf of bread, so that when we returned home there was not a bright spot of silver about us."

In December of the same year, 1790, Cornplanter and other Seneca chiefs carried their grievance to President Washington at Philadelphia, charging that Mr. Phelps had defrauded them and

had threatened that if he could not make a bargain with them he could take their lands by force, and more to the same effect.

Soon after this, President Washington, in compliance with his promise to look into the matter and see that justice was done, received explicit denial of the charges from Judge Phelps, together with confirmatory statements from Rev. Mr. Kirkland, James Dean, Judge Hallenbeck and other witnesses at the council. Later Joseph Brant, in a long letter, bore evidence that the bargain made by Mr. Phelps at Buffalo Creek was an honorable one, and, at the council held at Newtown, July, 1791, Colonel Pickering, the government commissioner, examined several of the Indian chiefs and he too reported that Mr. Phelps had acted fairly in the matter.

However, the restlessness of the Indians, encouraged by the successes attained by the hostiles west of the Ohio, grew to such an extent that the Federal Government, which under the constitution had reserved to itself the regulation of commerce with the Indian tribes as well as with foreign nations and among the several states, deemed it advisable to seek the friendship of the Six Nations, which, while living in the State of New York, were yet not a part of the state and asserted their individual sovereignty. With the view "of attracting them to and convincing them of the justice and humanity of the United States," a delegation, including some of the most representative sachems and chiefs, but lacking the presence of Joseph Brant, was in 1792 taken to Philadelphia and there was given a stipulation by which President Washington and Secretary Knox, "in order to promote the happiness of the (then) Five Nations of Indians," agreed to cause to be expended annually for their benefit the amount of one thousand five hundred dollars. The implied obligation of this covenant was, that the New York Indians should continue the faithful friends of the United States and use their influence with the Miami and Wabash Indians to induce them to bury the hatchet, which they had been wielding with savage ferocity against the whites.

As a further means of ensuring peace with the western Indians, Captain Brant, who had declined to accompany what he characterized the "drove of Indians" who had been thus conducted to the seat of government, later yielded to the solicitations of Secretary Knox, Reverend Samuel Kirkland and General Israel

Chapin, the latter being the official agent of the government, and was escorted, in a state becoming his dignity as a great war chief, to Philadelphia and probably into the presence of the Great Father, President Washington. But Brant was not to be caught by such blandishments. He could not or at least would not choose between his old allies, the British, and the new government, or perhaps he distrusted the latter, and he refrained for the time being from obligating himself or his people.

Matters along what was then the frontier of civilization grew rapidly worse. The settlers felt themselves in imminent danger, provisions and rum were assembled there in the hope of preserving or purchasing peace, and guns and powder as a means of defense, if worse came to worst.

Finally in the summer of 1794, at the instance of the government agent, General Israel Chapin, who had become alarmed at the continued agitation, it was deemed advisable to hold a council with the Five Nations at Canandaigua, to settle if possible the controversies and compose the growing turbulence. The council assembled on September 8, under the direction of Colonel Timothy Pickering, and was attended by a number of the Society of Friends, who, as was customary, were present to see that the Indians had fair treatment, by other witnesses, by two thousand representatives of the Five Nations, including many of their most famous orators and war chiefs, and by General Chapin, acting for Phelps and Gorham.

The proceeding of the Canandaigua council, as had been its assembling, was retarded by the desire of the Indians to learn the outcome of the contest then waging between General Wayne and the hostiles in the West, but when the news came, as it did early in October, that Wayne had been successful, the business of the council, undisturbed except by scenes of drunkenness and the desire of the red orators to air their eloquence, proceeded with reasonable speed.

The two rusty places in the chain of friendship seem to have been the claims of the whites to a four-mile path between Cayuga and Buffalo Creek and a strip along the river from Buffalo Creek to Niagara. Finally these rusty places were removed, either by filing, or by the application of "oil," or were covered up, and an agreement reached that was satisfactory to both parties. Then

some scrivener skilled in the use of quill and ink spread the parchments and prepared the treaty for signing.

Under date of the 9th of November, William Savery, one of the party of Friends present, wrote in his journal that he was informed that the council was gathered for this last function. "Two large parchments, with the articles of the treaty engrossed, being ready for signing, we were in hopes the business would now close." But to their surprise and disappointment there was dissatisfaction apparent among the Indians, which was explained when Cornplanter, the war chief, declared in a brief but bitter speech that the warriors had decided that they would not sign the treaty, although if the sachems did so they would abide by the latter's decision as long as they thought them right.

Colonel Pickering would not consent to close the business in this indefinite manner, and after two more days' delay, on the 11th day of November, 1794, the council was reassembled. In the afternoon at 2 o'clock, wrote Savery, "we were sent for to council, where a great number were assembled. The Eel, an Onondaga chief, spoke to the Indians in a pathetic manner which we understood to be an exhortation to unanimity among the chiefs and warriors in closing the business."

"They then agreed," continued Savery, "to sign, and pointed out the two head warriors, who though they were young men, were by some custom in their nation, the persons who were to stand foremost in ratifying contracts; they signed, and then the chiefs and warriors, some of the most eminent in each nation, being in all upwards of fifty."

After the articles were signed, Savery reports that he and his associates entertained some forty of the chiefs at their lodgings, smoked with them, conversed with them freely by means of interpreters on several subjects concerning their welfare, and distributed a lot of presents they had brought from Philadelphia for the purpose. The next day the sachems and chief warriors paid the Quakers a visit of ceremony, expressing thanks for their attendance at the council, calling upon them frankly to say whether in their opinion they had made a good peace, saying, "as we cannot read, we are liable to be deceived," and asking that if they thought that peace had been established "on a good foundation," to come forward and sign the articles. Farmer's Brother put it in these words: "As you are a people desirous of promoting

peace, and these writings are for that purpose, we hope you will have no objection, but all come forward and put your names to them, and this would be a great satisfaction to us."

But the treaty does not bear the signatures of these witnesses. For some reason now unknown they refrained from complying with the Indians' request. As the address to "our brothers, the Indians of the Six Nations" prepared at the Meeting for Sufferings, which sent the four Friends, David Bacon, John Parrish, William Savery and James Emlen, to attend the "Kon-on-daigua" Congress set forth, the Quakers meddled not with the affairs of government. Their one desire was to do all they could "to preserve peace and good will among men," and perhaps it was in compliance with what they considered the inhibitions of this declared principle that, while they would enter the wilderness in the hope of helping adjust the grievances of their red brethren, they would not presume even in this small degree to meddle in an affair of state. They were in Canandaigua as friends of the Indians and as unofficial witnesses of the proceedings of the council, and were not in any way officially connected with the gathering. Apparently their failure to sign the treaty was not because of disapproval of its provisions. At least Savery's journal as published contains no intimation to that effect. On the contrary, the inference is that they considered the council to have been conducted in a fair manner and that the conclusions reached were just.

The treaty thus concluded restored to the Senecas the land west of Buffalo Creek, the government reserving the use of a strip along the Niagara River for a road between the lakes. The Senecas relinquished claim to the triangle at Presque Isle, which Cornplanter had disposed of without authority to the State of Pennsylvania, while they had their annuity increased from \$1,500 to \$4,500, and there was distributed among them at the conclusion of the council goods valued at \$10,000.

From that time down to the present peace has continued between the whites of the Genesee Country and the people of the Iroquois Confederacy. Both recognize the treaty as a sacred obligation. Its validity has been repeatedly upheld by the highest courts of state and nation and its terms have been consistently observed by the remnants of the once powerful Six Nations of Indians.

The following is the full text of the treaty concluded at the

council at Canandaigua, November 11, 1794, by which differences between the United States Government and the Six Nations were satisfactorily adjusted:

A TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE TRIBES
OF INDIANS CALLED THE SIX NATIONS.

The President of the United States having determined to hold a conference with the Six Nations of Indians for the purpose of removing from their minds all causes of complaint, and establishing a firm and permanent friendship with them; and Timothy Pickering being appointed sole agent for that purpose; and the agent having met and conferred with the sachems, chiefs and warriors, of the Six Nations, in a general council: Now, in order to accomplish the good design of this conference, the parties have agreed on the following articles, which, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the Six Nations:

Article 1. Peace and friendship are hereby firmly established and shall be perpetual, between the United States and the Six Nations.

Art. 2. The United States acknowledge the lands reserved to the Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga nations, in their respective treaties with the State of New York, and called their reservations, to be their property; and the United States will never claim the same nor disturb them, or either of the Six Nations, nor their Indian friends, residing thereon, and united with them in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but the said reservations shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase.

Art. 3. The land of the Seneca nation is bounded as follows: beginning on Lake Ontario, at the northwest corner of the land they sold to Oliver Phelps; the line runs westerly along the lake, as far as Oyongwongyeh creek, at Johnston's Landing Place, about four miles eastward, from the fort of Niagara; then, southerly, up that creek to its main fork; then straight to the main fork of Stedman's creek, which empties into the river Niagara, above Fort Schlosser; and then onward, from that fork, continuing the same straight course, to that river; (this line, from the mouth of Oyongwongyeh creek, to the river Niagara, above fort Schlosser, being the eastern boundary of a strip of land, extending from the same line to Niagara river, which the Seneca nation ceded to the King of Great Britain, at a treaty held about thirty years ago, with Sir William Johnston); then the line runs along the Niagara river to Lake Erie; then along Lake Erie, to the northwest corner of a triangular piece of land, which the United States conveyed to the State of Pennsylvania, as by the President's patent, dated the third day of March, 1792; then due south to the northern boundary of that State; then due east to the southwest corner of the land sold by the Seneca nation to Oliver Phelps; and then north and northerly, along Phelps's line, to the place of beginning, on Lake Ontario. Now, the United States acknowledge all the land within the aforementioned boundaries, to be the property of the Seneca nation; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneca nation, nor any of the Six Nations, or of their Indian friends residing thereon, and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase.

Art. 4. The United States having thus described and acknowledged what lands belong to the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and engaged never to claim the same, nor to disturb them, or any of the Six Nations, or their Indian friends residing thereon, and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; now, the Six Nations, and each of them, hereby engage that they will never claim any other lands within the boundaries of the United States, nor ever disturb the people of the United States in the free use and enjoyment thereof.

Art. 5. The Seneca nation, all others of the Six Nations, concurring, cede to the United States the right of making a wagon road from fort Schlosser to Lake Erie, as far south as Buffalo creek; and the people of the United States shall have the free and undisturbed use of this road, for the purposes of traveling and transportation. And the Six Nations, and each of them, will forever allow to the people of the United States, a free passage through their lands, and the free use of the harbors and rivers adjoining and within their respective tracts of land, for the passing and securing of vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes, where necessary, for their safety.

Art. 6. In consideration of the peace and friendship hereby established, and of the engagements entered into by the Six Nations; and because the United States desire, with humanity and kindness, to contribute to their comfortable support; and to render the peace and friendship hereby established strong and perpetual, the United States now deliver to the Six Nations, and the Indians of the other nations residing among, and united with them, a quantity of goods, of the value of ten thousand dollars. And for the same considerations, and with a view to promote the future welfare of the Six Nations, and of their Indian friends aforesaid, the United States will add the sum of three thousand dollars to the one thousand five hundred dollars heretofore allowed them by an article ratified by the President, on the twenty-third day of April, 1792, making in the whole four thousand five hundred dollars; which shall be expended yearly, forever, in purchasing clothing, domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils, suited to their circumstances, and in compensating useful artificers, who shall reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit. The immediate application of the whole annual allowance now stipulated, to be made by the superintendent, appointed by the President, for the affairs of the Six Nations, and their Indian friends aforesaid.

Art. 7. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and Six Nations agree, that, for injuries done by individuals, on either side no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured, to the other; by the Six Nations, or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the superintendent by him appointed; and by the superintendent, or other person appointed by the President, to the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, or of the nation to which the offender belongs; and such prudent measures shall then be pursued as shall be necessary to preserve our peace and friendship unbroken, until the Legislature (or great council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision for the purpose.

Note. It is clearly understood by the parties to this treaty, that the annuity, stipulated in the sixth article, is to be applied to the benefit of such of the Six Nations, and of their Indian Friends, united with them, as aforesaid, as do or shall reside within the boundaries of the United States; for the United States do not interfere with nations, tribes or families of Indians, elsewhere resident.

In witness whereof, the said Timothy Pickering and the sachems and war chiefs of the said Six Nations, have hereunto set their hands and seals.

Done at Canandaigua, in the State of New York, the eleventh day of November, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

(Signed by fifty-nine sachems and war chiefs of the Six Nations.)

Timothy Pickering.

Witnesses:

Israel Chapin,
Wm. Shepard, Jun'r.,
James Smedley,
John Wickham,
Augustus Porter,
James H. Garnsey,
Wm. Ewing,
Israel Chapin, Jun'r.,

Interpreters:

Horatio Jones,
Joseph Smith,
Jasper Parrish,
Henry Abeele,
O-no-ye-ah-nee,
Kon-ne-at-or-tee-ooh, or Handsome Lake,
To-kenh-you-hau, Alias Capt. Key,
O-nes-hau-ee,

Hendrich Aupaumut,
 David Neesoonhuk,
 Kanatsoyh, Alias Nicholas Kusik,
 Soh-hon-te-o-quent,
 Oo-duht-sa-it,
 Ko-nooh-qung,
 Tos-song-gau-lo-luss,
 John Sken-en-do-a,
 O-ne-at-or-lee-ooh, Handsome Lake,
 Kus-sau-wa-tau,
 E-yoo-ten-yoo-tau-ook,
 Kohn-ye-au-gong, Alias Jake Stroud,
 Sha-gui-ea-sa,
 Teer-oos, Alias Capt. Prantup,
 Soos-ha-oo-wau,
 Henry Young Brant,
 Sonh-yoo-wau-na, or Big Sky,
 O-na-ah-hah,
 Hot-osh-a-henh,
 Kau-kon-da-nai-ya,
 Non-di-yau-ka,
 Kos-sish-to-wau,
 Oo-jau-geht-a, or Fish Carrier,
 To-he-ong-go,
 Oot-a-guas-so,
 Joo-non-dau-wa-onch,
 Ki-yau-ha-onh,
 Oo-tau-je-au-genh, or Broken Axe,
 Tau-ho-on-dos, or Open the Way,

Twau-ke-wash-a,
 Se-quid-ong-quee, Alias Little Beard,
 Ko-d jeote, Alias Half Town,
 Ken-jau-au-gus, or Stinking Fish,
 Soo-noh-qua-kau,
 Twen-ni-ya-na,
 Jish-kaa-ga, or Green Grasshopper, Alias
 Little Billy,
 Tug-geh-shot-ta,
 Teh-ong-ya-gau-na,
 Teh-ong-yoo-wush,
 Kon-ne-yoo-we-sot,
 Ti-ooh-quot-ta-kau-na, or Woods on Fire,
 Ta-oun-dau-deesh,
 Ho-na-ya-wus, Alias Farmer's Brother,
 Sog-goo-ya-waut-hau, Alias Red Jacket,
 Kon-yoo-tai-yoo,
 Sauh-ta-ka-ong-yees, or Two Skies of a
 Length,
 Oun-na-shatta-kau,
 Ka-ung-ya-neh-quee,
 Soo-a-yoo-wau,
 Kau-je-a-ga-onh, or Heap of Dogs,
 Soo-nooh-shoo-wau,
 Tha-og-wau-ni-as,
 Soo-nong-joo-wau,
 Ki-ant-whan-ka, Alias Cornplanter,
 Kau-neh-shong-goo.

The two parchment originals of which the foregoing is a transcript are both still in existence, one being on file in the Department of State at the National Capitol and the other being preserved under lock and key in the Ontario County Historical Museum at Canandaigua, where it was deposited a few years ago, following its purchase at the auction of the DePuy collection of books and documents relating to western New York. This last, the original Indians' copy of the historic Pickering treaty of 1794, bears indisputable evidence of its great age and of the vicissitudes through which it passed from the time it left the hands to which it was intrusted at the close of the Canandaigua council, from sachem to sachem, from tepee to tepee, until it passed, in exchange perhaps for a box of trinkets, a flint-lock musket or a bottle of rum, into the hands of "some one who had dealings with the Indians," and thence to Mr. DePuy's collection and later the auction.

From the very first the purchasers of the Massachusetts tract had doubted the accuracy of the preemption line as run under the direction of Colonel Hugh Maxwell. Mr. Phelps in a letter dated

September 9, 1788, to the company's agent, William Walker, who had just then settled at Canandaigua, which, on the assumption that Kanadesaga near the foot of Seneca Lake was outside the purchase, had been selected as headquarters, wrote: "I am still dissatisfied about our east line. I am sure that it cannot be right." But the error was not determined and corrected until 1792, when, at the direction of Robert Morris, a resurvey of the line was made by Benjamin Ellicott and his associates in so painstaking a manner that its accuracy was never subsequently questioned, though the determination unsettled land titles and brought within the Genesee Country a "Gore" of 85,000 acres which had been sold previously to other parties, including the Reed and Ryckman tract, the Seth Reed location and a strip off the Military tract.

From the "return" by Major Adam Hoops, who made a resurvey of the Phelps and Gorham tract for Mr. Morris in 1791-2, it appears that there were 85,896 acres of land in the "Gore." The new or corrected line passed east of Geneva and brought that settlement within the limits of the Purchase, a fact that if originally recognized would have caused it to be selected as the headquarters of the proprietors, instead of Canandaigua.

As soon as practicable Captain Williamson, acting for the London Associates, who in the meantime had become owners of the property, took possession of the Reed and Ryckman tract. He seized some other portions of the "Gore" and through his representative, John Johnstone, quieted titles by buying out the patents of the original grantees, for all of which he afterwards obtained compensation lands from the state. Litigation over the titles and the delay of the state in confirming the new preemption line, not formally accomplished until by legislative enactment on April 6, 1796, retarded Captain Williamson's plans for developing the country, particularly the village of Geneva. When the location of the line was finally legally established, he proceeded with the launching of a packet boat on the lake and the erection of a tavern, which, opened the following year, was the Astor House of its day. It was the finest caravansary west of Utica, and, standing at the "doorway" or entrance to the Genesee Country, it tended to make, as designed by Mr. Williamson, a favorable impression on all "respectable people" who entered the new land of promise. It offered all the comforts of a good English inn after

a long and weary and dirty journey by stage coach from Albany and other points in the east. John Maude, an English traveler who visited the region in 1799 and 1800, wrote in 1800 that, "as respects provisions, liquors, beds and stabling, there are few inns in America equal to the hotel at Geneva." Captain Williamson established also that essential of a thriving new community, a printing office, and began publication of a newspaper, "The Ontario Gazette."

Among the men who as agents of the colonizing companies, as administrators of public affairs, as managers of the task involved in bringing the attractions and advantages of the Genesee Country to the attention of those who might be induced to enter upon and develop it, and as advisors and helpers of those who enlisted in the development of the rich domain, none rendered more conspicuous or more faithful service than the man who represented the interests and managed the affairs of Robert Morris and the London Associates, Charles Williamson.

As heretofore mentioned, Williamson, following the purchase of western New York land in 1792 by the London Associates, came to America from Scotland to look after the affairs of the syndicate and attend to the sale and settlement of the great tract. Coming by way of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, he located at what is now Bath, Steuben County. Mr. Maude again reported: "On Captain Williamson's first arrival he built a small hut where now is Bath. If a stranger came to visit him, he built up a little nook for him to put his bed in. In a little time a boarded or framed house was built to the left of the hut; this was also intended as but a temporary residence, though it then appeared a palace. His present residence, a very commodious, roomy and well planned house, is situated on the right of where stood the log hut long since consigned to the kitchen fire. * * *

"On the first settlement of the country, these mountainous districts were thought so unfavorably of when compared with the rich flats of Ontario County that none of the settlers could be prevailed upon to establish themselves here till Capt. Williamson himself set the example, saying: 'As nature has done so much for the northern plains, I will do something for these southern mountains:' though the truth of it was that Captain Williamson saw very clearly, on his first visit to this country, that the Susquehanna, and not the Mohawk, would be its best friend. Even now

it has proved so, for at this day (1800) a bushel of wheat is better worth one dollar at Bath than sixty cents at Geneva. This difference will grow wider every year; for little, if any, improvement can be made with the water communication from New York, while that to Baltimore will admit of extensive and advantageous one."

We may smile at this prophecy of the traveler of 1800, written of course before there was so much as a dream of the Erie Canal or of the marvelous railroad development of later years, but from his standpoint and in his time it was not unwarranted.

Having become a naturalized citizen of this country Captain Williamson took title to the lands acquired by the London Associates, which he surrendered upon settlement with them in 1801, when under an act of the legislature passed April 1, 1798, aliens had become enabled to purchase and hold real estate. The amount of personal property, consisting of bonds and notes, which he then transferred to them was \$551,699.77, while the valuation of the land conveyed was fixed as follows: To Sir William Pulteney, in Ontario and Steuben counties, \$2,607,682.25; to William Hornby, \$350,924.45, and to Patrick Colquhoun, \$37,188.13, a total of \$3,547,494.58.

Mr. Williamson served as a member of the assembly from Ontario County, then embracing all of western New York, for three successive years beginning with 1796. On March 18, 1795, he was appointed as a judge of Ontario County, and in 1796 he became first judge of Steuben County. He served as a lieutenant-colonel of militia. His enterprise in opening roads, his advances to induce settlement and his activities in other directions called for outlays of capital far beyond receipts from sales to settlers, which were of necessity slow. As a result, by the year 1800 his principals in England had been called upon for large advances, the expenditures having aggregated \$1,374,470.10 as against receipts of \$147,974.83, with about \$300,000 owed by purchasers of the lands.

Samuel McCormack, in a "memoir" intended perhaps as a defence of Colonel Williamson, then recently superseded in the management of the Pulteney estate lands in America, declared that they constituted the greatest land speculation ever entered into by any individual, described western New York as "a fertile and beautiful region" and likened it to Derbyshire in England

and Lauquedoc in France, capable of providing "all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life," and predicted that at some future day it would be "the seat of a great people."

He credited Colonel Williamson with having discharged his difficult duty in a manner "which will not only be the source of incalculable advantage to the future proprietors, but secure to him the lasting gratitude of that part of America which formed the theatre of his meritorious exertions. He is stiled with much propriety the Father of the Western Part of the State of New York.

"On assuming the management of this property Colonel Williamson found it an immense tract of country, wholly covered with wood, nearly impenetrable on account of the total want of roads and therefore almost entirely unknown. His first care was to have it surveyed and laid off into convenient subdivisions. * * * The want of roads was the great obstacle in the sale of lands and the opening up of new townships. * * * Colonel Williamson, however, partly by bribes, partly by exhortations and entreaties encouraged them to persevere; superintended all the operations in person, and at last by very great exertions succeeded in making roads, which traversed the estate in almost every direction. * * * In traveling from New York to the falls of the Niagara there is a good turnpike road and tolerable inns for more than five hundred miles. The remainder of the journey being upwards of a hundred miles, must be performed on horseback or in waggons, but in the course of a year or two the Turnpike road will be completed as far as the Falls and then the jaunt from New York to Niagara will be one of the finest in the world.

"In the building or at least the founding of towns Colonel Williamson's exertions were no less meritorious than in the making of roads. * * *

"The value of these lands rises in a kind of geometrical ratio. Each parcel sold doubles or trebles the value of each adjoining parcel."

Even the prospect of war, in the view of Mr. McCormack, did not materially threaten the security or value of the property. The investment of Sir William, bought at a cheap rate, but representing in the aggregate a considerable sum, was, under the able management of Colonel Williamson, the means of opening up a magnificent country that had been a wilderness since the creation.

Following the retirement from management of the Pulteney-Hornby-Colquhoun property, Mr. Williamson returned to England, but being aroused at what General Peter B. Porter once referred to as the dawning of liberty and symptoms of revolution in South America, he set forth with the intention of taking an active part in the impending conflict, and died on the way.

Robert Troup was the attorney of Sir William Pulteney in effecting a settlement with Williamson and, in 1801, was given full power of attorney to continue the agency, which he did until his death in 1832, the property in the meantime descending to Pulteney's daughter, Henrietta Laura, the Countess of Bath, then to St. John Lowther Johnstone, her cousin, and his heirs, the management of the real estate being conducted for the benefit of the Johnstone branch of the family, and the personal property, by will of the Countess of Bath, to the representatives of the family known as the Pulteney branch.

"The Simcoe Scare" has an insignificant place in history, but for a time it had much of dire portent for the Genesee Country. Overzealous representatives of the British crown, viewing the situation at the south from the refuge afforded by Canada, which alone had been saved from the wreckage of Great Britain's colonial enterprise in the New World, not unnaturally looked for opportunities to retrieve English fortunes. They knew and probably did not overestimate the jealousies and dissensions that pervaded the new and as yet loosely knit United States. They much overestimated the strength in the states of the Tory sentiment not yet reconciled to severance from the Mother Country, and they hastily concluded that they could rely upon the dormant wrath harbored by their Indian allies in the recent war. So, underestimating the strength of the elements they could rally, in an effort to upset the government whose independence they had been compelled to recognize, and overestimating their ability to enlist at this time the aid of the home government in a renewal of the strife, they sought to avail themselves of the first opportunity to reestablish English influence if not English control in America.

That the people of the new nation had real cause for apprehension was destined to be shown a few years later, but the hostile demonstration known as "The Simcoe Scare" was the result of an ill-conceived gesture of the governor of Upper Canada that was soon repudiated by the British government and turned out to be

a flash in the pan. It was a real "scare," however, and had in it elements quite as grave as those from which have sprung momentous armed conflicts.

The British, in contravention of the treaty of Paris, had continued to maintain armed forces on our borders at Oswego and at Fort Niagara, Governor Simcoe, from his first assuming the government of Upper Canada, had manifested the greatest jealousy of the progress of the settlement of our western country. He was even said to have threatened to send Captain Williamson to England in irons if he ever ventured to enter Canada.

In the month of August, 1794, Lieutenant Sheaffe of the British army was sent by Governor Simcoe with a formal protest to Captain Williamson against the settlement which the latter had just begun at Sodus. News of this hostile demonstration by an agent of the British government spread like wild fire through the settlements of western New York. To this was added the disquieting knowledge that for some unknown reason there had been an increasing emigration of Indians to Canada. They had gone in detached bodies, but as if by some secret understanding. The Senecas particularly had become overbearing and quarrelsome, and a far more than usual number of outrages had been committed upon the white settlers. Harmar and St. Clair had suffered defeat at the hands of the western Indians, and it was doubtful what would be the issue of the campaign in which General Anthony Wayne was engaged to compel cessation of hostilities on the frontier.

Under the circumstances, the settlers in the Genesee Country not unnaturally feared the worst. They had assumed that permanent peace had come and had laid aside the weapons of war to take up the plowshare. They had engaged in the struggle to subdue the wilderness in confidence that they could build homes and till the ground free from the menace of such horrors as had accompanied border conflicts with the red allies of Britain.

The notice given to Mr. Williamson by an officer of his Majesty's army was to the effect, that the colonists must get out and keep out of the territory beyond the old French line, until such time as the treaty by which the Revolutionary war was terminated had been finally executed. This "inexecution" of the treaty resulted from certain minor differences between Great Britain and the States, differences which were not finally adjusted until

a year or so later. News of Lieutenant Sheaffe's warning and of Captain Williamson's defiant response, that he should go on with the projected settlement at Sodus and at other points in the western country, combined with the restlessness of the Indians and their evident disposition to encourage and abet the hostile outbreaks of their brethren in the west and south, impelled the settlers to demand energetic measures for their protection on the part of both the state and national governments.

Captain Williamson using the most reliable and expeditious means of communication then available dispatched express orders to Edmund Randolph, secretary of state, and to Samuel Knox, secretary of war, in President Washington's cabinet, and to Governor George Clinton at Albany, urging that the insolence of the British officers be resented and means provided to prevent more overt acts.

In April, the government's Indian superintendent, General Israel Chapin, wrote to Secretary Knox that "this part of the country, being the frontier of the state of New York, is very much alarmed at the present appearance of war. Destitute of arms and ammunition, the scattered inhabitants of this remote wilderness would fall an easy prey to their savage neighbors should they think proper to attack them." A month later General Chapin urged that 1,200 or 1,500 stand of arms be provided "for the inhabitants of the frontier" and the state appointed commissioners to take necessary steps for defense. Finally, it was decided that a conference should be held at Canandaigua with the Indians "for the purpose of removing all causes of misunderstanding and establishing a permanent peace and friendship between the United States and the Six Nations."

In the meantime, on August 30, 1794, President Washington had taken prompt steps to lay before the British government the high-handed action of the Governor of Upper Canada and to protest against conduct threatening friendly relations between the two countries. In a letter to Mr. Jay, United States minister at London at that time, the President denounced as irregular and high-handed the notice delivered by Lieutenant Sheaffe to Captain Williamson against the latter's occupying lands which "long ago, they (the English) ought to have surrendered, and far within the known and until now the acknowledged limits of the United States."

President Washington added these emphatic words:

"This may be considered as the most open and daring act of the British agents in America; though it is not the most hostile and cruel; for there does not remain a doubt in the mind of any well informed person in this country not shut against conviction, that all the difficulties that we encounter with the Indians, their hostilities, the murders of helpless women and children, along our frontiers, result from the conduct of agents of Great Britain in this country. In vain is it then for its administration in Britain to disavow having given orders which will warrant such conduct, whilst their agents go unpunished; while we have a thousand corroborating circumstances, and indeed as many evidences, some of which cannot be brought forward, to prove that they are seducing from our alliances, and endeavoring to remove over the line, tribes that have hitherto been kept in peace and friendship with us at a heavy expense, and who have no cause of complaint except pretended ones of their creating, whilst they keep in a state of irritation the tribes that are hostile to us, and are instigating those who know little of us, or we of them, to unite in the war against us; and whilst it is an undeniable fact that they are furnishing the whole with arms, ammunition, clothing, and even provisions to carry on the war."

Armed with authority conferred by President Washington, Minister Jay made such vigorous representations to the English ministry that the remaining differences between the two countries were settled and a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation was concluded on November 19, 1794, though it was not proclaimed until February 29, 1796.

In this connection the victory achieved by General Anthony Wayne over the western Indians at Fort Miami on August 20, 1794, had had collateral as well as direct effects of far-reaching importance. It had effectually and immediately checked the hostilities which, following defeats sustained by the forces under Harmar and St. Clair, had terrorized the country northwest of the Ohio. It chastened the spirits of the Iroquois in western New York and impelled them to consent to parleys at the council at Canandaigua in the fall of 1794. And, most important of all, it so humbled the Indians and convinced them of the power of the government that they were weaned of any further disposition to listen to the blandishments of British emissaries from Canada or

elsewhere. They returned to their reservations in the Genesee Country thoroughly humbled.

It was confirmation of Wayne's decisive victory brought by runners from the west, that made possible the amicable settlement of controversies between the Six Nations and the United States finally effected at Canandaigua under Colonel Pickering on November 11, 1794.

Withdrawal of the British pretensions, not improbably hastened by this same event, and the reestablishment of friendly relations with the Indians, gave the settlers the assurance which they needed to proceed with the development of the Genesee Country. The "Simcoe Scare" was happily over. The people who had been aroused by what seemed a threatened attack upon their dearly-bought independence quickly regained their confidence and hopefulness for the future. Succeeding years were years of peace and prosperity, with a steady growth in population, and were marked by the establishment of new civil divisions and the founding of settlements destined soon to expand into enterprising villages and cities.

Then came the contentions and controversies that led to the second war with England, that of 1812-14, the cause and progress of which are adequately treated in a separate chapter.

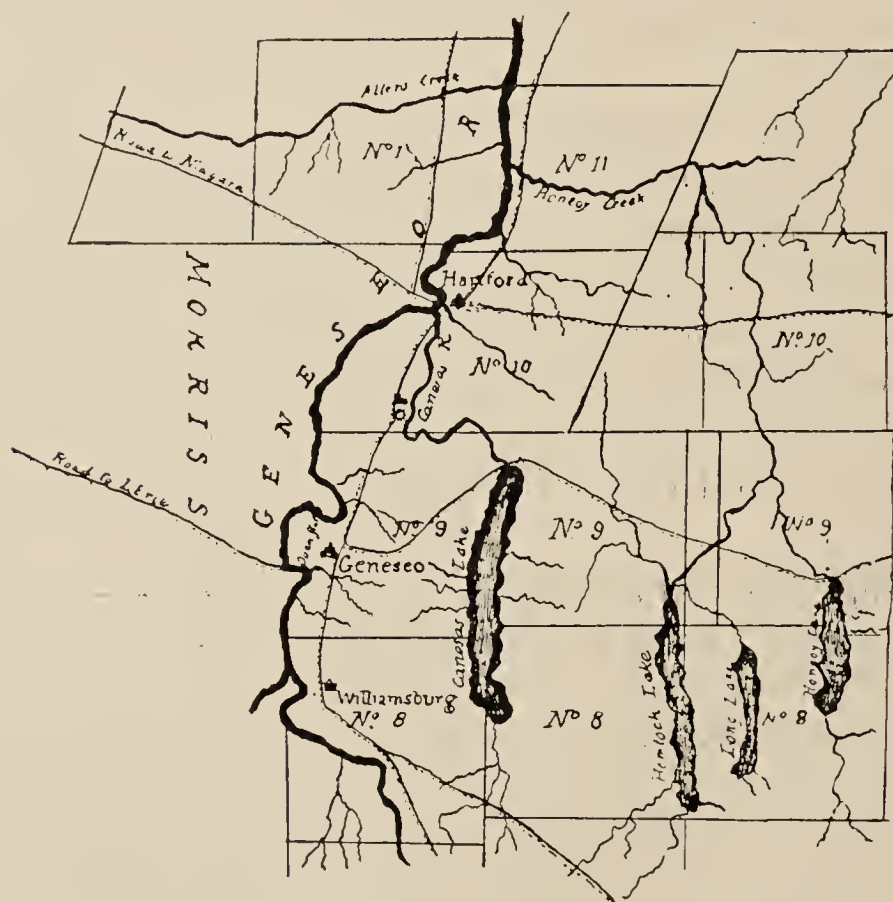
It will suffice our purpose here to say that, despite the sharp division of sentiment as to the merits of the conflict as viewed from the Federalist and the Republican standpoints, the Genesee Country gave loyal support to the American cause and organized effectively, both politically and militarily, for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

The villages of Canandaigua and Batavia were made depositories for supplies, arms and ammunition, and the militia, which embraced practically the entire able-bodied male population, rallied to the colors. Fortunately the Indians who made their homes on the reservations and moved freely among the settlers did not this time take sides with the English forces. Their chiefs first agreed to remain neutral, but, when the British invaded their lands, they dug up the hatchet and formally declared war, although it does not appear that any considerable number entered the American army.

As might be expected, however, there was much anxiety as to their attitude and the whole Genesee Country, being on the fron-

tier, was greatly aroused, the militia drilling, marching back and forth, and finally taking a gallant part in the operations against Fort Erie. Public meetings were held, committees solicited funds for relief of the women and children who, deserting their homes in panic "filled the roads," as one of these committees declared, and sought shelter in the larger village at the east. For a time the whole western part of the state was almost depopulated.

With the raising of the siege of Fort Erie and the signing of the treaty of Ghent, concluded on December 24, 1814, apprehension subsided as quickly as it had risen, the people returned to their homes, the tide of immigration flowed westward again and the development of the Genesee Country, interrupted for a time, proceeded with a rapidity never afterwards checked.



MAP FROM AUGUSTUS PORTER'S SURVEY OF THE PHELPS
AND GORHAM PURCHASE, 1792

CHAPTER XIII.

THE HOLLAND PURCHASE.

BY CHARLES F. MILLIKEN.

While the title to that part of western New York between Seneca Lake and the Genesee River was passing from the State of Massachusetts and the Indians, in 1788, to Phelps and Gorham; then in 1790 to Robert Morris, and then in 1791 to the London Associates, the part of Massachusetts land lying west of the Genesee, which Phelps and Gorham had been compelled to reconvey to Massachusetts, continued in possession of the red men. But this part of the Genesee Country, constituting two-thirds of the entire Massachusetts tract, was not destined to remain fallow long.

Robert Morris, having made a handsome profit (estimated at \$160,000) by his quick turnover of the land purchased of Phelps and Gorham, lost no time in negotiating for the remainder of the western New York tract. On May 11, 1791, he secured from Massachusetts for a consideration of \$333,333.33, the preemption right to lands in the state lying west of the first mentioned tract.

Following the plan he had successfully practiced in handling that tract, he sold this to a syndicate of Holland capitalists, afterwards known as the Holland Land Company, reserving only the eastern portion, about twelve miles in width, portions of which he had sold to other parties or placed as security for loans.

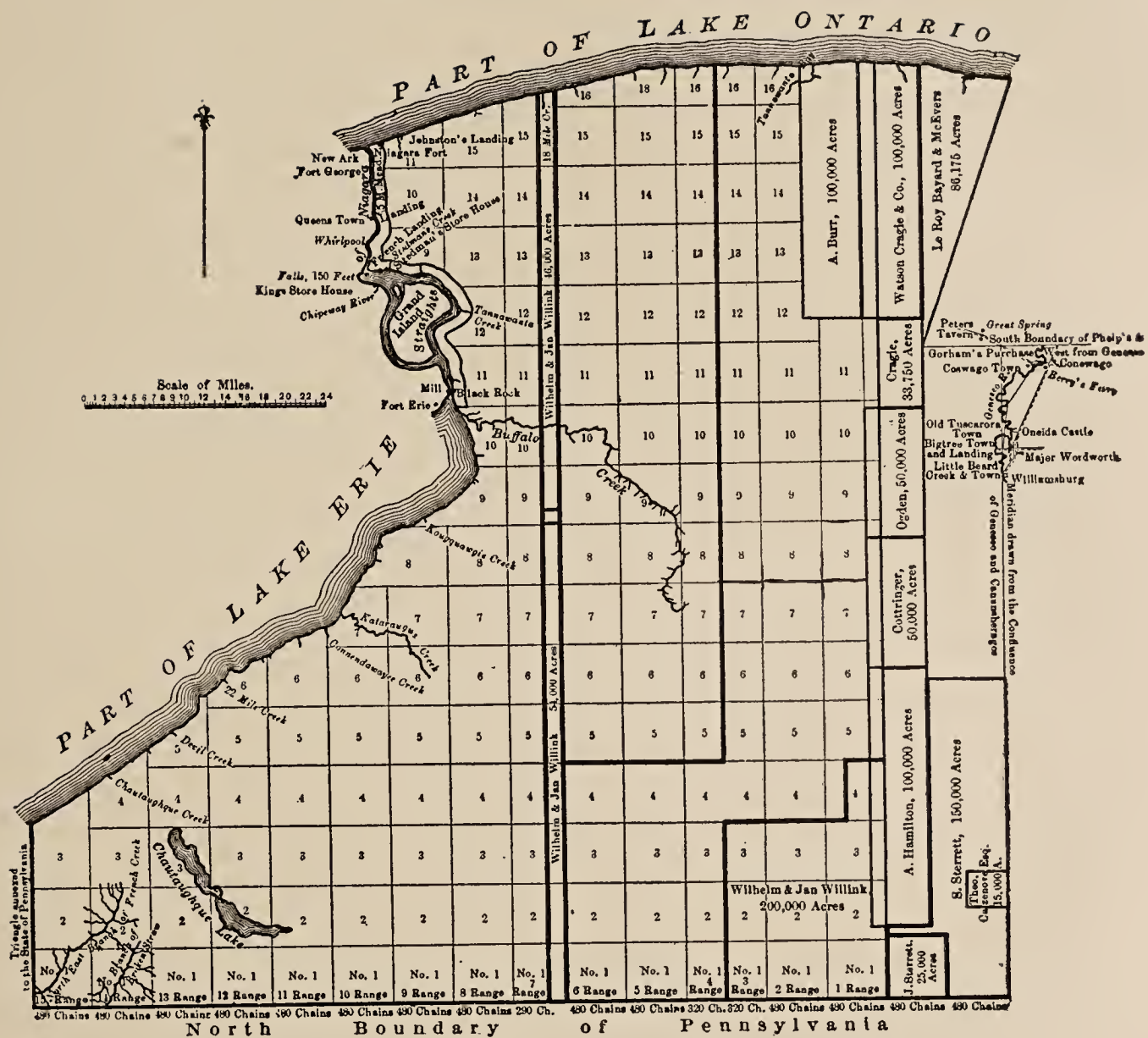
The title thus obtained by the Holland Land Company as deduced by O. Turner, author of the "History of the Holland Purchase," was as follows:

"On the 12th day of March, 1791, the State of Massachusetts agreed to sell to Samuel Ogden, who was acting for and in behalf of Robert Morris, all the lands ceded to the said state, by the state of New York, except that part thereof which had been conveyed by Massachusetts to Phelps and Gorham. (See Sec. Office, Massachusetts Exemp. Records, fol. 1.)

"In conformity with this agreement the State of Massachusetts conveyed to Robert Morris, on the 11th day of May, 1791, the whole of said land in five different deeds—the first including all the land on said tract lying east of a meridian line beginning at a point in the north line of Pennsylvania, twelve miles west of the southwest corner of Phelps and Gorham's tract, and running due north to Lake Ontario, supposed to contain about five hundred thousand acres. (See Sec. Office, Albany, Book of Deeds, 23, fol. 231.) The second deed included all the land between the last described tract and a meridian line beginning at a point in the north line of Pennsylvania, sixteen miles west of the southwest corner of the last described tract, thence running due north to Lake Ontario. (See Sec. Office, Albany, Lib. 23, fol. 234.) The third deed included all the land lying between the last mentioned tract, and a meridian line beginning at a point in the north line of Pennsylvania, sixteen miles west of the southwest corner of the last described tract, and thence running due north to the shore of Lake Ontario. (See Sec. Office, Albany, Lib. 23, fol. 235.) The fourth deed contained all land lying between the last mentioned tract and a meridian line beginning at a point in the north line of Pennsylvania, sixteen miles west of the southwest corner of the last described tract, and thence running due north to the shore of Lake Ontario. (See Sec. Office, Albany, Lib. 23, fol. 232.) The fifth and last deed included all the land owned by the State of Massachusetts in this state, lying west of the last described tract. (See Sec. Office, Albany, Lib. 23, fol. 237.) The four last mentioned tracts included about three million, three hundred thousand acres.

"One undivided sixtieth part of the whole of the land included in these five deeds, had been reserved by Massachusetts, in their original agreement with Samuel Ogden, Morris's agent, to meet the demands of John Butler, who had contracted with Phelps and Gorham for the purchase of the same, prior to the surrender of their claim to Massachusetts. Butler, however, subsequent to the surrender, and before the execution of the conveyances above recited, assigned his right to said sixtieth part to Robert Morris, which enabled him to acquire a title to the whole at the same time.

"The tract of land described in and conveyed by the first mentioned deed, took the name of Morris's Reserve, from the fact that he retained that tract in the sale which he afterward made to the



Holland Company. Mr. Morris sold out in parcels from forty, to one hundred and fifty thousand acres each, to wit: He sold to Leroy, Bayard and M'Evers the triangular tract, bounded southeasterly by the Phelps and Gorham Purchase west of Genesee River, west by a line beginning at the southwest corner of said Phelps and Gorham's tract, and running due north to Lake Ontario and north by said Lake Ontario, containing about eighty-seven thousand acres.

"The next sale which Mr. Morris made (which was before he sold the land described in the other deeds to the Holland company) was one hundred thousand acres to Watson Cragie and Greenleaf, bounded east by said triangular tract, north by Lake Ontario, west by a line running parallel with the west line of the triangle and six miles distant therefrom, and south by an east and west line so far south of Lake Ontario as that the tract shall contain one hundred thousand acres. This sale was made under the fullest confidence (on what authority it is not known) that the full width of the tract fell on the land described in the first mentioned deed executed to Mr. Morris by Massachusetts, which appears to have been an erroneous assumption.

"This tract, after several transfers, was conveyed in 1801, to the State of Connecticut (being purchased with a portion of their school fund) and Sir William Pultney, one undivided half each, which was divided between them in 1811, portions of the share of each being interspersed through the whole tract. The lands falling to the one share being called Connecticut lands and to the other Pultney estate lands, although the whole tract is usually designated the Connecticut Tract.

"Mr. Morris then sold fifty thousand acres, south of and adjoining the Connecticut tract to Andrew Cragie. This sale, however, was made after Mr. Morris had sold the land included in the other four deeds from Massachusetts, to the Holland company, or to persons in trust for them. This tract was bounded east, partly by the Triangular tract, and partly by a line run due south from the southern angle thereof, in the whole one hundred four chains and sixty-seven links; north by the Connecticut tract six miles; west by a line parallel to, and six miles west from the east boundary of the tract, one hundred four chains and sixty-seven links, and south by an east and west line, parallel to the north bounds of the tract, one hundred four chains and sixty-

seven links south therefrom; this is generally called the Cragie tract. Mr. Morris sold to Samuel Ogden fifty thousand acres described as lying south of, and adjoining the Cragie tract, and of the same length and breadth: This is called the Ogden tract. He likewise sold one other tract containing fifty thousand acres to Gerrit Cotringer, lying south of, and adjoining the Ogden tract, or the same length and breadth.

“Mr. Morris sold forty thousand acres to Wilhelm and Jan Willink, bounded east by the Genesee River, north by Phelps and Gorham’s Purchase west of Genesee River, twelve miles; west by a line running due south from the southwest corner of said Phelps and Gorham’s Purchase and south by a line parallel with the north bounds of the tract and so far south as to include forty thousand acres: This is called ‘The Forty Thousand Acre Tract.’ Of this tract Mr. Morris sold to John B. Church, one hundred thousand acres, being six miles wide, lying east of, and adjoining the lands sold by him to the Holland company, and extending nearly from the Pennsylvania line to the Cotringer tract. One undivided half of this tract fell into the hands of the creditors of J. B. Church and the other half became the property of his son, Judge Philip Church, which parts have since been separated.

“The tract six miles wide, east of the Cotringer tract and Church’s tract, containing one hundred and fifty thousand acres, was sold by Mr. Morris to Samuel Sterrett, and the lands between the Sterrett tract and the forty thousand acre tract, except the Mount Morris tract, part of Gardeau Reservation, &c., is generally known as Morris’ honorary creditor’s tract.”

The land purchased of Massachusetts by Morris, with the exception of the tract heretofore mentioned as retained, was conveyed by four deeds given by him and Mrs. Morris: (1) to Herman LeRoy and John Linklaen, for one million and a half acres, dated December 24, 1792; (2) to Herman LeRoy, John Linklaen and Gerrit Boon, for one million acres, dated February 27, 1793; (3) to Herman LeRoy and John Linklaen, for eight hundred thousand acres, dated July 20, 1793; (4) to Herman LeRoy, William Bayard and Matthew Clarkson, for three hundred thousand acres, dated July 20, 1793.

These tracts purchased with funds provided by financiers in Holland were held in trust by the several grantees for their benefit, aliens then being unable to take title to real estate under the

laws of this state. Later, when the legislature had raised this inhibition the trustees conveyed the whole tract to the Holland Company.

The curious fact is noted, that, in parcelling out the purchase to the three branches of that company, William Willink, Jan Willink, Wilhelm Willink, the younger, and Jan Willink, the younger, took by choice the three hundred thousand acres in its southeast corner, for the reason it was nearest Philadelphia, the residence of the agent general, Theophilus Cazenove. They made this choice in ignorance of the fact that the tract selected comprised some of the least desirable lands in the whole domain, embracing as it did what are now the towns of Bolivar, Wirt, Friendship, the east part of Belfast, Clarksville and Cuba in Allegany County, Portville and the east part of Hinsdale and Rice in Cattaraugus County.

The sale to Mr. Morris, as was the earlier one to Phelps and Gorham, had been made subject to the condition that the Indian title should be extinguished, and the Hollanders, as security that he would fulfill this part of the agreement, had reserved 37,500 pounds of the money they were to pay for the property. To fulfill his agreement to extinguish the Indian title, Mr. Morris arranged for a council, which was held at Geneseo in September, 1797, known as the treaty of Big Tree, elsewhere described, under the supervision of Jeremiah Wadsworth, acting as Commissioner for the United States government, with William Shepard representing Massachusetts, and Thomas Morris and Charles Williamson representing the former's father, Robert Morris. At this council the Seneca Nation surrendered all the land included in this purchase of Robert Morris, with the exception of the following reservations: The Canawaugus reservation, containing two square miles located on the west bank of the Genesee River, west of Avon; Little Beard's and Big Tree reservations, which together included four square miles on the west bank of the Genesee opposite Geneseo; Squawkie Hill reservation of two square miles, on the north bank of the Genesee, north of Mount Morris; Gardeau reservation of twenty-eight square miles, on both sides of the Genesee, two or three miles south of Mount Morris; the Caneadea reservation of sixteen square miles, on both sides of the Genesee and extending eight miles along that river in the County of Allegany; the Oil Spring reservation, of one square mile, on the line between Allegany and Cattaraugus counties; the Allegany reser-

vation of forty-two square miles lying on each side of the Allegany River, from the Pennsylvania line northeastwardly about twenty-five miles; the Cattaraugus reservation of forty-two square miles, each side and near the mouth of Cattaraugus Creek on Lake Erie; the Buffalo reservation of one hundred and thirty square miles, lying on both sides of the Buffalo Creek and extending east from Lake Erie about seven miles wide. The Tonawanda reservation, seventy square miles, lying on both sides of Tonawanda Creek, beginning about twenty-five miles from its mouth and extending eastwardly about seven miles wide; the Tuscarora reservation of one square mile, located about three miles east of Lewiston, on the mountain ridge.

Present at this council, in addition to the persons named heretofore, was Joseph Ellicott, who had been engaged as principal surveyor of the Holland Company's lands in western New York, and who with this service began his twenty years' connection with the company. As soon as the agreement with the Indians had been reached, he, representing the company, and Augustus Porter, looking after the interests of Mr. Morris, made a preliminary survey of the tract, starting at the northeast corner of the Phelps and Gorham tract, west to the Genesee, traversing the south shore of Lake Ontario to the mouth of the Niagara River; thence along the eastern shore of that river to Lake Erie; thence along the southeast shore to the west bounds of the state, being a meridian line running due south from the west end of Lake Ontario as before established by Andrew Ellicott, surveyor general of the United States.

The task of opening the Holland Purchase committed to the company's agent general, Joseph Ellicott, was a tremendous one.

Mr. Williamson in his "Account of a Gentleman's Journey Into the Genesee Country in February, 1792," reported that the road from Albany to Whitestown, one hundred miles, was passable for wagons, but beyond that the travelers had to take provisions for themselves and their horses, as there were only a few straggling huts, scattered along the path, from ten to twenty miles from each other, and they afforded nothing but the convenience of fire and a kind of shelter from the snow. From Geneva to Canandaigua, he wrote, the road is only the Indian path a little improved. From Canandaigua to the Genesee the country was almost totally uninhabited, only four families residing on the

road. Upon the whole at this time there were not any settlements of any consequence in the Genesee Country. "Even in this state of nature," he wrote, "the county of Ontario shows every sign of future respectability; no man has put the plough in the ground without being amply repaid."

Augustus Porter in his reminiscences reported that after completing the survey for Robert Morris to Allentown, the west line of Mr. Morris' latest purchase, he travelled on the beach, there being no road, and as yet none other than the Indian trail, from Buffalo to Canawaugus (now Avon). In a letter of May, 1801, Mr. Ellicott says he has learned that the inhabitants at Transit Store House have undertaken to open a road to Ganson's and he wants to be considered a subscriber toward the expenses of the undertaking.

In the spring of 1798, when the survey of the Holland Purchase was first undertaken, all the travel between the Phelps and Gorham tract and Buffalo was on the old Indian trail; the winter previous, however, the legislature passed an act appointing Charles Williamson a commissioner to lay out and open a state road from Canawaugus on the Genesee to Buffalo Creek on Lake Erie and to Lewiston on the Niagara River. To defray the expense of cutting out these roads, the Holland Company subscribed \$5,000. The first wagon track opened on the Holland Purchase was by Mr. Ellicott, as a preliminary step in commencing operations early in the season of 1798. He employed a gang of hands to improve the Indian trail, so that wagons could pass upon it, from the east transit to Buffalo Creek. In 1801 he opened the road as far west as Vandeventer's. The whole road was opened to Le Roy before the close of 1802.

In the summer of 1799, there not being a house on the road from the eastern transit line to Buffalo, Mr. Busti, the agent general of the company, authorized Mr. Ellicott to contract with six reputable individuals to locate themselves on the road, about ten miles asunder, and open houses of entertainment for travelers at their several locations, in consideration of which they were to have a quantity of land, from fifty to one hundred and fifty acres each, "at a liberal time for payment, without interest, at the lowest price the company will sell their lands, when settlements shall be begun."

Three persons accepted this offer, as follows: Frederick Walthers, who took one hundred and fifty acres where the village of Stafford is now located; Asa Ransom, who also located on one hundred and fifty acres, in what afterwards was known as Ransom's Hollow; Garrett Davis, who located on one hundred and fifty acres east of and adjoining the Tonawanda reservation. These three men erected and furnished comfortable houses in compliance with their agreement. With the exception of those settled at Buffalo, Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Walthers were the pioneer women on the purchase. When Mr. Ellicott announced he was ready to begin selling the land, these three households were the only settlers in the entire Holland tract.

In May, 1801, General James Wilkinson appeared on the frontier with engineers commissioned to open a road between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario. A good beginning was made in that and the succeeding season, but the enterprise was not completed until 1809, when with an appropriation of \$1,500 obtained from the state, Joseph Landon, Peter Vandeventer and Augustus Porter, acting as commissioners, opened a passable wagon road from Black Rock to the Falls.

The first crops raised on the Holland Purchase were at the Transit Store House. That was the spring of 1799, and the clearing and cultivation of the plot was done not by settlers but by a gang of hands who were waiting for weather that would permit the start of a surveying expedition. Oats, potatoes and garden vegetables were planted, which the tavern keeper there, Mr. Walther, reported to Mr. Ellicott yielded good crops.

As soon as Mr. Ransom had built his house, Mr. Ellicott made it his headquarters, his appointment as local agent of the company dating from October 1, 1800.

Immediately following his appointment as local agent, the indefatigable Ellicott, anxious to realize for his principals some return on the large expenditures involved in the opening of their lands, the cutting of roads and the provision of inns for the accommodation of prospective buyers, took measures to bring the advantages of the new country to the attention of possible investors. In 1800 he issued a prospectus which set forth these advantages in reasonable colors and may be quoted as showing conditions on the tract at that time:

"HOLLAND LAND COMPANY WEST GENESEO LANDS—Information

"The Holland Land Company will open a Land Office in the ensuing month of September, for the sale of a portion of their valuable lands in the Genesee Country, State of New York, situate in the last purchase made of the Seneca Nation of Indians, on the western side of the Genesee River. For the convenience of applicants, the Land Office will be established near the centre of the lands intended for sale on the main road, leading from the Eastern and Middle States to Upper Canada, Presque Isle in Pennsylvania, and the Connecticut Reserve. Those lands are situate, adjoining and contiguous, to the lakes Erie, Ontario and the streights of Niagara, possessing the advantage of the navigation and trade of all the upper lakes as well as the river Saint Lawrence, (from which the British settlements derive great advantage), also intersected by the Allegany River, navigable for boats of 30 to 40 tons burthen, to Pittsburgh and New Orleans and contiguous to the navigable waters of the west branch of the Susquehanna River, and almost surrounded by settlements, where provision of every kind is to be had in great abundance and on reasonable terms, renders the situation of the Holland Land Company Geneseo Lands more eligible, desirous and advantageous for settlers than any other unsettled tract of inland country of equal magnitude in the United States. The greater part of this tract is finely watered (few exceptions) with never failing springs and streams, affording sufficiency of water for grist mills and other water works. The subscriber, during the year 1796 and 1799, surveyed and laid off the whole of these lands into townships, a portion of which, to accommodate purchasers and settlers, is now laying off into lots and tracts from 120 acres and upwards, to the quantity contained in a township.

"The lands abound with limestone, and are calculated to suit every description of purchasers and settlers. Those who prefer land timbered with black and white oak, hickory, poplar, chestnut, wild cherry, butternut and dogwood, or the more luxuriant timbered with basswood or lynn, butternut, sugar-tree, white ash, wild cherry, cucumber tree (a species of the magnolia) and black walnut may be suited. Those who prefer level land or gradually ascending, affording extensive plains and valleys, will find the country adapted to their choice. In short, such are the varieties of situations in this part of the Genesee country, every where almost covered with a rich soil, that it is presumed that all purchasers who may be inclined to participate in the advantages in those lands, may select lots from 120 acres to tracts containing 100,000 acres, that would fully please and satisfy their choice. The Holland Land Company, whose liberality is so well known in this country, now offer to all those who may wish to become partakers of the growing value of those lands, such portions and such parts as they may think proper to purchase. Those who may choose to pay cash will find a liberal discount from the credit price."

Mr. Ellicott on July 4, 1801, wrote Mr. Busti, the agent general: "When we reflect that there are lands for sale in every possible direction around us, that every purchaser who comes into this quarter has to pass by innumerable land offices, where lands are offered on almost every kinds of terms imaginable, and that in upper Canada, adjoining the purchase, the government grants lands at 6d Halifax currency per acre, we can not calculate to make very rapid sales, until we have saw and grist mills erected, and roads opened; all of which are going forward."

Mr. Thompson, who had charge of the erection of a home for the local agent at Batavia, frankly intimated that he thought that money spent on log houses was money "thrown away," but Mr.

Ellicott was not dissatisfied. He informed Mr. Thompson that he assumed the expense for such a building and that he hoped he might never want for a worse house than a good log house. "Indeed I should prefer," he wrote in reply to the other's criticism, "living in such a house to that of being obliged to board in the best brick house in Canandaigua." He was loyal to the undertaking, was not discouraged by its difficulties and foresaw the results with which perseverance and enterprise were sure to be rewarded.

But even when thus attractively advertised, sales on the Holland tract continued discouragingly slow for a number of years. The supply of wild lands offered greatly exceeded the demand and the fever for speculation in them had passed. Keen rivalry among companies or syndicates having such holdings resulted, and the Federal government was offering lands in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys at a much lower price for cash than the purchasers of western New York lands could afford to set upon their holdings.

The immense tract of wild land, bought by the Hollanders with a view to its disposal in large blocks and at large profits, did not, as we have seen, find ready sale. The land speculations in which many men of wealth had taken a hand in the years immediately following the close of the war of the Revolution reached an end that involved even Robert Morris in financial disaster. In the early nineties the bubble had burst. Wild land was a drug on the market. There was too much of it and too little money to invite purchasers even of townships, demand for which had helped stave off the evil day for Phelps and Gorham in the eastern part of the Genesee Country.

So the Holland Company felt compelled to open its lands, as had Phelps and Gorham, to actual settlers, and following their example located an office with this end in view at Tonawanda Bend, later the site of the village of Batavia.

This was in 1801, eleven years later than the establishment of the office at Canandaigua. The office last mentioned had not proved any too much of a success, the returns from its sales direct to settlers not having been sufficient to enable the company to meet their obligations. It seemed, however, the only method for the Hollanders other than to dispose of their holdings at a great sacrifice, and they resorted to it as stated.

Joseph Ellicott, who had surveyed the land, and now, as agent of the company, was charged with opening it to settlement, proceeded to make the improvements necessary to its development and to offer it on terms that would invite the favorable attention of the hardy but moneyless men who are wont to comprise the pioneers on new lands. He would accept ten, or even only five, per cent of the agreed price, as a cash payment, and give buyers a credit of six, eight or ten years in which to pay the balance.

But notwithstanding these inducements, the immigration of settlers was slow beyond expectations and their ability to meet the agreed payments, liberal as were the terms, small indeed. There was little money in circulation and, when finally the company consented to accept payment in kind, the settlers had need of all they could obtain from their crops to make the betterments which they must have, if they were to make their homes livable and their lands productive. They became discouraged and restless and wished themselves back in the East, or in their old homes across seas, where at least they would have the comforting presence to be found in more thickly populated communities, or they were ready to move to regions yet farther west, where they dreamed conditions would be easier and opportunities better.

Added to discouragement at their hard lot, with lands to clear, fields to fence and cultivate, and shelters for their stock and growing families to erect, was the irritation that arose from the consciousness that the men to whom they were beholden for the lands belonged to the so-called capitalistic class, from dependency on whom many of them had fled Europe to escape. With a change of policy following a change in local agents came a recall of the leniency the company had formerly shown delinquent creditors and attempts were made to enforce contracts.

This gave opportunity for malcontents to pose as defenders of American democracy and to exploit the dangers to free institutions of a vast landed monopoly under control of a company of wealthy foreigners. Then came appeals to the legislature for relief and, finally, under yet another and better informed local agent, David E. Evans, a nephew of Joseph Ellicott, adoption of reforms in the management that were accepted as fair and generous by most of the settlers.

Following this, all was peace on the purchase, until its people were disturbed by an agitation that grew out of the abduction of

Morgan from the Canandaigua jail, when ambitious politicians, seeking to combat for purposes of their own the powerful anti-Masonic movement, tried to found an opposition party through renewal of feeling against the Holland Company and its alleged extortions and its impositions on downtrodden settlers. But that was as late as 1830, a period beyond that to which this chapter of Genesee Country history is limited.

Joseph Ellicott, who came of Welsh ancestry, was one of four brothers who attained eminence as men of affairs. The oldest brother, Andrew, was a surveyor general of the United States and the other three served as surveyors in the Holland Purchase, Joseph having engaged in this work at the time of the Genesee council, when the Indian releases were negotiated. He had acted as assistant to his brother Andrew in the original survey of the city of Washington and had had other important government assignments along the line of his profession.

Some idea of the generalship required of Mr. Ellicott, to prepare for the work of the survey, may be obtained by the orders he placed, while in Philadelphia in the interval between the treaty and the start on the work for which he had been engaged. Rittenhouse and Potts, the famous mathematical and astronomical instrument makers of that time, were to provide compasses, chains and staffs for surveyors' use. Augustus Porter, at Canandaigua, was directed to get ready such provisions, pack horses, axemen and chainmen as ordered. Thomas Morris at the same place was asked to attend to the prompt performance of agencies entrusted to him. Different persons at New York, Albany, Fort Schuyler and Queenstown had orders to facilitate transportation of supplies and to aid the surveyors in getting into the woods. Clark and Street, at Chippewa, were ordered to have ready two yoke of oxen, tent poles, and stout lumber wagons and axhelves, and the thousand and one things needed for the enterprise were thought of, and explicit directions were sent to the heads of the several parties as to what routes to pursue, where to rendezvous, where to start operations.

The "General" in charge of all this arrived in Canandaigua June 12, 1798, but Mr. Ellicott's time that season was spent principally at Buffalo Creek, Williamsburgh and on the eastern transit line, which could only be made accurate by cutting a vista three or four rods wide through the woods to enable the surveyors

to run a true meridian line north from the corner monument. This was only deviated from when, on arriving at the south line of the Hundred Thousand Acre tract, later called the Connecticut **tract, the conveyance** of which from Morris claimed seniority over that to the Holland Company, Mr. Ellicott moved the necessary distance to the west, from which point he ran his line due north to Lake Ontario. Other clashings of lines were adjusted so as to protect the rights of all parties and generally to the satisfaction of all.

Following the survey of the Holland Purchase lands, of which he was in charge as business agent as well as engineer in chief, a task which included the laying out of townships and the subdivision into sections and lots, the laying out of roads, the defining of the Indian reservations and the adjustment of differences arising from the clashing of boundary lines of the different tracts, Mr. Ellicott devoted himself to the administration of the great property. This was in 1800. His subsequent life history, until his resignation of the agency in 1821 on account of failing health, is inextricably identified with the development of the Holland Purchase. He had carried a tremendous load in the interim. In the extended journeyings necessitated, in the settlement of intricate questions affecting the interests alike of settlers and proprietors, in his initiation and execution of enterprises for the development of the region, in exercise of his ability as a writer and correspondent, he carried a load that finally broke his constitution. In 1824, under the advice of physicians, he removed to New York, and there, his mind having become affected, he made an end to his own life.

By the treaty of 1797 the Indians surrendered to the Hollanders the title to all western New York lands not included in the Phelps and Gorham Purchase and certain tracts which they reserved for their own use. One of the indefinite parts of the reservation of 200,000 acres they held was to be located on Buffalo Creek, at the east end of Lake Erie, and the remainder on Tonawanda Creek. As this excluded the Holland Company from access to the river and from the lake, it was exceedingly important that they devise a way to secure a harbor or landing place at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, with sufficient ground adjoining on which to found a prospective city. This they obtained through negotiation with a trader named Captain William Johnston, who, previous

to the purchase by the company, held, by virtue of gift, sale or lease from the Indians, two square miles and a mill-site at that point. As the Indians had the power to include this tract within their reservation, it was manifestly good policy for the Holland people to obtain, as they did, in exchange for a deed, of 640 acres, his surrender of all his "rights," including the mill-site referred to and adjacent timbered land, together with a plot of forty-five and a half acres on which he had erected buildings and other improvements.

On the land thus obtained on the west boundary of the Genesee Country was founded in 1801 a settlement first known as Buffalo Village, and destined, after its destruction by British and Indians in the War of 1812, to develop with amazing rapidity into a city ranking second only to the metropolis of New York, a story that well deserves separate treatment. The crossing of the Genesee Country by the Erie Canal in 1825 and the construction of the network of steam and electric railways, improved highways, and telegraph and telephone lines, with which the whole Genesee Country is threaded, constitutes no part of its early history, but may be referred to here as evidences of the solidity of the foundations laid by the pioneers, whose trials and achievements we have tried to outline, and as the splendid realization of the vision which inspired their adventure and strengthened their arms in entering and subduing its fastnesses.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BIG TREE TREATY.

The most concise and accurate, as well as interesting, account of the Big Tree Treaty is that prepared by W. H. Samson for the Livingston County Historical Society and published in its pamphlet for 1895. It is given complete herewith:

“After the close of the Revolutionary war and the successful establishment of the independence of the colonies, there was a serious dispute between New York and Massachusetts regarding the lands in what is western New York. Massachusetts claimed the title by virtue of a grant from King James I to the Plymouth company, made November 3, 1620, and New York claimed it by virtue of the grant of Charles II to the Duke of York, dated March 12, 1664, and the voluntary submission of the Iroquois to the crown in 1684.

“Happily this dispute was amicably adjusted. By a compact dated December 16, 1786, signed by commissioners representing the two states, New York secured the sovereignty and jurisdiction and Massachusetts the right to buy from the native Indians.

“There were no reasons why Massachusetts should delay the sale of its rights, and on April 1, 1788, the legislature of that state agreed to convey to Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, who were acting for themselves and others, all its right and title for 300,000 pounds in the consolidated securities of the commonwealth, or about one million dollars, provided that these speculators would extinguish the Indian title.

“On the 8th of July, 1788, a treaty was concluded at Buffalo Creek. It was attended by leading sachems, warriors and chiefs of the Five Nations. At this treaty the Indians sold to Phelps and Gorham for 2,100 pounds and an annuity of \$500, all their land east of the Genesee and a small portion west of it. The whole tract being described as follows:

“ ‘Beginning in the north boundary line of the State of Penn-

sylvania in the parallel of forty-two degrees north latitude, at a point distant eighty-two miles west from the northeast corner of Pennsylvania, on the Delaware River, as the said boundary line hath been run, and marked by the commissioners appointed by the states of New York and Pennsylvania respectively; and from said point or place of beginning, running west upon said line to a meridian which will pass through that corner or point of land made by the confluence of the Shanahasgwaikon Creek, so-called, with the waters of the Genesee River; thence running north along the said meridian to the corner or point last mentioned; thence northwardly along the waters of the said Genesee River to a point two miles north of the Shanawageras village, so-called; thence running in a direction due west twelve miles; thence running a direction northwardly, so as to be twelve miles distant from the most westward bends of said Genesee River to the shore of the Ontario Lake; thence eastwardly along the shores of said lake to a meridian which will pass through the first point or place of beginning above mentioned; thence south along said meridian to the first point or place of beginning aforesaid; together with all and singular the woods, houses, streams, rivers, ponds, lakes, upon, within, and in any wise appertaining to said territory.'

"This tract embraced a little over two and a half million acres, measuring about eighty-five miles on the east line and nearly forty-five miles on the south line. Within its bounds are the counties of Ontario, Steuben and Yates, and portions of the counties of Monroe, Livingston, Wayne, Allegany and Schuyler. On November 21, 1788, the legislature of Massachusetts passed an act conveying this land to Phelps and Gorham.

"The advance in the value of the consolidated securities of Massachusetts, due to the assumption by the general government of the debts of the several states, brought ruin to Phelps and Gorham. They reserved to themselves two townships, but sold the remainder of the land to Robert Morris, who in turn disposed of it to Sir William Pulteney and his associates in England.

"Not only were Phelps and Gorham compelled to part with the lands purchased from the Indians, but they were obliged to surrender to Massachusetts the preemptive right to the lands west of the Genesee River, embracing about 3,750,000 acres, to which they had been unable to extinguish the Indian title.

"Robert Morris, who had made a profit of something like



COBBLESTONE HOUSE NEAR SITE OF WADSWORTH DWELLING, LIVINGSTON
COUNTY, OCCUPIED BY THOSE PARTICIPATING IN BIG TREE TREATY IN 1797.

\$160,000 on his sale to the Englishmen, was ready to embark in further speculations, and on May 11, 1791, purchased from Massachusetts the preemptive right to the lands west of the Genesee. He paid 100,000 pounds, equal to \$333,333.33 in Massachusetts currency. In 1792 and 1793 he sold this land, except the eastern portion, since known as the Morris Reserve, to certain capitalists in Holland, and it now became his duty to extinguish the Indian title. Until this should be done, the Hollanders reserved 37,500 pounds of the purchase price.

“Soon after making the purchase from Massachusetts, Mr. Morris resolved to settle his son Thomas in the Genesee Country ‘as an evidence of his faith in its value and prospects.’ Thomas Morris was twenty years of age. He had been educated at Geneva and Leipsic and was then reading law. In obedience to the wishes of his father, he left Philadelphia in the early summer of 1791 and coming by way of Wilkesbarre and what was called ‘Sullivan’s path,’ reached Newtown, where he attended Pickering’s council and received from the Indians the name of O-te-ti-ana, which Red Jacket had borne in his younger days. Proceeding on his journey, Mr. Morris visited Niagara Falls. On his return, he passed through Canandaigua. The aspect of the little frontier village pleased him and he resolved to make the place his home. Arranging his affairs in the East, he left New York in March, 1792, and went to Canandaigua. In 1793 he built a frame house, filled in with brick—one of the two frame houses in the state west of Whitesboro. Mr. Morris was admitted to the bar, and in 1794 attended the first court held in Canandaigua. He devoted much of his time to the care of his father’s property and the settlement and development of western New York, and was honored and esteemed by the pioneers. In 1794, 1795 and 1796 he was a member of assembly from Ontario County. For five years beginning with 1796 he was a senator of the State of New York, and from December, 1801, till March, 1803, he was a member of Congress—the first representative in Congress from that portion of the State of New York lying west of Seneca Lake. He shared in the financial reverses of his father and in 1804 appointed John Greig his attorney and removed to New York City, where he practiced law until his death in 1848.

“Though Robert Morris desired a speedy settlement of his speculations with the Hollanders, it was not until 1796 that he

asked President Washington to order a treaty and appoint a commissioner to represent the United States. The delay in the application was very creditable, for it was due entirely to motives of public consideration. Morris' letter was as follows:

“ ‘Philadelphia, August 25, 1796.

“ ‘Sir—In the year 1791 I purchased from the state of Massachusetts a tract of country lying within the boundaries of the state of New York, which had been ceded by the latter to the former state under the sanction and with the concurrence of the congress of the United States. This tract of land is bounded to the east by the Genesee River, to the north by Lake Ontario, to the west partly by Lake Erie and partly by the boundary line of the Pennsylvania triangle, and to the south by the north boundary line of the state of Pennsylvania. A printed brief of the title I take the liberty to transmit herewith. To perfect this title it is necessary to purchase of the Seneca nation of Indians their native right, which I should have done soon after the purchase was made of the state of Massachusetts, but that I felt myself restrained from doing so by motives of public consideration. The war between the western Indian nations and the United States did not extend to the Six Nations, of which the Seneca nation is one; and as I apprehended that, if this nation should sell its right during the existence of that war, they might the more readily be induced to join the enemies of our country, I was determined not to make the purchase whilst that war lasted.

“ ‘When peace was made with the Indian nations I turned my thoughts towards the purchase, which is to me an object very interesting; but upon it being represented that a little longer patience, until the western posts should be delivered up by the British government, might be public utility, I concluded to wait for that event also, which is now happily accomplished, and there seems no obstacle to restrain me from making the purchase, especially as I have reason to believe the Indians are desirous to make the sale.

“ ‘The delays which have already taken place and that arose solely from the considerations above mentioned have been extremely detrimental to my private affairs; but, still being desirous to comply with formalities prescribed by certain laws of the United States, although those laws probably do not reach my case, I now make application to the President of the United States

and request that he will nominate and appoint a commissioner to be present and preside at a treaty, which he will be pleased to authorize to be held with the Seneca nation, for the purpose of enabling me to make a purchase in conformity with the formalities required by law, of the tract of country for which I have already paid a very large sum of money. My right to preemption is unequivocal, and the land is become so necessary to the growing population and surrounding settlements that it is with difficulty that the white people can be restrained from squatterings or settling down upon these lands, which if they should do, it may probably bring on contentions with the Six Nations. This will be prevented by a timely, fair, and honorable purchase.

“This proposed treaty ought to be held immediately before the hunting season or another year will be lost, as the Indians cannot be collected during that season. The loss of another year, under the payments thus made for these lands, would be ruinous to my affairs; and as I have paid so great deference to public considerations whilst they did exist, I expect and hope that my request will be readily granted now, when there can be no cause for delay, especially if the Indians are willing to sell, which will be tested by the offer to buy.

“With the most perfect esteem and respect, I am, sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

“Robert Morris.

“George Washington, Esq., President of the United States.’

“President Washington appointed a member of Congress from New Jersey, named Isaac Smith, as the commissioner. But having been subsequently appointed judge of the supreme court of his state, Mr. Smith found that his judicial duties would prevent his attendance at the treaty; accordingly he declined, and Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, who had been a distinguished member of Congress from Connecticut, was appointed in his place.

“Unable himself to take part in the treaty, Robert Morris appointed his son Thomas and Charles Williamson as his attorneys; but Captain Williamson, busy with his affairs at Bath, declined to act, and so the responsibility for conducting the difficult and delicate negotiations fell entirely upon the younger Morris.

“It was resolved to hold the treaty at Big Tree, near the settlement which afterward became Geneseo.

“In meadow lands within the corporate limits of the village of

Geneseo, southwest from the park, about a quarter of a mile above the Erie railroad and about the same distance west of the Mt. Morris road, is a cobblestone house; on the site of this building there stood, 100 years ago, a small dwelling erected by William and James Wadsworth. This was rented by Thomas Morris for the entertainment of the principal persons at the treaty. He also caused a large council house to be erected, covered with boughs and branches of trees. Doty's History of Livingston County says that the Indian village of Big Tree was west of the Genesee River and that the big tree itself stood on the eastern bank. Some Geneseo antiquarians of today declare that the village was east of the Genesee. Both are correct, the explanation being that the village was moved. At the time of the treaty, however, the village was west of the Genesee. It not only appears so on the first map of the region made from actual surveys, but the treaty as agreed upon declared that the reservation of Big Tree should embrace the village, and Ellicott's map of 1804 shows the reservation to be west of the river. In 1805 the village was moved and on the map showing the Phelps and Gorham Purchase in 1806 Big Tree village appears east of the Genesee. The probability is that the council house was erected on the eastern bank and Charles Jones, who derived his information from his father, Horatio Jones, who attended the treaty and took a prominent part in the negotiations, thinks it stood 500 feet northwest of the Wadsworth dwelling.

"The Indians began to arrive at Big Tree late in August, not the Senecas alone, but groups from the other nations—attracted, doubtless, by the hope of presents and the possibility of good living. Fifty-two Indians signed the treaty. Many of them were famous in Indian annals. Young King, Chief Warrior, Handsome Lake, the Prophet, Farmer's Brother, Red Jacket, Little Billy, Pollard, the Infant, Cornplanter, Destroy Town, Little Beard, Black Snake—these were the leaders of the Senecas at Big Tree, interesting men all of them. Time will not permit me to give biographies. It seems necessary, however, to explain that there were two Indians known to the whites as Big Tree.

"Ga-on-dah-go-waah, called sometimes Big Tree and sometimes Great Tree, was a full-blooded Seneca of the Hawk clan and resided for many years at Big Tree village. He attended the Buffalo treaty of July 8, 1788, when Phelps and Gorham made

their purchase, and went to Philadelphia in the winter of 1790 with Cornplanter and Half Town to protest against what they regarded an unjust treatment from Phelps and his associates. He was there again with Red Jacket in 1792 and died in that city in April of that year. Consequently he did not attend the Big Tree treaty. This chief's daughter had a son whose father was a Niagara trader named Pollard. The boy grew up in the Indian village and became in time a famous chief. His name was Ga-on-do-wau-na, which also meant Big Tree. He made himself conspicuous in border warfare and was at the massacre of Wyoming. He it was who signed the Big Tree treaty. As an orator he was but little inferior to Red Jacket and his character was finer. After the death of Cornplanter he was, perhaps, the noblest of the Senecas. He was among the first Indians on the Buffalo Creek reservation to embrace the truths of Christianity and thereafter his life was singularly blameless and beneficent. He was sometimes called Colonel John Pollard. He died on the reservation April 10, 1841, and was buried in the old Mission cemetery.

"Thomas Morris reached the Genesee on August 22d. The commissioners arrived four days later, Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth to represent the United States and General William Shepherd to represent the commonwealth of Massachusetts. Captain Israel Chapin, who had succeeded his father, General Israel Chapin, as superintendent of Indian affairs, attended; James Rees, subsequently of Geneva, was there and acted as secretary, and among other white men who attended, and were greatly interested in the negotiations, were William Bayard of New York, the agent of the Holland Land Company; two young gentlemen from Holland named Van Staphorst, near relatives of the Van Staphorst who was one of the principal members of the Holland Company; Nathaniel W. Howell, Jasper Parrish, and Horatio Jones.

"Turner's two histories, Stone's Life of Red Jacket, and Doty's History of Livingston County, contain accounts of the treaty of Big Tree which are practically the same, for they were based upon the careful, but not in all respects, accurate statement which Thomas Morris prepared in 1844 for the use of our local historians. But while I have condensed this narrative greatly in some respects, I have supplemented and corrected it, with the aid of

several documents, of considerable historical importance, which have been carefully preserved for nearly a hundred years.

“Through the kindness of the New York Historical Society I have been able to procure a copy of Robert Morris’ Letter of Instructions to Thomas Morris and Charles Williamson, his agents, for the management of the treaty, and also a copy of Thomas Morris’ Rough Memoranda of the proceedings at the treaty. Both are unpublished manuscripts. The letter shows what Robert Morris wanted done and how his agents were to go about it. The memoranda are valuable because they contain copies of all the principal speeches delivered at the treaty. These documents are very long and the reading of them would occupy too much of your time. I will give a condensation of the Letter of Instructions.

“This is dated Philadelphia, August 1, 1797. Robert Morris says he has not the interest in the lands that he ought to have retained, but is in duty bound to extinguish the Indian title. Then follow instructions under twenty-four heads. He thinks the business of the treaty may be facilitated by withholding liquor from the Indians, ‘until the business is finished, showing and promising it to them when the treaty is over.’ He adds that the liquors and stores he sends up ‘must be used and if not sufficient more must be got.’ The commissioners and other white men at the treaty must be entertained properly, and Mr. Morris insisted that Jones, Smith, Johnson, Dean, and Parrish must be employed to assist in the negotiations, and that they should be ‘compensated with a reasonable liberality.’ Mr. Morris thought an annuity of \$4,000 or \$5,000 forever would be a sufficient price for the land he desired; but he added that if the Indians wanted the full purchase price in cash he would pay \$75,000 within sixty or ninety days. He said: ‘The whole cost and charges of this treaty being at my expense, you will direct everything upon the principles of a liberal economy. The Indians must have plenty of food, and also liquor, when you see proper to order it to them.’ Concluding his voluminous instructions, Robert Morris said: ‘You are to consider what I have already written, rather as outlines for your conduct on this business than as positive orders not to be departed from. I have perfect confidence in your friendship, and also in your integrity, good sense and discretion, and therefore I confide to your management the whole of this business without limitation

or restriction. . . . If you can make the purchase on better terms than I have proposed I am sure you will do it, or on the contrary, should you be obliged to give more, I shall acquiesce. You know it is high time this purchase should be made, and it is of vast importance to all concerned to have it accomplished, therefore you must effect it at all events, and I can only repeat that although I wish to buy as reasonable as may be, yet I do not mean to starve the cause, for I must have it.'

"The council was formally opened at 1 o'clock on the afternoon of August 28, 1797. Cornplanter spoke first. Turning to Thomas Morris, he acknowledged the speech of invitation conveyed by Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones, and returned the string of wampum that had reached him with the invitation to the treaty. Then the commissioners from the United States and Massachusetts presented their credentials and addressed the assembly, assuring the Indians that their interests would be duly guarded and that no injustice would be done. Thomas Morris then made a short address, saying that his father was unable to appear, but had directed the delivery of the following speech which he had written to them from Philadelphia (and which is now made public for the first time) :

" 'Brothers of the Seneca Nation—It was my wish and my intention to have come into your country and to have met you at this treaty, but the Great Spirit has ordained otherwise and I cannot go. I grow old and corpulent, and not very well, and am fearful of traveling so far during the hot weather in the month of August.

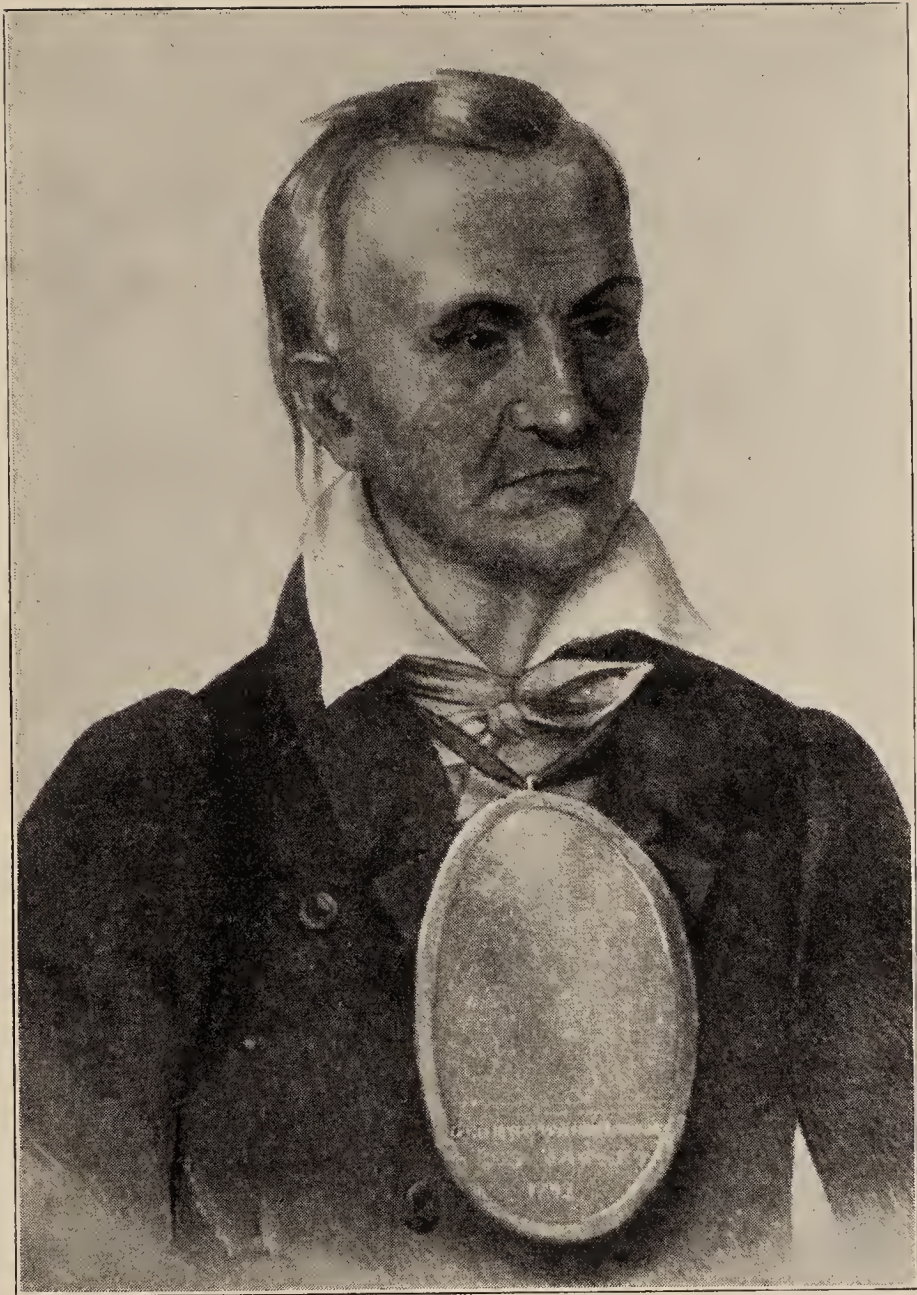
" 'Brothers, as I cannot be with you at the treaty, I have deputed and appointed my son Thomas Morris Esq., and my friend Charles Williamson Esq., to appear for me and on my behalf to speak and treat with you in the same manner and to the same effect as I might or could do were I present at this treaty with you, and it is my request that you will listen to them with the same attention that you would to me.

" 'Brothers, I have the greatest love and esteem for my son and my friend. They possess my entire confidence and whatever they engage for on my behalf you may depend that I will perform the same as exactly as if I was there and made the engagements with you myself; therefore I pray you to listen to them and believe in what they say.

“ ‘Brothers, it is now six years since I have been invested with the exclusive right to acquire your lands. During the whole of this time you have quietly possessed them without being importuned by me to sell them, but I now think that it is time for them to be productive to you. It is with a view to render them so that I have acquiesced in your desire to meet you at the Genesee River. I shall take care immediately to deposit in the bank of the United States whatever my son and my friend may agree to pay you in my behalf.

“ ‘Brothers, from the personal acquaintance which I have with your chiefs and head men, I am assured that their wisdom and integrity will direct the object of the treaty to the happiness of yourselves and your posterity. It is a pleasing circumstance to me that my business is to be transacted with such men, because while on the one hand they will take care of your interests, on the other, whatever is done between them and me will be strong and binding. I hope that wise men will always be at the head of your councils but for fear that those who succeed your present leading men should not deserve and possess your confidence as fully as these do, you had better have your business so fixed now as not to leave it in the power of wrong-headed men in future to waste the property given to you by the Great Spirit for the use of yourselves and your posterity.

“ ‘Brothers, I have now opened my mind to you, and as I depend on my son and my friend to carry on and conclude the business with you I shall only add that the President of the United States, approving of this treaty and being your father and friend, has appointed an honorable and worthy gentleman, formerly a member of congress, the Hon. Jeremiah Wadsworth, Esq., to be a commissioner on behalf of the United States to attend and superintend this treaty, and the governor of the state of Massachusetts also appointed an honorable and worthy gentleman, formerly a general in the American army and now a member of congress, the Hon. William Shepherd, Esq., to be a commissioner to attend this treaty on behalf of the state of Massachusetts. These gentlemen will attend to what is said and done on both sides in order to see that mutual fair dealings and justice shall take place. Their office and duty will be rendered agreeable so far as depends on me because I desire nothing but fair, open, and honest transactions.



(Courtesy of Ontario County Historical Society.)

RED JACKET, A SENECA WAR CHIEF. •

“ ‘Brothers, I bid you farewell. May the Great Spirit ever befriend and protect you.’

“After the delivery of this shrewdly written speech, the council adjourned to give the Indians time to deliberate. There was a brief session the next day, when Red Jacket declared that something had been kept back, and asked for full particulars. On the following day Thomas Morris delivered a long and carefully prepared speech, setting forth the reasons why, in his opinion, the Indians should sell their lands. Among other things, he said: ‘You will receive a larger sum of money than has ever yet been paid to you for your lands; this money can be so disposed of that not only you but your children and your children’s children can derive from it a lasting benefit. It can be placed in the bank of the United States from whence a sufficient income can annually be drawn by the President, your father, to make you and your posterity happy forever. Then the wants of your old and poor can be supplied and in times of scarcity the women and children of your nation can be fed and you will no longer experience the miseries resulting from nakedness and want. . . . Your white brethren are willing to provide you with the things which they enjoy provided you furnish them with the room which they want and of which you have too much. Brothers, you may perhaps suppose that by selling your lands you will do an injury to your posterity. This, brothers, is not the case. By disposing of the money which you will receive for them in the manner which I have mentioned, your children will always hereafter be as rich as you are now.’ Concluding, Mr. Morris said that if the Indians declined his offer ‘neither my father nor any person in his behalf will ever come forward and treat with you on the generous terms now proposed.’

“It will be observed that Mr. Morris did not say that his father had already sold the lands to the Hollanders and was required to extinguish the Indian title, and that he would be compelled to negotiate again if the Indians refused now. Mr. Morris also refrained from naming the price he was willing to pay.

“On August 30th and September 1st there was no public council. On September 2d brief speeches were made by Farmer’s Brother and Red Jacket, which were not at all friendly. In the evening Thomas Morris announced privately to some of the

chiefs that he was willing to pay \$100,000, to be invested so as to yield the Indians \$6,000 a year. On the following day Red Jacket made an elaborate speech, setting forth the objections to the sale of the lands. Mr. Morris then publicly named the price he was willing to pay, and declared that if this were refused his father would never again meet the Senecas in general council—which, of course, was a decided stretching of the truth. On September 4th Cornplanter complained that the sachems were conducting the whole business themselves, and threatened to go home. It was evident that there were serious divisions among the Indians. Indeed, a quarrel at this session was narrowly averted. There was no meeting on the 5th. Mr. Bayard and the two commissioners, becoming impatient, urged Mr. Morris to make vigorous action. He protested that he knew better than they the peculiarities of the Indian character; they insisted, and Mr. Morris, yielding reluctantly, gave at the next session an emphatic negative to a proposition by the chiefs, declaring that if they had nothing to offer, the council might as well end. Red Jacket immediately sprang to his feet and exclaimed: 'You have now arrived at the point to which I wish to bring you. You told us in your first address that even in the event of our not agreeing, we would part friends. Here, then, is my hand. I now cover up the council fire.' Apparently this ended the council. The decision of the chiefs was received with great applause and the forest rang with savage yells. The commissioners and Mr. Bayard, seeing the unfortunate result of their interference, urged Mr. Morris to endeavor to rekindle the council fire, and promised that if he succeeded they would offer no further suggestions.

"Meeting Farmer's Brother, Mr. Morris declared that according to Indian usage only he who had kindled a council fire had the right to put it out; consequently Red Jacket had exceeded his authority, and 'the fire was still burning.' This having been admitted, and a very important point having been gained, Mr. Morris called the Seneca women together, distributed handsome presents and argued with them in favor of the sale of the lands. It was one of the features of the Indian policy that the lands belonged to the warriors who defended them and the women who tilled them, and though the sachems usually negotiated the treaties the warriors and women had the right, when the sale of land was in question, to interfere. In this instance the women exercised



(Courtesy of Ontario County Historical Society.)

REPLICA OF WASHINGTON MEDAL, 1792,
Popularly known as the Red Jacket Medal.

their right, and the council reassembled. Then Cornplanter conducted the Indian side of the negotiations, Red Jacket having been superseded.

"Within a short time an agreement was reached and the Indian lands west of the Genesee, excepting ten reservations embracing 337 square miles, were sold to Robert Morris for \$100,000 to be invested in the stock of the bank of the United States and held in the name of the President for the benefit of the Indians. The Treaty was signed on September 15, 1797. The lands sold were described as follows:

" 'All that certain tract of land, except as hereinafter excepted, lying within the county of Ontario and state of New York, being part of a tract of land, the right of preemption whereof was ceded by the state of New York to the commonwealth of Massachusetts, by deed of cession executed at Hartford, on the sixteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, being all such part thereof as is not included in the Indian purchase made by Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, and bounded as follows, to-wit: easterly, by the land confirmed to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham by the legislature of the commonwealth of Massachusetts by an act passed the twenty-first day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight; southerly, by the north boundary line of the state of Pennsylvania; westerly, partly by a tract of land, part of the land ceded by the state of Massachusetts to the United States, and by them sold to Pennsylvania, being a right angled triangle, whose hypotenuse is in or along the shore of Lake Erie; partly by Lake Erie, from the northern point of that triangle to the southern bounds of a tract of land one mile in width lying on and along the east side of the strait of Niagara, and partly by the said tract to Lake Ontario; and on the north by the boundary line between the United States and the king of Great Britain; excepting nevertheless, and always reserving out of this grant and conveyance, all such pieces or parcels of the aforesaid tract, and such privileges thereunto belonging, as are next hereinafter particularly mentioned, which said pieces or parcels of land so excepted, are by the parties to these presents, clearly and fully understood to remain the property of the said parties of the first part, in as full and ample manner as if these presents had not been executed.'

“The following were the reservations as agreed upon: Cattaraugus reservation, containing 26,880 acres in the counties of Chautauqua and Erie; Allegany reservation in Cattaraugus County, containing forty-two square miles; Buffalo Creek reservation in Erie County, containing 130 square miles; Tonawanda reservation in the counties of Erie, Genesee and Niagara, containing seventy-one square miles; Conawaugus reservation, two square miles; Big Tree reservation, two square miles; Little Beard’s reservation, two square miles; Squakie Hill reservation, two square miles, Gardeau reservation, twenty-eight square miles; Caneadea reservation, sixteen square miles; in all 337 square miles.

“The Senecas also intended to reserve the Oil Spring reservation, one mile square, containing their famous oil spring, three miles west of Cuba in the counties of Allegany and Cattaraugus, from which oil had been gathered for centuries. As it was not included in the deed, the title passed to Robert Morris and the Holland Land Company, and then to three extensive land owners at Ellicottville. These men supposed it was an Indian reservation, and treated it as such until 1842, when one of them discovered that it was not one of the reservations mentioned in the treaty. Accordingly they had the land surveyed and sold. In 1856 the Indians began legal proceedings and ultimately succeeded in getting possession of the property. Governor Blacksnake supplied the most important evidence on the trial of the suit. He was present at the council at Big Tree and remembered that when the treaty was read over the omission of the Oil Spring reservation was noticed and commented upon, and that Thomas Morris executed and delivered to Handsome Lake, the Prophet, a separate paper, reserving this tract to the Indians. Blacksnake also had in his possession a copy of the first map of the Holland Purchase made by Joseph Ellicott and presented by him, this map showing by means of red ink the eleven Indian reservations.

“There were two incidents at the Treaty of Big Tree that deserve more than passing notice—one as to the purchase money and the second in regard to the claim which was made by Indian Allan’s daughter to the Mt. Morris tract.

“The consideration for the sale of the Indian lands to Robert Morris was \$100,000 to be invested in the stock of the bank of the United States, and the stock was to be held by the President

for the benefit of the Indians. They were to receive interest or dividends on the stock, and it was very difficult for the white men to make the Indians understand how money could make money—or, as they expressed it, how money could grow. This was accomplished at length, however, and the Indians went away satisfied that Washington would guard their interests securely and that all would be well. Everything did go well till 1811, when there was a failure on the part of the government to pay. Then the anxious Indians held a council at Buffalo Creek and Farmer's Brother, Young King, Pollard, Chief Warrior, and other Seneca chiefs agreed upon the following letter, which was sent to the seat of Federal government by special messenger:

“ ‘To the Honorable William Eustis, Secretary of War:

“ ‘The sachems and chief warriors of the Seneca nation of Indians understanding you are the person appointed by the great council of your nation to manage and conduct the affairs of the several nations of Indians with whom you are at peace and on terms of friendship, come, at this time, as children to a father, to lay before you the trouble which we have on our minds.

“ ‘Brother, we do not think it best to multiply words; we will therefore tell you what our complaint is. Brother, listen to what we say: Some years since we held a treaty at Big Tree, near the Genesee River. This treaty was called by our great father, the President of the United States. He sent an agent, Colonel Wadsworth, to attend this treaty for the purpose of advising us in the business and seeing that we had justice done us. At this treaty we sold to Robert Morris the greatest part of our country. The sum he gave us was \$100,000. The commissioners who were appointed on your part advised us to place this money in the hands of our great father, the President of the United States. He told us our father loved his red children and would take care of our money, and plant it in a field where it would bear seed forever, as long as trees grow, or waters run. Our money has heretofore been of great service to us. It has helped to support our old people and our women and children; but we are told the field where our money was planted is become barren. Brother, we do not understand your way of doing business. The thing is very heavy on our minds. We mean to hold our white brethren of the United States by the hand; but this weight lies heavy. We hope you will remove it. We have heard of the bad conduct

of our brothers toward the setting sun. We are sorry for what they have done; but you must not blame us. We had no hand in this bad business. They have had bad people among them. It is your enemies have done this. We have persuaded our agent to take this talk to your great council. He knows our situation and will speak our minds.'

"Immediately upon the receipt of this letter at Washington \$8,000 was appropriated and the Indians once more received their money. This \$8,000 was 'in lieu of the dividend on the bank shares held by the President of the United States, in trust for the Seneca nation, in the bank of the United States.'

"There was something decidedly queer about the sale of the Allan lands. Ebenezer Allan had two half-breed daughters, Mary and Chloe, and on July 15, 1791, the Seneca sachems deeded to the girls a tract of land four miles square at what is now Mt. Morris. The deed declared that this land was to be in full of their share of all the lands belonging to the Seneca nation. This deed was executed at the treaty of Newtown; it was approved by Timothy Pickering, United States commissioner; and it was recorded in the county clerk's office at Canandaigua. The following is an extract from the deed:

" 'Whereas, our said brother, Jen-uh-sheo, the father of the said Mary and Chloe, has expressed to us a desire to have the share of the Seneca lands to which the said Mary and Chloe (whom we consider our children) are entitled to have, set off to them in severalty, that they may enjoy the same as their separate portions; now, know ye, that we, the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Seneca nation, in the name and by the authority of our whole nation, whom according to our ancient customs in like cases we represent, and in consideration of the rights of the said Mary and Chloe, as children and members of the Seneca nation, and of our love and affection for them, do hereby set off and assign to them, the said Mary and Chloe, and to their heirs and assigns, a tract of land, on part of which the said Jen-uh-sheo, our brother, now dwells upon the waters of the Jenuhsheo River in the county of Ontario, in the state of New York, bounded as follows: Beginning at an elm tree standing in the forks of the Jen-uh-sheo River (the boundary between our lands and the lands we sold to Oliver Phelps and Mr. Gorham), and running from thence due south four miles, thence due west four miles, thence due

north four miles, and thence due east four miles, until the line strikes the said elm tree, with the appurtenances. To have and to hold the said tract of land, with the appurtenances, to them, the said Mary Allen and Chloe Allen, and to their heirs and assigns, as tenants in common, to their use forever.'

"When he heard of this transaction, Secretary of War Knox became greatly excited. He thought Pickering had blundered, he called Washington's attention to the matter, and by direction of the President wrote to Governor Clinton of New York, and expressly disavowed the claim, which he supposed was implied by Pickering's action that the Indians could 'Alienate' their lands under the supervision of the United States and without consulting New York and Massachusetts. But it was not Pickering but the secretary himself who blundered, and his mistake was due to his ignorance of the Indian laws of descent. When Knox called Pickering to account, the latter replied as follows:

" 'It appeared to be understood by the Senecas that Messrs. Morris and Ogden, as the grantees of Massachusetts, had the right of preemption of all their lands. But at the same time there existed nothing to bar a division of their whole country among themselves; and if they could divide the whole, they could certainly set off a part to two individuals of their nation as their share. This was the object of their deed to Allan's children, whom they called their children, agreeably to the rule of descent among them, which is in the female line; and in this deed the land assigned is declared to be in full of those two children's share of the whole Seneca country. Here was the ground of my ratification. Now, you will be pleased to recollect that before the matter was opened in council I had repeated the law of the United States relative to Indian lands and the solemn declaration of the President last winter to the Cornplanter that they (the Indians) had the right to sell, or refuse to sell, their lands, and that in respect to their lands, they might depend upon the protection of the United States, so that on this head, they had now no cause for jealousy or discontent. This being by them well understood, I saw no way of avoiding the ratification of the assignment to their two children, without reviving, or rather exciting their utmost jealousy, as it would have been denying the free enjoyment of their own lands by some members of the nation, according to the will of the nation; and a denial, I was appre-

hensive, would lead them to think that the solemn assurance of the President was made but to amuse and deceive. Here you see my great inducement to the ratification.'

"This, of course, was conclusive and Secretary Knox had nothing more to say on the subject.

"With the Indian deed to his daughters in his possession Ebenezer Allan went to Philadelphia and sold the land to Robert Morris for dry goods and trinkets, and returned with these articles to what is now Mt. Morris and began to trade with the Indians.

"At the treaty of Big Tree four years later one of Allan's daughters appeared and denied the right of the Indians to sell the Mt. Morris tract. Thomas Morris replied that his father had already paid Allan for the land and was now paying the nation for it again. The girl denied it, and appealed to one of the commissioners, who replied that she had had bad advisers.

"The first edition of Seaver's *Life of Mary Jemison* was published in 1824 by James D. Bemis of Canandaigua. This little volume is now among the scarcest of American books. It contains some statements not to be found in later editions. Among them is this, from the lips of the White Woman:

"'At the great treaty of Big Tree one of Allan's daughters claimed the land which he had sold to Morris. The claim was examined and decided against her in favor of Ogden, Trumbull and Rogers and others who were creditors of Robert Morris. Allan yet believed that his daughter had an indisputable right to the land in question and got me to go with Mother Farley, a half Indian woman, to assist him, by interceding with Morris for it, and to urge the propriety of her claim. We went to Thomas Morris, and having stated to him our business, he told us plainly that he had no land to give away, and that as the title was good, he never would allow Allan, nor his heirs, one foot, or words to that effect. We returned to Allan the answer we had received, and he, conceiving all further attempts to be useless, went home.'

"When Allan visited him in Philadelphia, Robert Morris knew perfectly well that Allan had no right to sell the land he offered, for it was not deeded to Allan, but to Allan's daughters.

"In Doty's excellent *History of Livingston County* the statement is made that Allan gave Morris a warranty deed, but this

I am convinced, is a mistake. He had no right to give a deed; and as a matter of fact there is no deed or other document on record. If Allan executed a paper of any kind, it was a contract or bill of sale of the improvements.

"I think there can be no doubt that Ebenezer Allan's daughter was deliberately defrauded at the treaty of Big Tree. The white men took advantage of the ignorance of the Indians and forced the claim through. Robert Morris was well pleased with his son's management of this affair, and promised to give him one-half of the sixteen square miles of land. He was unable to keep his promise, however. As to Ebenezer Allan, it is fair to assume that the Bluebeard of the Border knew he had done a discreditable and dishonest thing, for otherwise he would have appeared at the treaty himself and substantiated the statements of his daughter, instead of sending Mary Jemison to plead privately with Thomas Morris.

"In his account of the treaty—the account which all of our historians have adopted—Thomas Morris says as little as possible about the means he used to influence the Indians after Red Jacket had raked up the council fire. He acknowledges that he argued with the warriors and women and distributed presents to the latter, and then says:

" 'For some days the chief women and warriors might be seen scattered about in little knots; after which I received a message informing me that the women and warriors would meet me in council and negotiate with me.'

"It is a fact, however, which I am able to prove, and which is now made public for the first time, that during this interval Thomas Morris and the representatives of the Holland Land Company were secretly bribing the warriors. They not only paid them money, but agreed to give them annuities so long as they lived. And it was by bribery, rather than by argument, that Morris brought about the reopening of the council, and finally secured the consent of the Indians to sell. It is not surprising, therefore, that Morris tells us nothing of this in his statement; and doubtless he was as careful to conceal the bribery from the Indians generally as he was to conceal it from the historians of western New York. I have in my possession copies of some of the original documents, proving beyond question the

truth of my statements. Here, for instance, is a receipt acknowledging the payment of one of the annuities:

“ ‘Received of Messrs. Leroy, Bayard & McEvers and Thomas Morris, Esq., by the hands of Erastus Granger, the sum of two hundred and fifty dollars, being in full for my annuity for the year 1801 due me by agreement with Robert Morris at Big Tree in September, 1797.

his
“ ‘Corn (X) Planter.
mark

“ ‘In the presence of Jasper Parrish.’

“It is clear from this that Cornplanter’s price was \$250 a year so long as he lived, in addition to the cash payment at the treaty. Altogether, therefore, he received about \$10,000 for his share in this transaction. Doubtless Thomas Morris felt that Cornplanter’s services were worth the price, for it was Cornplanter who conducted the negotiations for the Indians after the council fire had been rekindled. Of course he was not the only one who was paid. Young King, the ‘bearer of the smoking brand,’ received an annuity of \$100, or a total of \$3,800. In later years, as he thought of the power he could have wielded at the treaty, it is probable that he marveled at his own moderation. Little Billy was another who sold himself. His price was the same as Young King’s—\$100 a year—and as Little Billy lived until 1834 he received \$3,700. Pollard received \$50 a year, or \$2,200. Even the haughty Red Jacket consented to receive money and drew \$100 a year. And so we might go on, if it were necessary, with these unpleasant details.

“An interesting and unpublished anecdote regarding these annuities is furnished by William C. Bryant, Esq., the scholarly Indianologist of Buffalo. It seems that the annuities were not always paid exactly on time, and the Indians were often worried. Millard Fillmore, subsequently President of the United States, said to Mr. Bryant:

“ ‘I don’t remember seeing Cornplanter but on one occasion. He came to my office on Court Street, soon after my return from Washington, after congress had adjourned. He was a bowed, wrinkled, and decrepit old man. He was attended by two or three younger Indians. He produced a capacious bag, similar in size to an ordinary mail bag, and took out a venerable treaty,

which he explained to me. He said that soon after the treaty was made the annuity was promptly paid—first it came when the tender blades of the corn broke from the mould; then it came when the stalks were as high as a child's knee; next it lingered till the grain was full and filled with milk, and now the stalks are dry and rustling and the Indians are very hungry for their money.'

"Robert Morris himself expected that the Indians would have to be bribed and indeed authorized this procedure. In his letter of instructions he said: 'Annuities of \$20 to \$60 may be given to influential chiefs to the extent of \$250 or \$300 per annum.' And again, 'Some dollars may be promised before the treaty and paid when finished, to the amount of \$500 or \$600, or if necessary \$1,000 to the chiefs.'

"It is to be regretted that the warriors betrayed their people for money, but they were importuned unceasingly by the avaricious, cunning, and unscrupulous whites. All sorts of plausible arguments and entreaties were made, and under the spells of the tempters the red men fell. The Indians were wrong, unquestionably; but how can we censure them severely? Is there no bribery nowadays: Do our representatives, in our boasted civilization, never betray their constituents? Are not charges of corruption pending even now against men who hold high offices of trust and power? Let us, therefore, pass by, with what charity we may, the fault committed by the untutored children of the forest, and condemn those who tempted them.

"On the part of Robert Morris and Thomas Morris his son, the transaction was shameful. They, at least, could measure the breadth and depth of the iniquity, and the fact that they accomplished by the corrupt use of money what they could not accomplish by fair and honorable dealings must not only be admitted, but recorded to their great discredit.

"Though most of the Indians who gathered at Big Tree had participated in the inevitable horrors of border warfare we must judge them with charity. Let us not fall into the error so common among the historians of America, of unduly praising the conduct of the whites and unduly exaggerating the evil passions of the Indians. We must bear in mind that the whites, as well as the Indians, used the scalping knife and applied the torch, and that both committed excesses that both lived to regret. Many

of the Indians who negotiated with Morris were men of high character. They had been brave in war, and they were eloquent and wise in council. They were imbued with feelings of lofty patriotism, and they loved their homes and their families. The greeting of the patient wife at the end of a long and dangerous journey was returned with tenderness and love, and the laughter of the romping children was music in the warrior's ear. It was the Great Spirit who gave to these forest heroes the beans and the corn, the gentle rains of spring, the smiling sun of summer and the golden days of harvest; and in their leafy chapels the Indians offered up their prayers and thanked him for his goodness.

“ ‘Ye say they all have passed away,
That noble race and brave,
That their light canoes have vanish'd
From off the crested wave;
That 'mid the forest where they roam'd
There rings no hunter's shout;
But their name is on your waters,
Ye may not wash it out.

“ ‘Ye say their cone-like cabins,
That cluster'd o'er the vale,
Have fled away like wither'd leaves
Before the autumn's gale;
But their memory liveth on your hills
Their baptism on your shore;
Your everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of yore.' ”



RED JACKET'S CABIN, SOUTH BUFFALO, AND RESIDENCE OF HORATIO JONES,
THE INDIAN INTERPRETER.

CHAPTER XV.

THREE REMARKABLE WOMEN.

By CHARLES F. MILLIKEN.

The names of three women of unique and tragic interest appear prominently in the story of the years just preceding and immediately following the opening to settlement of the so-called Genesee Country, one a half-breed "queen," one a founder of a religious cult and the third a white woman who spent her entire mature life among the Seneca Indians.

The "Queen" was "French Catherine," or Catherine Montour, a daughter, it is believed, of Count Frontenac, by an Indian mother. She was taken when a child into the Seneca country and became the wife of a noted Indian sachem. She is sometimes confounded with her sister, "Queen Esther," the "fiend of Wyoming." She made her home near the head of Seneca Lake, at a place known as Catherine's Town, which was destroyed by Sullivan's army in its punitive expedition into the Seneca country in 1779. Her name was given to one of the towns of Schuyler County, Catherine, and more recently she was honored when the village of Havana in that county changed its name to Montour.

The religious leader referred to was Jemima Wilkinson, who founded a new religious cult, led her little company of worshippers into the "great western wilderness" and in 1790 in what is now Yates County, established a New Jerusalem, where she died in 1819.

The "White Woman" was Mary Jemison, whose life with the Indians spanned events from the time that young George Washington, as aid-de-camp of General Braddock, had his first experience as a soldier, over the period of the succeeding French and Indian wars, the Boston Tea Party, the Declaration of Independence, the war of the Revolution, the establishment of the union of states, and transformation of the western New York wilderness into the home of a numerous and prosperous people.

The first printing of her story, as written by Dr. James Everett Seaver, was done in Canandaigua in 1824, by J. D. Bemis and Co., a famous publishing firm of that day. In 1918, after a lapse of ninety-five years, the latest of twenty-one editions appeared, containing the original text, the notes of successive editors, with a final revision and much supplementary matter prepared by Dr. Charles D. Vail of Geneva. This was published in a handsomely-illustrated and bound volume of 452 pages by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. And now word comes that the last named society is about to publish yet another edition of this classic work, making twenty-two in all. When the Vail revision was published it was called the twentieth, but since then an earlier edition, unlisted before, has turned up, making twenty-two in all, if we include the one now in press.

The intervening editions, printed in Howden, London, New York, Buffalo (2), New York again, and again London (3), bear the impress of four different revisers, Ebenezer Mix, Lewis Henry Morgan, William Prior Letchworth and Dr. Vail.

When Dr. Seaver undertook to write his account of Mary Jemison's life she was about eighty years of age, and he describes her as being very short in stature, considerably under the middle size, and standing tolerably erect, with her head bent forward, apparently from having been for a long time accustomed to carry heavy burdens with a strap placed across her forehead. Some idea of her physical stamina may be gained from the fact that she had "backed," as she said, all the boards used about her house from the mill on the outlet of Silver Lake, a distance of five miles. She spoke English plainly and distinctly with a little of the Irish emphasis. Her memory was good. She had the previous season planted, tended and gathered corn. She pounded her samp, cooked for herself, gathered and chopped wood, fed her cattle and poultry. Her dress was made and worn after the Indian fashion. Her home keeping must have been of rigid simplicity, as the house in which she lived was a one-story structure, only 20 by 26 feet in size. She was the mother of eight children, and, in 1823, at the time her "Life" was written, had thirty-nine grandchildren and fourteen great-grandchildren.

Mary Jemison was the daughter of Thomas and Jane Erwin Jemison, and she was born at sea as they were making the voyage in a sailing vessel from Ireland to establish a new home in



MARY JEMISON, THE "WHITE WOMAN."

Bronze Statue Erected by William Pryor Letchworth at Glen Iris, Letchworth Park. Dedicated September 19, 1910.
Sculptor Henry K. Bush-Brown.

America. That was in 1742 or 1743. Her early years were spent at her parents' farm home located on Marsh Creek, then a frontier settlement in Pennsylvania. All was peace and happiness with the little family until the outbreak of the French and Indian war. Then one pleasant day in the spring of 1758 (not 1755, as Dr. Seaver reports it), as they were engaged in their usual home duties the red terror of that day suddenly descended upon them.

For what immediately followed let us rely on Mary Jemison's own words, as recorded by Dr. Seaver. "Breakfast," she is reported as saying, "was not yet ready, when we were alarmed by the discharge of a number of guns that seemed to be near. Mother and the woman before mentioned almost fainted at the report, and every one trembled with fear. On opening the door, the man and horse lay dead near the house, having just been shot by the Indians. * * * They first secured my father and then rushed into the house, and without the least resistance made prisoners of my mother, Robert, Matthew, Betsey, the woman (a neighbor whose husband was at the time in Washington's army), and her three children, and myself, and then commenced plundering. My two brothers, Thomas and John, being at the barn, escaped and went to Virginia, where my grandfather Erwin then lived. The party that took us consisted of six Indians and four Frenchmen, who immediately commenced plundering as I just observed, and took what they considered most valuable; consisting principally of bread, meal and meat."

Then the plunderers went off in mad haste and Mrs. Jemison relates how in their flight through the forest the children were lashed with a whip to make them keep up. Of their journey all day long without a mouthful of food or a drop of palatable water, of their camp the next night without fire or shelter and of their forced travel the next day we must forego the details. The second night the captives were separated, Mary and one of the neighbor woman's children, a little boy, being led off into a thicket by one of the Indians.

The agony of the parting, which the parents realized was final, and the admonitions of the mother to her daughter not to attempt to escape, not to forget her own name or those of her parents, or the English tongue, or her prayers, are told in feeling words. Without following the story in its dreadful detail, it is

enough to know that, soon after the two children were taken apart, the father and mother, two brothers, the sister and the woman and her two remaining children were all killed and scalped.

Thereafter, though fed and cared for in a kindly manner, the two surviving children suffered days of hardship and fatigue, and were the horrified observers of the Indian's method of cleaning and drying the bloody scalps, which they recognized as being those torn from the heads of their murdered parents.

Finally the party arrived at Fort Duquesne, at the junction of the Monongahela and the Allegheny rivers. Here the two surviving children were separated, the boy being given to the Frenchmen and the little Mary being turned over to two pleasant looking squaws of the Seneca tribe. Thence she was taken down the Ohio River, her tattered garments replaced by Indian attire, and being formally adopted as a sister according to Indian practices by the two squaws, in the place of a brother recently fallen in battle, she was christened Deh-he-wa-mis, which being literally interpreted means "The Two-Falling-Voices," or "Two Females Letting Words Fall," a name the significance of which as applied to this little forlorn orphan it is difficult to fathom. After the season for hunting and harvesting had passed, the Indians with whom Mary's home had been thus made, went up to Fort Pitt which had been captured by the English, and made peace with the victors. Mary confesses that when at this time she saw white people her heart "bounded" to be liberated and to be restored to her friends and her country, but her "sisters" becoming afraid that she might be taken from them, hurried to recross the river, took their bread out of the fire, and fled with her to their home on the Ohio.

After a number of years Mary's sisters gave her in marriage, according to Indian custom, to a Delaware by the name of She-nin-jee, whom she describes as "a noble man, large of stature, elegant in his appearance, generous in his conduct, courageous in war, a friend to peace and a great lover of justice," and, though he was an Indian, she came to love him and he made, she says, "an agreeable husband and a comfortable companion." They lived happily together until after several years, during a trip made to dispose of a store of furs, he was taken sick and died. In the meantime, her Indian brothers had induced her to

accompany them back to their home on a river called Genishau (now called Genesee), where the family to which she belonged, a part of the Seneca tribe of Indians, lived in a village located near the site of the present Geneseo.

Of her journey to her new home, a distance of five or six hundred miles, accomplished in a period of approximately six months principally on foot and partly by canoe and partly on horseback through an almost pathless wilderness, she speaks as follows:

"My clothing was thin and illy calculated to defend me from the continually drenching rains with which I was daily completely wet, and at night, with nothing but my wet blanket to cover me. I had to sleep on the naked ground and generally without a shelter, save such as nature had provided. In addition to all that, I had to carry my child, then about nine months old, every step of the journey on my back or in my arms, and provide for his comfort and prevent his suffering, as far as my poverty of means would admit. Such was the fatigue that I sometimes felt that I thought it impossible for me to go through, and I would almost abandon the idea of even trying to proceed. My brothers were attentive, and at length, as I have stated, we reached our place of destination, in good health, and without having experienced a day's sickness from the time we left Yiskahwana."

The journey ended, she was kindly received by her Indian mother and sisters, for whom she grew to have sincere affection. There came a time a year or so later when she had the opportunity with other captives among the Indians to return to her white friends, but she preferred to remain with the tribe, and when her decision had been confirmed by the chiefs in council, her brother informed those who would have released her that rather than have her taken by force he would kill her with his own hands! But for some reason, perhaps for the ransom money it is said the English had offered for return of captives, the old king of the tribe declared his purpose to take her, willy-nilly, to Fort Niagara.

At this juncture her Indian sister came to her rescue, and sending her and her little son off to hide themselves, arranged to signal the final conclusion of the matter. If it turned out that she was to be killed, her sister was to bake a small cake and lay it at the door on the outside of the cabin. If when all was silent and she had crept to the door and found no cake, she was to

understand that all was well and she was to open the door and go in. If the cake was there Mary was to take her child and flee to a distance. She found the cake and fled as arranged. The king not finding her went to Niagara with the prisoners he had already secured.

When her son Thomas was three or four years old, her first husband being dead, Mary married another Indian, "Hio-ka-too," commonly called Gardeau. Her life for the next few years, like those of the Seneca tribe in general, was uneventful. The Senecas lived in peace for the twelve years that passed between the collapse in 1764 of the conspiracy of Pontiac, in which they were involved, and the war of the Revolution, during the first two years of which they remained neutral, but into which, in 1777, they were finally drawn on the side of the English. During this interval, she says, she and her family lived in contentment. "No people [to quote the narrative] can live more happily than the Indians did in times of peace, before the introduction of spirituous liquors amongst them. Their lives were a continual round of pleasures. Their wants were few and easily satisfied, and their cares were only for today, the bounds of their calculations for future comfort not extending to the incalculable uncertainties of tomorrow." In this connection, Mary testified to the good moral character of the red men among whom her lot was cast, to their fidelity, to their honesty, to their chastity.

But she did not hide the fact that in time of war, when their passions were aroused, they were blood-thirsty and cruel in the extreme. It was following their entry into the war of the Revolution, that they took fiendish part in the massacre at Cherry Valley and in other forays against white settlers. The details of their torture of prisoners, as shown in the case of Lieutenant Thomas Boyd, whom they captured in a skirmish with a detachment of Sullivan's army near Conesus Lake, in 1779, were too shocking and cruel to describe in this connection.

Hio-ka-too, with whom she lived for nearly fifty years and to whom she bore six children, two sons and four daughters, gave her according to Indian customs all the kindness and attention that were her due as his wife. Nevertheless he was a warrior who never showed mercy and did not hesitate to inflict diabolical torture upon prisoners of war. An own cousin to Farmer's



THOMAS JEMISON (SO-SUN-DO-WAAH)
Grandson of Mary Jemison, the White Woman.

Brother, a chief much respected by the whites as well as by the Indians, Hio-ka-too was a brave warrior, skilled in the use of the tomahawk and the scalping knife, and he prided himself on his prowess in battle and on his ingenuity in inventing and relentlessness in carrying out barbarous cruelties. And yet Mary says he was faithful and generous to his friends, uniformly treated her with tenderness and never offered her an insult. In 1811, after four years of sickness with consumption, he died at the great age of 103 years as nearly as the time could be estimated. He was about six feet four inches in height. He boasted of having engaged in no less than seventeen campaigns, four of which were in the Cherokee war, until at last, tired of war, he returned with a great number of scalps to his family on the Genesee.

Following the invasion of the Genesee Country by General Sullivan's army and the destruction of the Indians' means of subsistence, a destruction so complete, Mary Jemison reports, that when the Indians would have returned to their homes they found not a mouthful of any kind of sustenance left, "not even enough to keep a child one day from perishing with hunger," she immediately took two of her little children on her back, bade the other three follow and proceeded to the Gardeau flats on the Genesee River, where she afterwards made her home.

The Gardeau land was well tilled, having been cleared many years before by a people who preceded the Senecas and of whom they knew nothing, except that their bones were sometimes uncovered as the river bank was washed away. Mary found a couple of negroes in possession, and was very glad to assist them in husking their large field of corn, in return for shelter and protection and for a share of the grain. The following winter, that of 1780, was a particularly severe one, the snow falling to a depth of over five feet with weather correspondingly cold, but with the 100 strings, representing about twenty-five bushels of shelled corn she had earned, she was enabled to keep her family "comfortable for samp and cakes."

Following the close of the Revolution Mary Jemison was given another opportunity to go to her white friends, but reluctant to leave her oldest son, Thomas, upon whom she had come to rely, and realizing that her younger Indian children would be despised by her white relatives, if she should be so fortunate as

to find them, she decided to spend the rest of her days with her Indian friends. Through the influence of her Indian brother (Kau-jises-tau-ge-au), the great council held at Big Tree in 1797 conveyed to her the land afterwards known as the Gardeau tract, which included the fertile flats on which she had established her home. Red Jacket opposed her claim with all his eloquence and influence and withheld for two or three years moneys which were her due, but at last Farmer's Brother, supported by Jasper Parrish, then the United States Indian agent, and Captain Horatio Jones, the interpreter, compelled him to pay over the money to its rightful owner.

Her land derived its name, Gardeau, from a hill within its limits known in the Seneca language as Ga-da-o and meaning according to Morgan, "bank in front."

The site of Mary Jemison's home on Gardeau flats is described, in a note in the 1918 edition of her "life," as about five or five miles and a half in an air-line northeast of the middle fall at Letchworth park. It is on the alluvial flat half a mile wide on the left bank of the Genesee River. It is now occupied by a frame dwelling of recent construction, soon to be submerged in a great reservoir. Here she spent the later years of her life—until 1831—in independence, but her days were embittered by the quarrels of her sons, resulting in the killing of Thomas, the oldest, and Jesse, the youngest son, by their brother John, both tragedies being chargeable to whiskey. Five years later her son John, who had become a root and herb doctor in high repute, also met a violent death at the end of a drunken brawl with a couple of Squawkie Hill Indians.

After negotiations which involved action by the state legislature, and when this was found to be without authority, by a council made up of representatives of the United States government and the Seneca Nation, Mary Jemison disposed of her Gardeau lands, comprising 17,927 acres, with the exception of 4,000 acres she reserved for her own use, and a lot she gave to her friend and adviser, Thomas Clute, the purchasers, Henry B. Gibson of Canandaigua, Micah Brooks and Jellis Clute, agreeing to pay her, her heirs or assigns, an annuity of \$300 forever.

In the concluding chapter of her narrative Mary Jemison, looking back over the preceding years, spoke of her life as "a tragical medley" that she hoped would "never be repeated." While

she had several times declined opportunities to regain her freedom, she confessed that her life of slavery had not been without repinings and other bitter dregs. She recognized that the preservation of her life and health had been due to her own excellent constitution, and her careful guarding against unnecessary exposure, and temperance in eating and abstinence from the use of intoxicating liquor.

Referring to the last mentioned subject, it is interesting to note her account of when and how the Indians' use of liquor came about and in what manner it was at first used. She says that when she was taken prisoner, and for some time after that, "spirits," or "rum," was unknown to the Indians. When it was first introduced it was in small quantities. "After the French war, for a number of years, it was the practice of the Indians of our tribe," she said, "to send to Niagara and get two or three kegs of rum (in all six or eight gallons) and hold a frolic as long as it lasted. When the rum was brought to the town, all the Indians collected, and before a drop was drunk, gave all their knives, tomahawks, guns and other instruments of war, to one Indian, whose business it was to bury them in a private place, keep them concealed, and remain perfectly sober himself until the frolic was ended. Having thus divested themselves, they commenced drinking, and continued their frolic till every drop was consumed. If any of them became quarrelsome, or got to fighting, those who were sober enough bound them upon the ground, where they were obliged to lie till they got sober, and then were unbound. When the fumes of the spirits had left the company, the sober Indian returned to each the instruments with which they had intrusted him, and all went home satisfied. A frolic of that kind was held but once a year, and that at the time the Indians quit their hunting and came in with their deer skins."

She relates that the women then never participated in these "frolics," but that soon after the close of the Revolution, spirits became common with the Senecas and were used indiscriminately by both sexes.

The Senecas having sold their lands on the Genesee and removed to the Tonawanda, Buffalo Creek and Cattaraugus reservations, the aged Mary Jemison and her family found themselves surrounded by white people. So she parted with her annuity of \$300 per annum for a commutation in ready money, sold her

remaining two square miles of land, including her "flats," and in 1831 moved to Buffalo Creek, where, having acquired a possessory right to a good farm, she continued to reside among her Indian friends to the end of her long and eventful life.

In the summer of 1833 she seceded from the so-called pagan party of her nation, and under the instruction of the Rev. Asher Wright, the missionary at Buffalo Creek, she embraced the Christian faith. She died on September 19, 1833, at her home on the reservation, aged about ninety-one years.

The interment was made in the mission burial ground near Buffalo, by the grave in which the remains of Red Jacket were first interred, but in 1874 all that remained of the White Woman of the Genesee was removed at the instance of Mr. Letchworth to the neighborhood of her old home on the Genesee River. The removal was made under the eye of her favorite grandson, Dr. Shongo, and the remains were placed in a stone sarcophagus on an eminence in what is now the Letchworth State Park overlooking the upper and middle falls of the Genesee, a picturesque spot near the old council house which had previously been moved from Caneadea, and within which it is believed she rested for the first time after her journey of 600 miles from Ohio. Only a short distance away is the log cabin which she built on the Gardeau flats about the year 1800 for one of her daughters.

Mr. Letchworth in 1910 completed the monument which he had erected to the memory of the White Woman by placing on the marble base a statue of her modeled by the eminent sculptor, H. K. Bush-Brown, after careful study of all possible information regarding her personal appearance and her usual costume. This memorial is pronounced by the former New York State Archeologist, Arthur C. Parker, and others competent to judge, as historically correct, and is highly esteemed by critics for its artistic excellence.

This statue is of bronze, somewhat greater than life size. It represents Deh-he-wa-mis as she is believed to have appeared when she arrived at the Genesee, carrying her babe on her back, Indian fashion, and all her personal belongings in a small bundle in her hand.

Mary Jemison contributed nothing to the history of Genesee Country development, but her life covered a crucial period in that history and its dramatic story illustrates phases of the struggle



MONUMENT ERECTED BY DR. WILLIAM P. LETCHWORTH TO MARY JEMISON AT
LETCWORTH PARK.

that accompanied the passing of the red man and the coming of the white man. Its story, as related by Dr. Seaver, is worthy of the prolonged popularity it has enjoyed among the descendants of those who had part in the adjustment of the tragic relations of the two races at this juncture. But Jemima Wilkinson, "the Universal Friend," is entitled to a place of honor among those who pioneered the Genesee Country.

When in the early summer of 1788 a company of her followers, seeking a location where they could found a New Jerusalem in which to exemplify the religious faith and the social tenets she had inculcated, without interference of intolerant or envious neighbors, settled on the west shore of Seneca Lake, they constituted the first actual bona fide settlers in the Genesee Country. Phelps and Gorham had concluded their purchase, but had not yet set their surveyors at work, and, in a cluster of small buildings at Geneva and in huts here and there, on the Genesee River and on the Niagara, white traders were eking out a precarious living, but all else was Indian.

Jemima Wilkinson, therefore, is entitled to fame both as a pioneer and as a religious leader. As the latter she was the first of a succession of those with whose careers Genesee Country history is connected, including Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, founder and organizer of the Mormon Church; the Fox sisters, founders of the Spiritualistic cult, and a number of others of lesser note.

Jemima Wilkinson was born in the town of Cumberland, county of Providence, Rhode Island, in 1758. Her childhood was uneventful and she grew into a handsome wilfull young woman. In 1775 she became interested in religious meetings conducted by "New Light Baptists" or "Separates," and, after recovering from a deep trance into which she fell, she declared that Jemima Wilkinson had passed to the angel world and that her mortal body, or tabernacle, as she called it, was reanimated by a spirit whose mission was to deliver the oracles of God to mankind. Thereafter to the day of her death at the age of 61 she was unshaken in the belief that she was the Public Universal Friend.

Having made many converts, developing power as a preacher or exhorter, she sought harbor among the Quakers in Philadelphia, and later, resolving to bring her followers together in a community by themselves, she sent out several of her disciples to

locate a place of settlement. Following the track taken by Sullivan's army seven years before, the "scouts," whom the Friend had sent to spy out the land, reached the foot of Seneca Lake and, after proceeding for some miles along the west shore of that body of water, returned to Rhode Island to confirm the accounts she had had regarding the attractiveness of the Genesee Country. The proposed migration, however, was delayed on account of the hostile attitude of the Indians, but in 1788, about twenty-five members of the new society, now established in several communities in New England, set out on the great adventure. In August of that year they had settled themselves at Kashong, west of Seneca Lake. More people joined these pioneers the following year. But the little settlement was soon distracted by divisions among its members.

In 1790 representatives of the Universal Friend acquired title from Phelps and Gorham to a tract of 4,480 acres in what is now Yates County, and in 1794 a considerable part of the little flock, following her lead, separated themselves from the Kashong settlement and removed their abode to the New Jerusalem.

The first building erected at this location was a log meeting house. This was enlarged and improved from time to time, being used as a place of meeting and as the Friend's home. Outside her peculiar religious tenets and assumptions, which were accepted by a large number of sincere and industrious followers, she gained general respect and good will on the part both of whites and Indians. Both in Jerusalem and at Kashong, where many of her followers continued to reside, she maintained a landed as well as a spiritual interest, and there gathered settlers who contributed greatly to the prosperity and growth of the new country.

Efforts to discredit the Friend or to dispossess her of her property were unsuccessful. In June, 1790, after several unsuccessful attempts to place her under arrest for alleged blasphemy, she was summoned to await the action of the circuit court at Canandaigua. The grand jury before which the evidence to support the charge was presented found no indictment and the Friend, fully exonerated, was respectfully invited to preach before the court and the people in attendance. She did so and was listened to with the deepest attention, and the venerable Ambrose Spencer, the presiding judge, on being asked his opinion of the discourse, replied "We have heard good counsel and if we live in harmony with

what that woman has told us we shall be sure to be good people here and reach a final rest in Heaven."

That the Friend's religious faith comprised nothing that was subversive of Christianity or the moral law is indicated by the statement of doctrine that she recommended to be read in public meetings. According to this somewhat discursive statement printed during her lifetime, the Friend advised her followers to "shun at all times the company and conversation of the wicked world," and adjured them to "deal justly with all men and do unto all men as you would be willing they should do unto you and walk orderly that no occasion of stumbling be given by you to any."

Urging her followers "to live peaceably with all men as much as possible" and to abstain from "debate, evil surmisings, jealousies, evil speaking," she asked them to take up their "daily cross against all ungodliness and worldly lusts" and to "live as you would be willing to die," to "shun the very appearance of evil in all things, as foolish talking and vain jesting," to "flee from bad company as from a serpent," and to refrain from excessive use of "wine or any other spirituous liquors." She was particularly anxious that the members of her religious society "be punctual in attending meeting," or "evening sittings," making "as little stir as possible." Assembled in such meetings they were to gather in their "wandering thoughts," "sit down in solemn silence," and not to "speak out vocally," except they be "moved thereunto by the Holy Spirit or that there may be real necessity." "Use plainness of speech and apparel," she advised, among other admonitions, "and let your adorning not be outward but inward." "Deceive not yourself by indulging drowsiness or other mockery, instead of worshipping God and the Lamb."

While the Universal Friend claimed to be in a peculiar sense the representative of the Almighty, it may be said with assurance of truth that she did not, as alleged by her caluminators, claim divine attributes, ability to walk on the water or to work other miracles, or to be exempt from the infirmities common to humanity. She was in her prime a prepossessing woman, dressed in good taste, was well informed, hospitable to all, but especially cordial in her entertainment of people of note, and charitable. She could read and possessed a remarkable knowledge of the Bible, but could not write, as is shown by the fact that she did not affix

her signature to her will, but signed it by her mark. She died at her home in the New Jerusalem on July 7, 1819, aged 61 years.

Stafford C. Cleveland, whose History of Yates County contains the most reliable and fair-minded account of Jemima Wilkinson, gathered at the scene of her ministry in the Genesee Country, and much of it derived from those yet living who had been associated with her, writes:

"Thus terminated the career of one of the most singular and remarkable characters of modern history. She has been treated as an imposter. A conscious imposter she could not have been, for sincerity, earnestness, probity, and undeviating consistency were the conspicuous elements of her character. Her ministry of forty-three years was an unvarying assertion of the same claims, without a lapse or single act or expression that could be construed into an indication that she was actuated by purposes of chicanery. She confronted her fellow beings with counsel and warning in relation to their spiritual interests, with a manner that always impressed serious minds with the highest respect for her devotional sentiments, and the transparent integrity of her convictions. * * * The very name she assumed, Public Universal Friend, indicated a sentiment of broad and generous philanthropy, worthy in this too selfish world of the most profound respect. It may be said that there was ambition and a desire to lead and to rule, mingled with this zeal for the welfare of the human family. All this may be admitted without diminishing the nobility and integrity of her character. If she ruled, it was by virtue of characteristics that made her a ruling mind. * * * Like all real rulers she elected herself and proceeded with her work."

To the society founded by the Universal Friend belongs the credit of being the first permanent settlement in the Genesee Country. In 1788 they sowed twelve acres of wheat, the first grain grown west of Seneca Lake and their grist mill built in 1789 for some years supplied the whole eastern part of Ontario County with flour. A yet earlier mill, the first in the Genesee Country, was erected in 1788 by John and James Markham on a little stream that enters the Genesee a short distance north of Avon. Indian Allen built a mill at Rochester late in 1789, and Oliver Phelps one at Canandaigua in 1791.

The society which Jemima Wilkinson organized and led remained loyal to the end of her life, following which it slowly dis-

integrated, owing perhaps to the rule of celibacy she inculcated. The members embraced people of property and influence and to them is given credit for leading moral God-fearing lives in which brotherly kindness was a particular characteristic.



LOG HOUSE BUILT BY THOMAS JEMISON. NOW STANDING IN THE TOWN OF
LEICESTER, N. Y.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE WAR OF 1812.

BY ARTHUR C. PARKER.

North of the Genesee Country lie two of the Great Lakes, Erie and Ontario. Connecting these inland seas is the Niagara River, whose troubled waters have looked upon many a stormy conflict between contesting tribes and nations of mankind. This line of freshwater seas constitutes a natural boundary line, and it seems as if destiny had decreed that those who live to the north should have no political unity with those who live to the south. The close of the Revolutionary war left the Great Lakes a boundary line between the new nation—the United States—and the upper and lower provinces of Canada, a circumstance that seems almost providential, for it left ample territory for each group of contestants, and provided the means whereby two great divisions of English speaking people might develop amicably, side by side. And yet, the wide expanse of waters was not broad enough to prevent the horrors of warfare when the flames of discord again burned in fury between the mother country and the United States.

Some modern writers are inclined to describe the second war with Great Britain a useless and almost unprovoked conflict. They sometimes appear to blame the United States for engaging in a struggle against a foe that assailed the country and held it up to ridicule. We are even told that, since the ends for which the United States fought were not immediately gained or even recognized in the Treaty of Ghent that followed, the bloodshed was useless and unavailing.

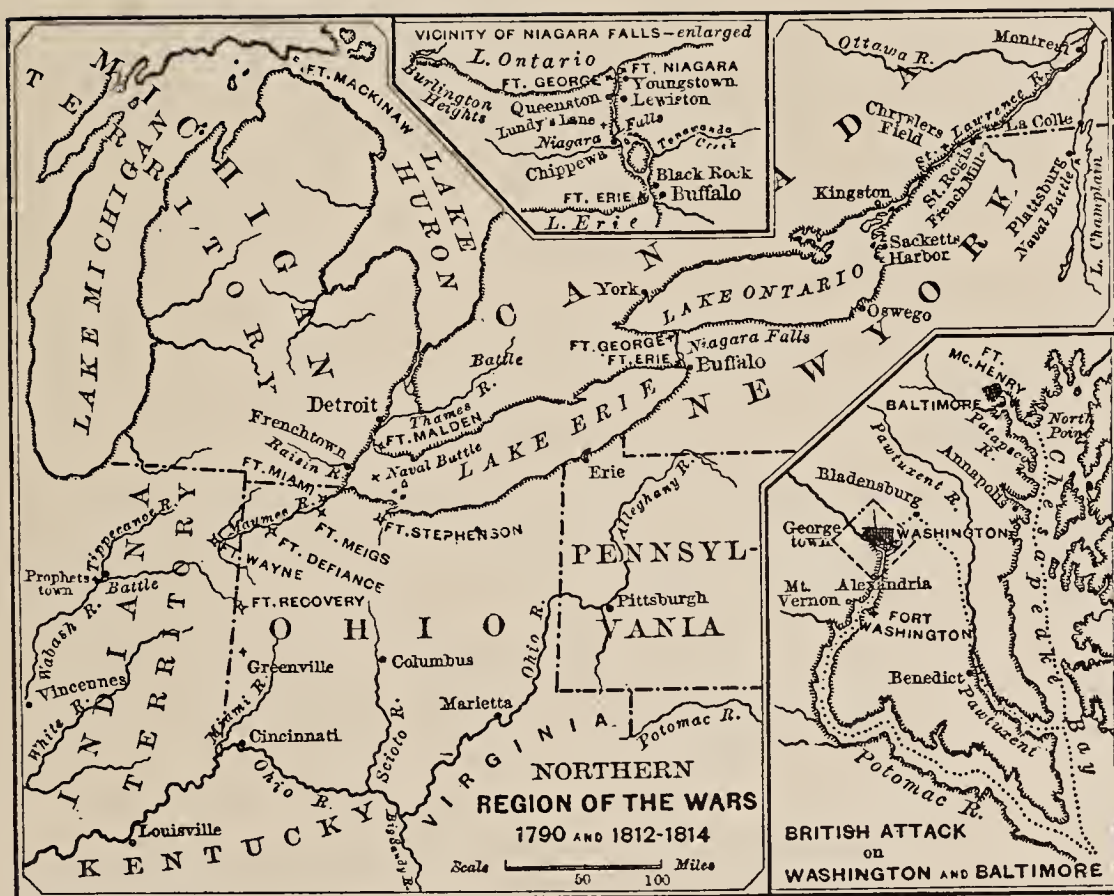
A deep student of history can hardly make such claims. Events must be interpreted in the light of the times in which they transpired, and the motives of men must be construed according to the mental state of the age. The second war with Great Britain was

inevitable, for it was the result of an impingement of lines of diverse purpose. Let us explain this concretely.

The unsettled condition of the United States after the Revolution and its struggle to effect the status of a nationality caused the nations of Europe to look askance. The ideas of nationality and of government promoted by the United States were new and untried. The conception that a nation could be formed from a group of jealous and contesting states, each struggling for its own interests; the idea that a state belonged to the people who composed it, and that these people should govern it of their own volition, were ideas that found no sympathy among the powerful monarchs of Europe. To them the king was the state and the king and his constituted lords of the realm were the rulers; the people were but subjects. The United States had gained its freedom but it had not yet commanded a respect for its independence. England bided the time when the states should break asunder through wars and jealousies, and petition for re-incorporation in the British Empire. Indeed, British agents did all they could to foment trouble and to accentuate differences of opinion. This agitation was even carried on among the hostile Indian tribes of the northwest and these natural enemies were outfitted by the British, who offered scalp bounties for raiding the frontier and spreading death and terror to the pioneers and plainsmen. This condition of affairs culminated in the defeat of the Indians at the battle of Tippecanoe (1811), by General William H. Harrison, the governor of Indiana Territory.

During the administration of Thomas Jefferson, the United States pursued a steady neutrality in her relations between France and Great Britain. Each of these great nations was engaged in a deadly struggle, Napoleon of France asserting that England was attempting to control the seas and all commerce; and England maintaining that France under Napoleon was attempting to dominate the nations of Europe in every respect. Each nation pursued its own course, giving no heed whatever to the rights of neutral nations. More than this, each nation held any other nation that was not on its side in the conflict as its enemy, a condition of affairs that worked hardship on all neutrals.

Great Britain decreed that it had the right to search American ships and to remove from them any sailors or others believed to be British born. Such persons were seized and impressed into



the British navy. This course persisted until more than 25,000 American seamen, native-born and naturalized, were forced into British service. In this there was a clear assertion of several points of power: First, a denial of the right of the United States to maintain the integrity of its shipping; second, the avowal of the right of Great Britain to hold up our ships, board them and, upon the judgment of the boarding officer, to remove men from the American crew; and third, an assertion that the United States had no right to naturalize native-born Britishers or to afford them the protection that naturalization gives. These abuses led to the wanton kidnapping of native-born Americans and their removal to scenes far from their country, their families and friends.

America attempted to hold to neutrality but British ships captured more than 900 American bottoms bound for France, while France seized immense stores of American goods at Antwerp and elsewhere, because they were suspected of being designed for re-shipment to England. To add further embarrassment, France decreed that any nation that allowed her ships to be boarded and searched by the English, was an ally of the English, and hence an enemy of France. Little wonder that America, with her conceptions of freedom and fair play, considered herself seriously threatened by unreasonable foes who seemed bent only upon crushing her. Then came the blockade. France was declared blockaded by England, and Napoleon declared the British Isles under blockade (1806). This meant that no neutral could trade with either, and also that, if these same neutrals did not trade fully and freely with each, the other would declare them enemies!

On the 22d day of June, 1807, the United States frigate *Chesapeake* commanded by Commodore Barron, under orders, sailed out from Hampton Roads. When a few knots off the coast she was hailed by the British warship *Leopard*, and boarded by a British officer representing Vice Admiral Berkley. The American commodore was ordered to muster his crew and to produce three British seamen, who were alleged to have deserted a British ship. As a matter of fact, three American born seamen, who had been captured and impressed upon the British ship *Melampus*, and had escaped, were on board. Commodore Barron refused to give them up, and, upon the return of the boarding officer, the *Chesapeake* was suddenly fired on by the British man-of-war, receiving broadsides for thirty minutes. Three Americans were

killed and eighteen wounded. Commodore Barron struck his colors, was boarded and four of his men were removed. In the excitement that followed the publication of these facts, Commodore Barron was tried for surrendering his frigate and suspended for five years. It was five years before the British made reparations for firing upon the *Chesapeake*, but they would not promise even then to give up the right of search. It is not difficult to understand, it would seem, why liberty-loving America, long suffering as she was, began to find accumulating insults and injuries beyond endurance. It would have been the same with the British, if America had boarded British ships to seize Britishers who had been American born.

Further forbearance on the part of the United States was impossible. It meant an invitation to repeat the insults and acts of disrespect that Great Britain was heaping up. Attempts to bring about an adjustment only met with failure, or drew the answer that the situation would be arranged, if possible, on another basis, which might fully meet the needs of the British Empire. The President, therefore, laid before the committee of foreign relations of congress a recommendation that the United States should be placed in the attitude of defence. Congress responded by voting to enlarge the army to 35,000 men, to provide for an increased navy, and enacted a law making possible the borrowing of eleven million dollars. The revenue was to come from doubled duties and increased taxation (November, 1811).

Enmity was directed principally at Great Britain and British agents, and like a thunder clap came the disclosure that Sir James Craig, governor of Canada, had employed John Henry as a secret agent, sending him to the United States for the purpose of effecting a disunion. Henry was to persuade the leaders of the Federal party that disunion was a measure to be promoted. The specific plan was to cause the secession of New England, and the assertion of its independence as a nation. It was then to become a province dependent upon Great Britain. Henry knew that Americans were dissatisfied with the condition of the country and that there was much criticism leveled at the President. Mistaking the common American characteristic of discussing public affairs on the platform and in print as an indication of disloyalty to the government, Henry proceeded to foment further discord. He did not get

very far once his real purposes were known. His mission was a failure and so was his effort to secure his pay from Great Britain. Henry now turned to the authorities of the United States and laid bare the whole foul scheme. Upon sufficient proof the United States government paid Henry \$50,000. The knowledge of what England was trying to do to a country with which it was at peace was worth the sum, large as it was in those days. On June 18, 1812, war was declared. President Madison had sent a message to congress, in which the events leading up to the crisis were reviewed. It was a notable document, and one which every student of American history should read. Congress responded in a declaration of war, brief and to the point.

Congress and the President had chosen a poor time for war. There was no flaming desire to fight. That desire had been dulled during nine years of insults patiently endured. The spirit of 1776 slumbered and most of the great military leaders of the Revolutionary war were sleeping in honored graves. There were only a few old men at arms, experienced in battle, and thirty years of peace had not bred the fighters that a new nation needs for its protection. True, there were officers of the militia, but many of these had been appointed for political reasons and not because they could plan campaigns of war.

The country, since the days of Jefferson, had been ruled by a policy of strict economy, one which historians are apt to term, "penny wise and pound foolish," for good government can never be cheap. We had no navy worthy of the name and no army, save a nucleus of a few thousand men; in 1808 only 3,000 all told. As a result, we had been insulted, our seamen shanghaied, our peaceful shipping molested, our citizens killed with impunity and our commerce paralyzed. We had not the means of enforcing respect and our national spirit was at low ebb. It was a pitiful situation for the nation which the sacrifice of heroes had brought forth as the land of liberty, opportunity and progress.

It was proposed to form an army of 100,000 men by calling upon the militia of the several states, and to augment this force by accepting 50,000 volunteers. The army was mustered, but it was not of the size contemplated and the soldiers were mostly raw recruits without training or discipline. The navy drew together a more efficient force and, from private ships and government

boats, a navy of ten frigates, ten sloops, and 165 gun boats¹ was formed as the force upon the seas that should oppose and whip the mistress of the seas.²

The country was unprepared for war. It not only had an insufficient army and navy, but there was a spirit of bitter party discord prevailing. New England rang with the bitterest denunciation of the war manifesto. Boston hung its flags at half mast when the news came, and public speakers in legislative halls and in churches rang out their protests. "It is a war unexampled in history," said one New England divine. "Proclaimed on the most frivolous and groundless pretences, let no consideration whatever deter my brethren at all times and in all places, from execrating the present war. Mr. Madison has declared it; let Mr. Madison carry it on."³ Under such influences as these, New England stood against the war and did everything in her power to oppose and harass the administration.⁴ New England, fortunately, did not command the following of the heart of the country, and the middle Atlantic states, the south and the great northwest awakened and shouldered arms.

The country looked itself over. The seat of the enemy was across the Atlantic but her frigates swarmed the sea, commanding all sea-coasts. Where should America strike to cripple the foe? Where would the foe strike to injure America? Military strategists on both sides of the line looked toward the Great Lakes and toward Champlain. These waterways were open for the fray. The contest should rage between the Canadian provinces, British-owned, and the United States. There were few places that might be assailed by land forces, and yet these few were of large importance in the New World. America, therefore, prepared to strike Canada, ere Great Britain with her Canadian legions should invade America.

As the first military step, the President appointed Henry Dearborn commander-in-chief. Dearborn was an elderly man,

¹ There is some variance in the statistics of authorities but these figures are approximately right.

² The naval force of Great Britain, according to Cooper's *Nautical History*, contained 1,060 sail, of which between 700 and 800 were efficient cruising vessels. Of these all that were necessary might be sent against the United States, which country, Cooper says, had but 17 ocean cruising vessels, only nine of which were of the frigate class.

³ *History of the United States*, Buchanan, 154.

⁴ *Ibid.* 154. *Vide*, *History of the Hartford Convention*, 269.

had long been a political favorite and was a veteran officer of the Revolution. His residence was in Massachusetts and his appointment was expected to swing that hostile and wavering state into line, but the expectation was not realized. His appointment was typical, and leads to the reflection that war is not won by men who have political reputations and look well in gold lace, but by trained fighters who know and can teach the art of war, and who can then wage it.

This truth was ignored and as one writer has lately described the state of affairs “* * * a lot of fossilized old gentlemen having some long by-gone and obsolete military experience, more on dress parade than on gory fields, were made generals, and assigned to important commands.”⁵ James Wilkinson, of the “Conway Cabal” connection, next called to the front, is described as a decaying veteran with a smirched reputation. James Armstrong, who wrote the infamous “Newburg Letter” to the army, was appointed secretary of war and a major-general. Though Armstrong and Wilkinson had been Revolutionary comrades and were now cronies in Washington, they soon grew to despise each other, when the plans of the Canadian invasion drawn up by each were compared.

Wade Hampton, a fiery warrior from South Carolina, was appointed under Wilkinson as second in command. Hating Wilkinson and distrusting him, he spared no words of scorn in expressing his opinion to the secretary of war. Imperious and haughty, a financier and slave owner, he would brook no orders from those he deemed incompetent.

Governor William Hull, of Michigan Territory, received a general's commission and was charged with a most important mission. He was another soldier whose qualifications were more political than military, but, worse than this, he was vacillating and without a soldier's courage. Other leaders were Stephen Van Rensselaer, the patroon of Albany and Rensselaer; William Wadsworth of the Genesee Country and Peter B. Porter of the Niagara region. George McClure was aided by Jacob Brown and George Izard, men who became as famous for their ability as their leader was execrated for his incapacity. One of Izard's lieutenant-colonels was Winfield Scott, destined to fame of the first magnitude.

⁵ Near, Irving W., Vol. III, New York Historical Society, p. 94.

His first post was at Black Rock in charge of the navy yard there. The Genesee Country was, through its men and its location, to play an important part in the events which grew out of the condition of affairs described. We shall see.

The army headquarters were established at Greenbush, a settlement on the Hudson opposite Albany. Here General Dearborn, commander-in-chief, had his base in a safe and comfortable location.

General William Hull was stationed in the northwest, the first post being at Dayton, Ohio, where the army of invasion was mustered. Traversing a wild and uncultivated region, Hull led his men to a base near Detroit, where he awaited orders from the nation's capital. He had no definite information that war had been declared when he moved his troops, and only when a delayed letter, sent through the regular channels of the uncertain mails, reached him did Hull know, on July 2d, a fortnight late, that war had been officially announced. His British opponents on the opposite shore already had the information and were making the most of it. The plans of the campaign included a simultaneous attack on Detroit and Niagara, the successful armies to march to Plattsburg, where reinforcements would await them for a march against Montreal, which should be stormed and taken. It was Hull's time to strike. Facing Hull across the Detroit River were British garrisons, Indian villages and hostile civilians. Hull's forces were brave men, but untrained; opposing him was a real soldier, General Isaac Brock.

Hull began the invasion with disaster. When Brock invested his fortifications at Detroit, Hull surrendered to the British, giving up the whole of Michigan Territory (August 16, 1812).

Let us now observe the naval forces on the lakes. We had three naval centers on the inland waters, one on Lake Ontario, where there was one man-of-war brig of 240 tons, the *Oneida*. This boat was commanded by Lieutenant M. T. Wool and a crew of experienced seamen. The *Oneida* carried sixteen 24-pound carronades. Opposed to this one boat were the British *Royal George*, 22 guns; *Prince Regent*, 16; *Earl of Moira*, 14; *Gloucester*, 10; *Seneca*, 8, and *Simcoe*, 8, all under the command of Commodore Earle. On Lake Erie we had no boats at all, while the British had the *Queen Charlotte*, 17 guns; *Lady Prevost*, 13; *Hunter*, 10; *Caledonia*, 2, and *Chippewa*, 2. On Champlain the

United States had an ample naval force but the British none. North of the Genesee Country, therefore, was a British interland navy that controlled the waters and menaced our shores. The only near naval base that we possessed was at Sackett's Harbor. Thus, the Genesee Country lay between a naval base at Sackett's Harbor and a military base at Niagara. Had the country been thickly populated then, it might have suffered the ravages of invasion; as it was, there was only an unexecuted threat that did no harm, but which did stimulate greater interest throughout the Genesee region.

That the lakes would have an important place in the war both sides recognized, and thus each set to work to build ships and to train sailors. Though Great Britain might easily have commanded Lake Erie, she built but one additional ship, and allowed the Americans to build a little navy, which later, under Perry, was destined to win a decisive victory.

On Lake Ontario, our one ship, *Oneida*, had her base at Sackett's Harbor, which was protected only by one long 32-pounder. Opposing us, with a base at Kingston, was Commodore Earle's squadron of six ships and 80 guns. Even with this force commanding the eastern end of the lake the Yankee commodore, with characteristic dash, raided the enemy's merchant vessels and was safely back in his harbor before he could be pursued.

The surrender of Detroit was a heavy blow to American pride, but three days later Captain Hull, a nephew of General Hull, commanding the *Constitution*, 44, fought the British frigate *Guerriere*, 38, in a half hour battle that reduced the British ship to a battered wreck (August 19, 1812). The British lost over 100 men in killed and wounded before they struck their colors, the *Constitution* losing 7 killed and 7 wounded. This victory supplemented the victory off the Grand Banks, in which Captain Porter, commanding the *Essex*, 32, captured the British sloop of war *Alert*, 20, in an eight minute fight. Captain Hull's victory was of such importance, that congress not only voted a resolution of thanks but presented him and his men with an award of \$50,000. This victory restored the confidence of the country and did much to demonstrate that the British were not invincible on the sea.

The militia of the State of New York had by September been mustered to the number of 5,000, half of the troops being concentrated along the Niagara frontier, under the command of General

Van Rensselaer, whose headquarters were at Lewiston. Here was a fine body of men, flattered by speeches and the orations of demagogues; of soldierly training they had only the barest rudiments.

Across the river at Fort Erie were two British brigs. Captain Elliott of the navy saw an opportunity to capture these vessels, and Colonel Scott and Captain Towson and his troops were assigned to Elliott. Launching a sudden attack, the *coup* was successful, the British boat *Adams* being taken by Captain Elliott in person, aided by Lieutenant Isaac Roach. The *Caledonia* was captured by Captain Towson, and swung to the American side, afterwards contributing effectively to Perry's victory. The *Adams* was unfortunate, and in her trip down stream became unmanageable, drifting aground on Squaw Island directly under the guns of the enemy. Captain Elliott secured his prisoners and made off under the heavy fire of the British troops. An attempt was made to recapture her but Scott's resistance was so effective that the British abandoned the fight, and the boat later was drawn to the American shore, only to be burned by order of General Smythe, who later took command at Lewiston.

The spirits of the troops now rose until nothing could restrain them, many units of volunteers threatening to return home unless action started at once. Van Rensselaer, therefore, determined to launch an attack on Queenstown, across the Niagara and to the north of Lewiston.

Information available led Van Rensselaer to believe that the British troops had been drawn off for the defense of Malden. The possession of Queenstown meant comfortable winter quarters and a base in Canada.

In the midst of a raging northeast storm, the American troops were roused before dawn, and at four o'clock an attempt was made to cross the river, but a heavy downpour of rain, the darkness and many distressing accidents prevented the success of the movement (October 11). The failure of this attempt caused great confusion, and orders were sent to General Smyth at Buffalo to advance with his corps to participate in another attempt on the 13th. The expedition was divided into two columns, one under Colonel Solomon Van Rensselaer with 300 militiamen, and one under Colonel Christie with 300 regulars. There were the usual blunders and it was found that there were not enough boats

to transport the force in one unified body, it being necessary to recross with empty boats and bring over the men in detachments. Aiding the two columns, Colonel Fenwick with artillery was to follow and after him the rest of the troops. The confusion and delay incident to the crossing awakened the suspicion of the British who, anticipating an attack, sent for reinforcements from Fort George, the stronghold near the mouth of the river.

At dawn the enemy opened musket fire upon the Americans and followed it with grape, making the landing of our troops extremely hazardous. Indeed, General Van Rensselaer was among the first to be wounded, his command passing for the moment to Captain Wool. The landing of the American troops was covered by Colonel Winfield Scott, who, under forced march, arrived at Lewiston too late to be included in the plan of invasion. The opposing British force was small, there being only two flank companies of the York and Forty-ninth Militia. The landing party consisted of about one hundred men, but, notwithstanding the size of the first detachment, it formed and began its march forward, relying upon other troops to follow as reinforcements.

"Move up the hill and storm the batteries!" commanded Van Rensselaer, as he retired to have his wounds dressed. With Captains Ogilvie, Malcolm, and Armstrong, and Lieutenant Randolph, Captain Wool obeyed the order.

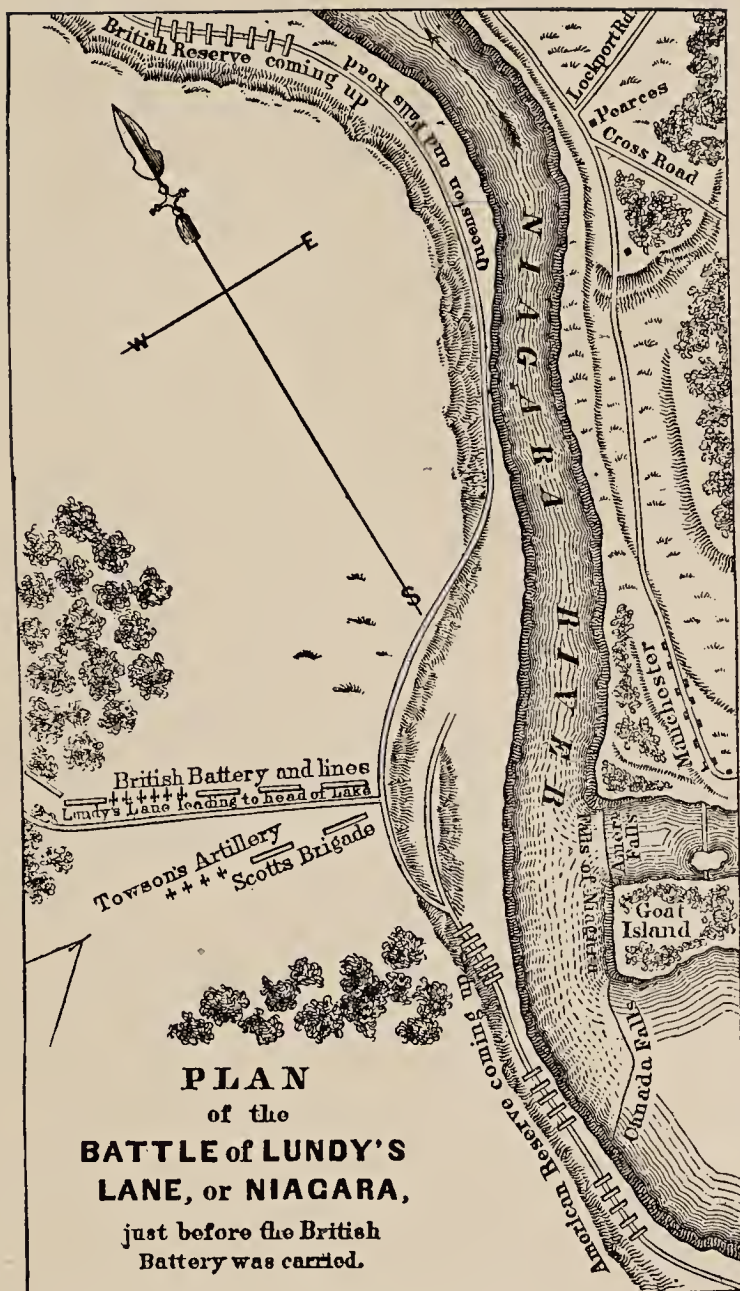
Up the hill they marched, storming the heights and taking the batteries. The enemy was ousted, scattered and driven down hill where they rallied and took refuge behind a large store house. Captain Wool, though dangerously wounded, held the command, ordering 160 men to charge the enemy, now reinforced by General Brock and 600 men of the Forty-ninth Regiment. The charge was repulsed and again resumed, but the Americans were gradually pushed back to the verge of the precipice, when one of the men, believing the situation desperate, held out a white rag on the end of a bayonet, observing which Wool thrust away this token of defeat, rallied his men and drove the British back. It was in this charge that General Brock fell mortally wounded, leaving great confusion in the British lines, and there was a pause in the action of the day.

At this point General Wadsworth of the New York militia, Colonel Scott and Colonel Mulaney crossed the Niagara, and Captain Wool was ordered to retire to have his wounds dressed. The

field belonged to the Americans, the Forty-ninth had been repulsed and their gallant commander mortally wounded.

Scott had been assigned as commander of the troops, but on arriving upon the field and finding Brigadier-General William Wadsworth there, though without orders, Scott proposed to limit his command to the regulars and place the volunteers in charge of General Wadsworth. With a fine spirit of patriotism, Wadsworth refused, yielding the entire command to Scott. "You, Sir," he said, "know best professionally what ought to be done. I am here for the honor of my country and that of the New York militia!" Scott took command and was gallantly aided by Wadsworth, who braved every danger throughout the entire expedition. Though they had met for the first time, Wadsworth became deeply attached to young Colonel Scott, repeatedly interposing his body between Scott and the enemy's bullets, for Scott was a tall and conspicuous person, and a shining mark for the Indians.

Reinforcements continued to come until there were 350 regulars and 250 volunteers. The latter were under Wadsworth and Colonel Stranahan, and, under the advice of Captain Totten, were placed in a commanding position, to cover the ferry, in order that the whole of the militia at Lewiston might cross over under protection of guns. Such was the state of affairs when the British began to arouse themselves. The British garrison at Fort George, eight miles below, now began to send forth its troops. Five hundred Indians, who had been concentrated in the vicinity, supporting the infantry, began to get into action. A new battle ensued, in which the American troops drove the enemy to a total rout at the point of the bayonet. This was the third victory. A new difficulty now had to be faced. General Van Rensselaer, wishing to hasten the embarkation of supporting troops, crossed the Niagara hoping to expedite their passage. But neither entreaties nor threats could move them. A British battery below Queenston had not been silenced, and it enfiladed the ferry. The troops had seen the Indians and shuddered; they had seen the dead and wounded and witnessed the perilous passage of the transports. Thereupon 1,500 able-bodied men, a few hours ago swelling with pride and anxious to fight, now put upon themselves the plea of "constitutional objections" to invading the enemy's territory. Historians of the day were not sparing of their opinion of the militia, one stating that the recalcitrants "put on the mask of lawfulness to hide their cowardice." Other writers with greater



caution have pointed out that our boats were far too few in number, there being only 13 capable of transporting men. This was the crying error of the expedition and the cause of our failure. Little wonder that the militia objected to being slowly rowed across under constant fire.

By four o'clock the British were reinforced by 800 men from Fort George, under the command of General Sheaffe. The British troops now numbered some 1,300 effective fighting men, while the Americans had only about 300. The Americans resisted this force as best they could, and when they were all but exhausted, General Van Rensselaer communicated the unpleasant news that no more reinforcements would come from the other side. Wadsworth could neither resist nor retreat. Surrender was all that remained, and with difficulty a flag of truce was sent forward under Colonel Scott, who, plowing through the Chippewa Indians, found that his flag commanded no respect. The Indians attempted to grasp it, and were upon the point of using their knives, when a British officer with a small detachment rushed forward and prevented further violence.

Colonel Scott with Captains Totten and Gibson were conducted to the headquarters of General Sheaffe and terms of capitulation were agreed upon, Scott surrendering his entire force with the honors of war; those who had actually been in the fight numbered 293 men, 139 regulars and 154 militia, but to Scott's surprise and chagrin, several hundred men had crossed the river and concealed themselves under a shelter of rocks, and were therefore to swell the number of prisoners, of whom there were about 900; 100 men were killed. After the surrender the prisoners were escorted to Niagara Village, at the mouth of the river, where the officers were lodged in an inn, under guard. Though orders had been given to allow no one to pass out, a message shortly came requesting "the tall American" to come to the entry. Scott passed through several doors and found himself confronted by two Indians, hideously painted. They were the same men who had grasped his flag of truce. With signs and broken English they told him how many times they had fired point blank at him, and the elder Indian, wishing to see his back, flung Scott around, probably looking for evidences of wounds or shot marks. It is quite possible that these Indians believed Scott to be one of "the mysterious stone coated giants whom no bullets could penetrate." Scott resented

the mauling he was getting by exclaiming, "Off villian, you fired like a squaw!" "We kill you now!" retorted the old Indian, and both lifted up their tomahawks and knives. Scott backed against the staircase and grasped an officer's sword, which had been stacked with others against the wall. Lifting this high he stood ready for the attack. If Scott had known the legend of the stone coats, he might have touched the blade to his lips, thereby proving to the Indians that he was indeed one of the invincible host, and the red skins would have shrunk away. Instead they sought to dispatch him. Scott poised his sword, knowing that he could kill one of his assailants, but feared the other might rush in and tomahawk him. As the combatants manoeuvred, a British officer rushed in from the street, summoning the guard while he seized the elder man, Chief Jacobs, and put his pistol to the head of his companion; the sentinels hearing the call led off the Indians at the point of the bayonet. It is said that the younger of these Indians was a son of Joseph Brant. The officer who interfered was Captain Coffin of General Sheaffe's staff. The Indians were particularly angry at Scott, who had not only escaped their fire, but whose troops had done them great damage, and soon afterward they massacred a number of American soldiers, an incident which the British deplored, for they had ordered the prisoners well treated.

The brave Brock was buried with military honors, in which Scott, Wadsworth and Wool participated, after which they were paraded through Canada as trophies of the victory.⁶ Shortly afterward the prisoners were sent to Quebec and thence to Boston, where Scott and his colleagues were exchanged. As the boat was about to sail from Quebec, Scott, being in the cabin, heard a commotion and hastening on deck found a number of British officers mustering the prisoners. Each was questioned, and such as by admission or by dialect and accent were found to be Irishmen were separated from the rest. The purpose was to place them on board a British frigate alongside and send them to England, to be tried for high treason for fighting against their own country. Twenty-three men had thus been adjudged Irishmen when Scott reached the deck, and forty more of the same nationality awaited separation. All were dejected at the thought of being subjected to so infamous a fate. Scott, desiring to protect his men, advised

⁶ Spencer's History of the United States, Vol. 3, p. 170.

them to answer no more questions, but remain absolutely silent, thus preventing a test by accent, explaining what naturalization meant, the allegiance which it entailed and the protection which the United States guaranteed its nationals. Though Scott was ordered below, he stood his ground, and threatened that if any of the prisoners were harmed to retaliate, man for man. The Irishmen were nevertheless put in irons and sent to England. Scott, immediately upon being exchanged, wrote the war department reporting the incident. His letter reflects one of the contentions of the American people so well, that it is given in full below:

Sir:

I think it my duty to lay before the department that, on the arrival at Quebec of the American prisoners of war surrendered at Queenston they were mustered and examined by British officers appointed to that duty, and every native born of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland sequestered, and sent on board a ship of war then in the harbor. The vessel in a few days thereafter sailed for England with these persons on board. Between fifteen and twenty persons were thus taken from us, natives of Ireland, several of whom were known by their platoon officers to be naturalized citizens of the United States, and others long residents within the same.⁷ One in particular whose name has escaped me, besides having complied with all the conditions of our naturalization laws, was represented by his officers to have left a wife and five children, all of them born within the state of New York.

I distinctly understood, as well from the officers who came on board the prison-ship for the above purpose, as from others with whom I remonstrated on this subject, that it was the determination of the British government, as expressed through Sir George Provost, to punish every man whom it might subject to its power, found in arms against the British king contrary to his native allegiance.

I have the honor to be sir,

Your most obedient servant,

W. SCOTT,

Lieut.-Col. U. S. 2d Artillery.⁸

⁷ There were 23 persons and their names are given in "American State Papers," Vol. 3, p. 632.

⁸ This letter was written from Washington at the suggestion of the President to whom Scott had related the incident.

Two months later, at the battle of Fort George (May 27, 1813), Scott having made a large number of prisoners, he selected twenty-three of the number to be confined to abide the fate of the men sent to England.⁹

General Van Rensselaer retired after the battle of Queenston and was succeeded by General Smyth, whose headquarters were at Buffalo. Upon assuming command of the "Central Army" he issued a proclamation, full of flowery conceit, which has been compared to a comic opera soldier's braggadocio. Among the militia officers was Peter B. Porter, a clear-headed, able soldier, who had great ability as a strategist. Porter brought together a new militia composed of recruits from all over the Genesee Country, the men of the first army being discharged and sent home as disgraced soldiers. Porter drilled 2,000 of these men and saw that they were properly equipped. Smyth kept up his bombastic and grandiloquent proclamations until it remained for him to make good. As a first task, he set forth to spike the cannon of a troublesome battery near Fort Erie. Smyth was ready for the raid but suddenly a signal sounded in the enemy's camp and it was found that the British were well aware what was about to be attempted. The attack was declared off. The next day, however, a new attempt was made and a detachment crossed over and made for the battery while another marched against the bridge over the Chippewa River. The guns were spiked by a lot of scared men, who, hearing a bugle call, turned and ran post haste for the boats and left their comrades of the bridge-wrecking expedition without means of escape. These men were captured.

Porter was still anxious to press the invasion, but Smyth commanded him to hold back, causing the militia to protest furiously. They began to call for Van Rensselaer and shout derisive things about Smyth, he was hooted and ridiculed whenever he appeared. Porter even called him a coward and challenged him to a duel. The two met on the field of honor, exchanged shots, and then fell on each other's necks and embraced.

The first Niagara campaign was a failure and reflected small credit upon American arms and American generalship. This nearly all critical historians agree upon. What was the matter? Were our men lacking in moral courage and physical prow-

⁹ Mansfield's *Life of Scott*, p. 58.

ess? Not at all. The trouble was politics. In Albany the Governor, Danial D. Tompkins, was seeking reelection. His strongest opponent was Stephen Van Rensselaer. To get Van Rensselaer out of the way, he made him a general and gave him an important post. This honor could scarcely be refused by a patriot, and was not. Van Rensselaer did his best, but he was not by nature a military strategist. Tompkins received credit for magnanimous action in appointing a rival to a position of commanding influence, and this was expressed in his reelection. Van Rensselaer was ruined politically. In civil life, however, he served with great ability and his countrymen benefited much by his business acumen. One of his notable accomplishments was the founding of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy.

Alexander Smyth, though a dismal failure when it came to planning battles, was also a man of real merit in civil life. After his collapse on the Niagara he was dismissed from the army by President Madison and retired to Virginia. Though assailed, he fought back with vigor in the press, his native state, Virginia, remained loyal to him and sent him to congress, where he had an honored career. In the west there was some vigorous action under General William Henry Harrison, who was particularly successful against the hostile Indians. On the northern New York border there was some spirited action, notably an affair near Ogdensburg, in which our militia attacked a detachment of British moving down the river and defeated them. In retaliation, our men were set upon by reinforcements and compelled to retire, the British attempting the destruction of Ogdensburg. They were repulsed by General Brown, who commanded that post (October 2, 1812). Major Young, who commanded a detachment at French Mills, on the St. Lawrence frontier, about this time attacked the British troops at the St. Regis Indian village and without loss took forty prisoners and killed five soldiers. There was also a foray on the Champlain border under Colonel Pike, resulting in the surprise of a body of British and Indians and the destruction of a large quantity of stores. The army there under General Dearborn went into winter quarters at Plattsburg two days before Christmas.

The autumn months of 1812 were marked by a series of brilliant naval affairs, most creditable to our country. Captain Jones in command of the sloop-of-war *Wasp*, encountered the British

sloop *Frolic*, and in a spirited exchange delivered such an accurate gun fire and effective ramming that the *Frolic* was left with not more than twenty men living out of 120. The American casualties were five killed and wounded. Jones' victory was short lived for later a British seventy-four hove in sight and took both victor and prize to Bermuda. After the prisoners were exchanged, Jones and his men received a congressional award of \$25,000 and Jones was given command of the *Macedonian*, a British frigate, just captured by Decatur, commanding the frigate *United States*, in a well executed series of manoeuvres. It was a plain case of seamanship and good gunnery. Another stirring naval victory was added to the list before the year closed, in the capture of the British frigate *Java* by the *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Bainbridge (December 29, 1812). American failures on land were somewhat counterbalanced by these naval victories, and Great Britain began to have an awakening as to the prowess of the Americans upon the sea. The *London Times* in describing the British naval losses said:

“* * * It is the first time we have ever heard that the striking of the English flag on the high seas to anything like an equal force should be regarded by Englishmen with complacency and satisfaction. * * * It is not merely that an English frigate has been taken, after what we are free to confess may be called a brave resistance, but that it has been taken by a new enemy, an enemy unaccustomed to such triumphs, and likely to be rendered insolent and confident by them. He must be a weak politician who does not see how important the first triumph is in giving a tone and character to the war. Never before in the history of the world did an English frigate strike to an American, and though we cannot say that Captain Dacres, under all circumstances is punishable for this act, yet we do say that there are commanders in the English navy who would a thousand times rather have gone down with their colors flying than to have set their brother-officers so fatal an example.”¹⁰

And William James, a bitterly partisan historian, was compelled to say: “There is no question that our vanity received a wound in the loss of the *Guerriere*. But poignant as were the national feelings, reflecting men hailed the 19th of August, 1812,

¹⁰ Lossing's Field Book of the War of 1812, 448.

as the commencement of an era of renovation to the navy of England."¹¹

The war continued with many thrilling events, developing new leaders of great ability, and retiring those who were not able to grasp the complexities of military tactics. It is not our purpose to review the episodes on all fronts or to describe in detail the stirring battles at sea, in which our navy made a name for itself that won the respect of the world. We may touch upon some of these things as we proceed, but our purpose is rather to deal with the drama as seen and experienced in the Genesee region and its adjacent territory.

When the year 1813 opened, the army of the United States numbered 95,000 men, and congress provided for many additional line officers, six major-generals and six brigadier-generals. It was also provided that the navy should only receive native born and naturalized citizens of our country. Thus a nation of eight million souls girded its loins for war to the finish. New England still was faint hearted, but from New York and Albany to Niagara the state of New York was ablaze with patriotic zeal. The north and west too were determined to muster their men and see through the fight for freedom of the seas and the recognition of American rights and American shipping. The scene of the military campaigns during the year took in the far flung northern frontier from Champlain to Michigan. The Army of the West was under Gen. W. H. Harrison, whose headquarters were at Franklinton, Ohio; the Army of the North was in command of General Hampton on the shores of Lake Champlain and the Army of the Center, which took in the Genesee Country and the Niagara frontier, was under the command of General Dearborn. The west had its adventures with the British and their savage allies; there was a massacre at Frenchtown, January 22; the siege of Fort Meigs and finally the defeat of the British General Proctor at Fort Stevenson, by Major Croghan, a youth of 21 years. This battle, on July 20, caused Proctor to retire to Malden, Canada, and gave the Americans a chance to gain a real control of Lake Erie and its contiguous waters.

On the northern frontier trouble broke out early in February. Major Forsyth, the commander of the Ogdensburg contingent,

¹¹ Ibid. Vide, Naval Occurrences, James, p. 116.

crossed the St. Lawrence with his riflemen and volunteers and surprised the British guard at Elizabethtown, taking fifty-two prisoners and a quantity of military stores. It was a small but successful raid. The joys of victory were short lived, however, for on Washington's birthday, Sir George Provost, of the post at Prescott, directed an assault on Ogdensburg, followed that night by a raid of 500 regulars and militia under Major McDonnal. The small American force was compelled to retire, but in doing so it set fire to its stores, the barracks, two schooners and two gun boats. The American forces fought bravely in this affair and refused to surrender when the demand was made, retiring in good order. So elated were the British that when the news reached the British commander at Niagara, he sent a message to the American commander, Colonel McFeeley, on our side of the river, informing him that in honor of the occasion a salute would be fired at Fort George. McFeeley, with the characteristic wit of his race, expressed great satisfaction over the idea of a salute, for, as he informed the British officer, it would supplement his own salute to be fired that day in jubilation over the capture of the British frigate, *Java*, by Captain Hull, commanding the *Constitution*, an American frigate of *equal* rating. Meanwhile, at Sackett's Harbor, General Pike, a brave and enterprising officer, was busily occupied in training the new recruits who were arriving there in numbers. This work of disciplining an effective army was a difficult one and required great patience. There was inspiration in it, however, for our men could see the great efforts being made by Commodore Chauncey to build a fleet capable of giving battle to the British on Lake Ontario.

Students of history will recall that Captain Isaac Chauncey had distinguished himself in the war with the Barbary States in Africa. It was he who was ordered by the naval department to take command of Lakes Erie and Ontario and to build the fleets. An experienced officer, older than Perry, his training in the merchant marine and his seasoning in construction work as the head of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, had well qualified him for this new and important task. Chauncey brought with him a Scotch ship builder named Eckford, who, with a crew of expert ship carpenters, at once began building a fleet. Late in 1812, by purchasing schooners and outfitting them, our one boat, the *Oneida*, was supplemented by the *Ontario*, *Scourge*, *Fair American* and *Asp*. Eck-

ford designed two twenty-two gun brigs and immediately set to work to lay the keel of the *Madison*, designed to carry twenty-four carronades of thirty-two pounds. By the spring of 1813 our building program was well under way, and Sackett's Harbor was a busy place.

Our naval force now numbered two sloops-of-war and eleven schooners, manned by trained crews entertaining no doubt as to their ability to cope with the enemy. They had not long to wait, for the navy department had ordered Chauncey to cooperate with General Dearborn in any operation he might direct. On the 25th of April the flotilla with about 1,600 men sailed out of Sackett's Harbor with York (Toronto) as an objective. This was a vital spot and the capital of Upper Canada. The plan of attack had been devised in principle by General Pike and at his own request he was entrusted with its execution. The voyage was safely made, and on the 27th, at 7 o'clock in the morning, our ships appeared before York. Debarkation began an hour later and in two hours our forces were ashore.

The British soon discovered them ready for an attack, and General Sheaffe, commanding York, hastily collected his forces, consisting of about 900 men, including 100 Indians. These he flung against the landing party but Forsyth, leading his riflemen, made an effective resistance, driving the foe back, making possible the formation of General Pike's troops, who sustained the advance party most ably. Our army, driving the British before them past the works of York, made ready for the assault. The shore batteries were destroyed and our men were within 200 yards of the main fortifications, when a sudden magazine explosion occurred, which filled the air with stones and broken timbers. In the havoc which followed 100 Americans and forty British were killed and many seriously wounded. General Pike fell fatally injured. The confusion incident to the explosion gave Sheaffe time to set fire to his stores and to destroy a vessel in stocks. He then retreated, leaving his militia and their supplies behind.

The British regulars were scarcely hurt and were able to make an orderly retreat toward Kingston, but the militia immediately capitulated. Our countrymen were able to seize a vast quantity of stores, amounting to about a half million dollars worth, besides the baggage and military papers of Sheaffe and his regulars.

The British loss was 90 killed, 200 wounded, 300 made prisoners and 500 militia released on parole.

On May 8th General Dearborn evacuated York, recrossing the lake to bring his wounded and prisoners to Sackett's Harbor. Taking on reinforcements to the number of about 5,000 men, he determined to sail for an attack on Fort George, at the head of the lake on the Niagara. Here he found his landing disputed by the British Colonel Vincent, but the American landing party under Scott and Forsyth were not to be driven back. The guns of the fleet covered the landing and soon the brigades of Generals Boyd, Widner and Chandler followed. This powerful display of force caused the enemy to abandon their position and flee, after setting fire to their works and lighting fuses for blowing up their magazines. Fortunately, Captain Hindman, entering the fort, snatched the fuses before any explosion occurred. Thus fell Fort George, on May 27th, a heavy day's work but a successful one. Fort Erie and other fortifications in the neighborhood were also added to the list of conquests. In this event the British lost 108 killed, about 150 wounded and 600 prisoners. The American loss was 39 killed and 108 wounded.

But the British were not asleep. They had long anticipated that the naval forces and the militia would move out from Sackett's Harbor, leaving it in a weakened state of defense. This was the case when Dearborn and Chauncey moved against York and Fort George. The British commander, Sir George Prevost, and his associate commander, Sir James Yeo, of the naval forces, brought 700 troops and the naval squadron from their base at Kingston on May 28th. Sackett's Harbor was the objective. Both the Canadians and the British looked to this expedition with high hopes. Every confidence was expressed that Sackett's Harbor would fall, giving the British undisputed control of the lakes, but the enemy had no knowledge that at Presque Isle on Lake Erie Perry was building a fleet that would tell another story ere many months had passed.

The British landed their troops and drove before them the American militia, including the Albany volunteers, in an attempt to cross the peninsula. The peninsula was gained and the march continued against the block house garrisoned by regulars, which marched out and received the British force with such effective fire that the British were driven back with heavy losses, leaving their

wounded on the field. Lieutenant Chauncey, hearing by messenger that our forces had been defeated, prematurely set fire to our stores. Upon learning that the enemy had actually retreated, the fire was extinguished but not until vast damage had been sustained. Though the British army was defeated, it had gained an advantage in the destruction of our supplies. General Jacob Brown, to whom the defense had been entrusted, was widely praised for his success and promoted to the rank of brigadier. On the other hand, Sir George Prevost was condemned throughout Canada for his ill success, such being the fortune of war.

After this affair there was some skirmishing on the northern lines, especially at Burlington Heights, Forty Mile Run and Beaver Dams. In the latter place Colonel Boerstler was defeated and surrendered his command of 570 men to the British; the latter in this battle clearly out manoeuvred the Americans. In the south the British had some naval success and contemporary accounts tell of the shocking massacres of the American inhabitants, in which the enemy spared neither age nor sex. Washington, Baltimore, Annapolis and other ports were threatened and New York blockaded. These naval events are thoroughly interesting as a part of the general history of the war, but do not especially concern the action in the region about the Genesee Country and the lakes that bound it to the north and to the west.

That the shores of Lake Ontario just north of the mouth of the Genesee should have been the scene of the manoeuvres of British ships bent upon war against America and the destruction of towns and villages from the Niagara to Sackett's Harbor, does not seem to be more than an ill-remembered dream today. Peace now reigns between our country and Canada, a peace of friendship and trust. Beginning with 1812, however, war vessels of both nations frequently passed the north shores of the Genesee Country, our own boats even going up the Genesee as far as Hanford's Landing, according to the best authorities. Indeed, one pioneer, Donald McKenzie, in an address before the Mumford Lyceum in 1843, tells of visiting the mouth of the river in the latter part of 1812 and of hearing the British guns. "The next morning," he wrote, "as we were mounting our horses to return, a messenger arrived with an express stating that a British fleet was approaching the mouth of the river, and requesting Captain Rowe to call out the militia immediately. Returning on our way

towards the landing, we could hear distinctly the report of every cannon fired by the enemy."

The story goes on to say, "After leaving my wife with the family of my friend Benjamin Fowle at the landing, we hurried as fast as possible to the mouth of the river. But nothing was to be seen of the fleet nor of the few families there. We rode immediately to my father-in-law's old log house, standing then on the very site where now stands the United States light house, fastened our horses, and from there, with my brother-in-law, William Hencher, Jr., we went on foot to the beach of the lake. We soon discovered the fleet sailing towards us, from the direction of Braddock's Bay, but not anticipating any danger, we remained on the spot until it approached quite near us. We were shortly saluted with a 24-pounder, which whistled through the bushes near where we stood, and entered the bank of the lake in our rear. This shot was in rather too close proximity to us to be agreeable. I afterwards dug the ball out of the bank and used it for a number of years to grind indigo with in my woolen factory."

But the fleet did no further harm and soon sailed away. It was probably a squadron of Commodore Earle's boats, composed of the *Royal George*, a brig and two or three smaller vessels.¹²

In 1813, shortly after the Canadian invasion and the attacks on York and Fort George, Sir James Yeo landed at the mouth of the Genesee and seized a quantity of provisions (June 16, 1813). Yeo's own report relates: "I received information that there was a depot of provisions at Genesee River. I accordingly proceeded off that river, landed some seamen and marines of the squadron, and brought off all the provisions found in the government stores; also a sloop laden with grain for the army." Records show that Yeo's forces landed and remained over night, holding a few citizens as hostages, to prevent an alarm, and that they looted the store houses of Frederick Bushnell and George Latta, giving however a receipt for their forced requisition, and then departing at their own convenience.

Colonel Caleb Hopkins, hearing of the threatened invasion of the British naval forces, mustered a force at Hanford's Landing and marched down to Charlotte, but arrived in time only to see the fleet departing and to receive a salute of cannon and musketry, which did no further harm than to spatter along the beach.

¹² Hanford's Notes on the Visits of Naval Vessels to the Genesee, p. 5.

Colonel Hopkins was inspector and collector of the port, and naturally interested as a federal official in its defense. His report to the commanding officer of the militia of Ontario County, General Amos Hall, brought the following reply:

Bloomfield, June 16, 1813.

Lt. Col. Caleb Hopkins.

Sir: I this moment received your letter by Major Norton advising me of the landing of the enemy from their fleet off the mouth of the Genesee River. Your calling out your regiment was perfectly correct. You will please to collect as many men as appearances will justify until the enemy's vessels leave the mouth of the river. It cannot be expected that they will make much stay. But you will be able to judge of their movements by tomorrow morning. I shall expect you to give me immediate notice if you think more force will be wanted.

Yours respectfully,

A. HALL.

Fortunately for the Genesee Country, the British did not send an expedition inland to attack the settlements at Canandaigua and Batavia. As matters stood, the rumble of guns off Ontario's shores caused great apprehension and families moved inland for protection. Development of the whole Genesee Country was retarded by the fears of war, and the little settlement that was to become in after years the city of Rochester stood almost still in its growth. But the lake was once more to be the scene of a battle, and there was a running fight between the American Commodore Chauncey and the British squadron. The British had the worst of the encounter but the advantage to the Americans was very slight, for a gale sprang up that made further fighting impossible.

The year 1813 had developed several notable men in both our armies and those of our enemy. Perhaps in all the war there were no more picturesque figures than those of Andrew Jackson, the American, and Tecumseh, the Shawnee chief, who held a British generalship. Winfield Scott and Peter B. Porter had established themselves; Commodore Chauncey had demonstrated his ability, and William Henry Harrison was hailed as a fighter who knew how to cope with both red coat and red man. Another hero was now to inspire his countrymen and perform deeds that will remain undying; this was Oliver Hazard Perry. Let us observe the career of this man, whose presence on Lake Erie did so much to bring the Genesee Country into the circle of fame, detail of the background though it was. Perry was a Rhode Islander commanding a flotilla of gunboats in Newport harbor. Here he trained men in the art of military tactics and naval war-

fare. It was too tame a life, however, for this energetic young man, who had been refused a chance to take to the sea; he was not discouraged by this lack of opportunity, but immediately made application to Commodore Chauncey for service on the lakes. Chauncey, with a vision almost prophetic, considered the application and then wrote Perry: "*You are the very person I want for a service in which you may gain a reputation for yourself and honor for your country.*"

Amid the great difficulties of early spring travel, Perry had reached Sackett's Harbor, tarrying there to support Chauncey in an emergency, and then, on March 16th, striking out for Buffalo, a trip that consumed eight days. Here he inspected the naval base at Black Rock, and on the 26th set out in a sleigh over the frozen lake for Erie, Pennsylvania, arriving there on the 27th. Looking over the situation at Erie, Perry found that two brigs were lying in stocks with their keels only laid, and that there were four gunboats about finished; these had been constructed under the supervision of Noah Brown, a master shipwright, who had employed a corps of New York ship mechanics. This was reassuring, but Perry was dismayed to find that there was not a single defensive precaution; there were no muskets, no trained militia and no cannon. Though the winter had been propitious for the purpose, no cannon had been transported over the ice from the Buffalo supply base; plainly there was a woeful lack of head work at Erie. This serious defect Perry set about remedying. Before he had been in Erie a day, he had organized a guard from the men of the village; ordered sailing-master Dobbins to proceed to Buffalo and bring up 40 seamen and a supply of muskets and powder, and if possible, cannon, and he had written the naval agent at Pittsburgh to speed up the coming of a party of shipbuilders recently summoned from Philadelphia.

It might be inquired, why the haste? The reason is apparent to the student of contemporaneous events. If America was to hold back the British advance and control the upper lakes, it must be done by acquiring the naval ascendancy on Lake Erie. The lack of that supremacy had led to the defeat of Hull and Winchester, had placed the upper lakes and the principal ports in the hands of the British and hampered the operations of Harrison. To transport material by land was almost impossible,

on account of the condition of the roads through the wilderness; yet, to succeed, the naval base at Erie must have ropes, cordage, canvas, hardware, powder, weapons and a vast quantity of stores. Perry accomplished what seemed the impossible, and, within two months, witnessed the launching of the two gunboats and two brigs, each 110 feet in length, of 500 tons and pierced for 24 guns which were ready for business twenty days later. At sunset, as he looked at these new boats, an express came stating that Fort George was being attacked jointly by Chauncey and Dearborn. Anxious to participate, Perry ordered out a four-oared boat and rowed against wind and sea, arriving the next day at Buffalo, where, on the evening of the 25th, he joined Chauncey. The commodore hailed him with delight, sought his advice upon some of the pressing problems, and received his counsel with great satisfaction. In the engagements that followed Perry was present at every point where his help might be needed, and the showers of bullets that he constantly faced neither awed nor harmed him. The defeat of the British meant that Perry could take out the boats that the British batteries had previously bottled up in port. He began at once to arrange for the removal of the captured *Caledonia*. After an incredible amount of effort, and facing great dangers, Perry brought his flotilla safely into Erie harbor just as Finnis, a British commander, with a squadron several times the size of Perry's hove into sight.

By the 10th of July the vessels were finished and ready for crews, but, though Perry had urged his commander to send men, there were scarcely enough to outfit one of the brigs, and the men who were destined for him were coming, not directly from Philadelphia, but through Sackett's Harbor, where Chauncey was under the temptation of sifting out the best for his own difficult position. The British fleet, commanded by Barclay, the veteran of many fights, rode off Erie Harbor on July 20th. Perry was compelled to look on and chafe under the restraint. "Give me men," he wrote his superior at Sackett's Harbor, "and I will acquire honor and glory both for you and myself or perish in the attempt! Think of my situation: the enemy within striking distance, my vessels ready, and I obliged to bite my fingers with vexation, for want of men. I know you will send them as soon

as possible, yet a day appears an age." It might seem that Perry was anxious for self glory, but such is far from the case. He saw a situation that promised great possibilities and knew that with proper support he could command it; yet, he was willing that anyone else should do this if he would. He invited Chauncey to come with supplies and men and gain the victory and the honor; he gloried in the elevation over himself of a subordinate lieutenant, and in every way showed that he was a man and a patriot.

Bottled up in Erie Harbor were Perry's boats, unable to sail over the bar into the open lake, but when, on August first, the enemy's squadron sailed out of sight, Perry by an ingenious system of lifts and "camels" drew his vessels over the bar. Each had been stripped of stores and cannon to relieve the weight, and when they had settled into deeper water these supplies had to be put aboard and the ships set to rights. A sudden return of the enemy would have worked serious havoc, and its success might mean a postponement of American supremacy on Lake Erie.

The men for whose coming Perry was marking time with such desperate impatience turned out to be boys, negroes and soldiers, and of these he must build up a conquering naval outfit. These were the men who manned his boats four days later. Not to be denied, now that he was free from restraint, Perry put after the enemy and chased him into the harbor at Malden, returning later to ride at anchor off his own base. There is considerable variance in the several available accounts as to the numbers of the respective forces. Theodore Roosevelt, who made an exhaustive study of the figures, presents the following table in his "Naval War of 1812":

AMERICAN FORCES UNDER PERRY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rig</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Crew</i>	<i>Fit for Duty</i>	<i>Broadside poundage</i>	<i>Armament</i>
Lawrence -----	brig	480	136	105	300	{ 2 long 12's 18 short 32's
Niagara -----	brig	480	155	127	300	{ 2 long 12's 18 short 32's

Caledonia -----	brig	180	53	184	80	{ 1 short 32 2 long 24's
Ariel -----	schooner	112	36		48	4 long 12's
Scorpion -----	do	86	35		64	{ 1 long 32 1 short 32
Somers -----	do	94	30		56	{ 1 long 24 1 short 32
Porcupine -----	do	83	25		32	1 long 32
Tigress -----	do	96	27		37	1 long 32
Trippe -----	sloop	60	35		24	1 long 24
<hr/> 9 vessels		1671	532	416	936 pounds of shot.	

BRITISH FORCES UNDER BARCLAY

<i>Name</i>	<i>Rig</i>	<i>Tons</i>	<i>Crew</i>	<i>Broadside poundage</i>	<i>Armament</i>
Detroit -----	ship	490	150	138	{ 1 long 18 2 long 24's 6 long 12's 8 long 9's 1 short 24 1 short 18
Queen Charlotte -----	ship	400	126	189	{ 1 long 12 2 long 9's
Lady Prevost -----	schooner	230	86	75	{ 14 short 24's 1 long 9 2 long 6's 10 short 12's
Hunter -----	brig	180	45	30	{ 4 long 6's 2 long 2's 2 long 4's 2 short 12's
Chippewa -----	schooner	70	15	9	1 long 9
Little Belt -----	sloop	90	18	18	{ 1 long 2 2 long 6's
<hr/> 6 vessels		1460	440	459 pounds of shot.	

These figures show that the Americans could throw 936 pounds in one broadside, with a long gun advantage over the

British of three to two. The British long gun broadside was only 195 pounds, though at short range blank fire, 459 pounds of ball could be thrown into the American fleet. Thus stood the fleets off Put-in-Bay on the morning of September 10th, 1813, Perry stationed in his flagship *Lawrence*, and Barclay in the *Detroit*. Though Perry was just recovering from an attack of fever and a general depression, due to many humiliating circumstances, he hailed the appearance of the foe as the crowning opportunity of his life. At first the *Niagara* had the lead, but, seeing that the *Detroit* commanded by Barclay led the British line, Perry altered the disposition of his ships to conform to the enemy's course, the *Lawrence* taking the lead followed by Elliott and the *Niagara*.

The British squadron hove to in close formation, with bows to the south and westward, ready for the attack. Barclay, fresh from the Napoleonic wars, and after fighting under Nelson at Trafalgar, led in the *Detroit*, supported by the gunboat *Chippewa*. The British had 180 seasoned men from the Royal navy, together with 80 Canadian sailors. Perry's recruits were supplemented by about one hundred backwoodsmen (who had some experience in river boating), furnished by his friend Harrison, who had come up to Erie a few days before, so that not more than one quarter of Perry's men were regular seamen. This did not daunt him, however, and he strung out his ships to the attack, unfurling from the masthead Lawrence's famous exhortation "Dont Give Up the Ship." Our troops cheered, but soon other cheers came from the British fleet, followed by a 24-pound shot from the *Detroit* at a distance of one and a half miles. Barclay's course was to fight at long distance, but Perry had planned otherwise, and, at a suitable moment, the latter sought to close at short range. Though repeatedly struck and suffering severely, Perry closed in on the *Detroit*, moving out from his protecting ships and facing the enemy alone, the fire directed at him being three times as great as his return. The *Scorpion* and the *Ariel* soon appeared in support, not much affected by the fire, which was concentrated on the flagship. At noon Perry luffed and tried the effect of his starboard battery, but it had little apparent effect, and he bore off, then creeping nearer for another attack, until he reached a position about 500 yards from the *Detroit*.

The *Niagara*, under Elliott, was expected to engage the

British *Queen Charlotte*, but failed to carry out the manoeuver. Elliott seemed to be doing his utmost to embarrass Perry, for whom it was thought he had a secret dislike. It has been said that his earlier successes on Lake Erie had given him hopes of becoming commander of the fleet, and now that Perry had it, he was secretly envious. Whatever the fact in this regard may have been, Elliott failed conspicuously to obey orders. Supported only by the two schooners at his beam and the long shots of the *Caledonia*, Perry encountered a greatly superior force. The carnage of American ships was awful, and with the depletion of officers and nurses, the wounded were left to their own sufferings.

More than four-fifths of the effective officers and men aboard the *Lawrence* were killed or wounded, and her fire grew less and less. She had damaged the enemy badly, but now she lay a battered hulk, her last gun fired by Perry himself. Soon all was silent on the *Lawrence*; no more guns spoke and the only sounds were the shrieks of the wounded. Elliott, believing her commander slain, now put forward in the *Niagara*, ordering Lieutenant Turner of the *Caledonia* to bear up and make way for him. Turner immediately made sail for the enemy's line in the most daring manner, using his batteries effectively. Elliott, under a freshening wind now passed to the windward of the *Caledonia*, leaving the *Lawrence* between himself and the enemy's fire, when, by all the rules of naval warfare, he should have passed between the crippled ship and the foe. His only concern for his commander's ship was, to send a boat manned by a few brave men to get a quantity of 12-shot for his own depleted stock. Perry at once took in the situation, and, leaving the *Lawrence* in the hands of Yarnall, he set forth in a small boat ordering his men to row with all speed to the *Niagara*. The *Lawrence* was left with but 14 men, only 9 of whom were seamen. These men watched the progress of Perry in his tiny open boat, observing the concentrated fire of cannon, carronade and musketry upon their brave leader. A full broadside passed over him, but destiny had not yet decreed that Perry should fall.

The flag of the *Lawrence* was lowered and the enemy cheered; it was a cheer that both squadrons heard. In a moment Perry went up the ladder of the *Niagara*, where he found a fresh crew. Elliott was dumbfounded when Perry came aboard; manifestly

he had hoped that the command had fallen upon himself through the death of his superior. Elliott's first question, arising from his guilty confusion, was, "What is the result aboard your brig?" His own eyes might have supplied the answer. "Cut all to pieces," answered Perry, noticing the course of the *Niagara* and seeing that it was absolutely wrong. Elliott, ill at ease, noting Perry's guarded criticism of the gunboat's support, offered to go after them in a boat. "Do so," was Perry's laconic reply, and the junior commander went off on an errand that any non-commissioned officer might have performed. Perry now hoisted his flag and the signal for close action. The men of the squadron began to cheer, the more so when they saw the *Niagara* alter her course and make directly for the enemy. Closing in on the British line Perry shortened sail and poured a well aimed broadside into the sides of the *Lady Prevost*, already disabled by the loss of a rudder. With his other side he poured another broadside into the *Detroit* and the *Queen Charlotte*, both of which vessels had fouled when Barclay turned to meet the coming of the *Niagara*. Perry now ordered his marines to clear the deck of the *Lady Prevost*, but her survivors, shrieking from the horrors of the raking fire which had been poured upon them, fled below, leaving their commander, wounded in the head, and staring in a dazed way. Perry, always merciful, ordered fire suspended, giving attention to his foe on the other side. The *Caledonia*, *Trippe* and *Somers* now closed in, the latter having on board Elliott, who had boarded her after an ineffectual shouting of the command that Perry's signal plainly had shown.

The fire of the smaller boats did considerable damage, and the commander of the *Queen Charlotte*, finding his ship exposed to a raking fire ahead and astern, struck her colors. The *Detroit* with her masts shot away was helpless with a shattered hull. At about three o'clock Barclay hailed the Americans stating that he had surrendered; next to yield were the *Hunter* and the *Lady Prevost*. The *Chippewa* and the *Little Belt* endeavored to escape but were overtaken by Champlin in the *Scorpion* and Holdup Stevens in the *Trippe*. The roar of cannon ceased, and only the groans of the wounded and the splashing oars of scurrying small boats were to be heard; our men boarded the enemy's ships and, when the surrender was complete, Perry sat down to report thus to his military superior, General Harrison:

"*Dear General—We have met the enemy, and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop.*" The final act of submission was received on the deck of the *Lawrence*, where Perry gave the prisoners every consideration and bade the officers retain their side arms. Barclay the next day, with both arms shot away, one having been previously lost in the French war, tottered between Perry and Harrison, as they walked to the landing place at Put-in-Bay.

Those who write of Perry justly praise his victory. It was largely a personal one in which his enthusiasm and courage were imparted to his men. For the first time in history a British fleet had been taken by an equal force in open conflict. The great northwest was redeemed and Harrison and his Kentucky riflemen and "hunting shirts" might now hold the region unchallenged. Perry's men fought bravely, and, whether officers, militiamen, negroes, seamen or youth with no experience in battle, all maintained the remarkable morale which Perry's example instilled. The British casualties in this battle were 41 killed, 94 wounded; the American loss was 27 killed and 96 wounded, that on the *Lawrence* being 22 killed and 61 wounded. About 20 more men were wounded in the assault made by Perry in the *Niagara*. The dead, other than the officers, were buried the night of the battle, being sewn in their hammocks, weighted with shot, and tenderly dropped into the waters of the lake, the officers were buried along the margin of the bay the next day. Perry in his report gave full credit to his officers and men, and even to Captain Elliott. This magnanimity was characteristic of him, whose message, "WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY AND THEY ARE OURS," will ring forever in the hearts of his grateful countrymen.

Within nineteen days after Perry's victory on Lake Erie the territorial government was restored to Michigan. General Harrison acted swiftly to follow up the British, now in an unsettled state of purpose. He moved his troops on to Canada and landed them near Malden; he had expected an armed resistance, but, to his surprise, he saw a line of women, maids and matrons, at the entrance to the town of Amherstburg, seeking the protection of the Americans. General Proctor, who had been in command of the fort at Amherstburg, would not stand his ground, and his

plan of battle was so weak that General Tecumseh, the Indian chief, looked him squarely in the eyes and then turned away with the exclamation, "You are Proctor; I am Tecumseh!" Proctor fled, burning his forts and supplies and putting his fatigued troops on reduced rations. The Americans kept up their pursuit and on the 27th entered and repossessed Detroit, restoring the territorial government on the 29th. Harrison kept up his pursuit, and, on October 4th, caught up with the enemy's rear and captured nearly all his stores. Proctor was now unable to retreat further, and, pressed so hotly, found battle inevitable. He took his ground at the Moravian village on the Thames, where he threw up protecting works and awaited the onslaught. He had 2,000 men, including 1,200 to 1,400 Indians under Tecumseh. Harrison had 3,000 Kentucky and Ohio marksmen.

Proctor's position was well chosen, but after a fierce battle, in which the British were completely routed, the Indians alone held their ground. Tecumseh, brave soldier as he was, urged them to an effective resistance, but they were finally repulsed by the aged Governor Shelby, of Kentucky, and his redoubtable marksmen. The brave Johnson, dashing into the thick of the fight, is said to have shot Tecumseh. Without their leader, the Indians soon gave way and the battle of the Thames was won. Seventeen Americans were killed and 30 wounded; the British losses were 19 killed, 50 wounded, 600 prisoners; the Indian loss was 120 men, who were found dead upon the field. The Americans were gladdened in their victory, too, by recapturing several historic cannons, taken at Saratoga and York from the British and retaken by them when Hull surrendered at Detroit. Harrison treated the prisoners and wounded with great humanity, although the recollection of the British massacres at Raisin River was vivid and provocative of revenge. In the negotiations that followed, the Indian Confederacy sought and pledged peace with the United States.

While the waters of Lake Erie had been the scene of military and naval action, Lake Ontario had not been quiet. Chauncey, from his Sackett's Harbor rendezvous, had eagerly awaited a contest with Sir James Yeo. On August 10th or 12th, he had an opportunity to engage in a running fight with the British fleet, in the waters of the western end of the lake, but, a heavy gale coming up, he was under the necessity of seeking shelter up the

mouth of the Genesee, the nearest safe harbor; the gale continuing, he made for his home port at Sackett's Harbor, where he took aboard provisions for five weeks. On the 16th Chauncey was off the mouth of the Niagara, sighting the enemy. A storm again prevented any contest and Chauncey once more put for Genesee harbor, running in and anchoring, but anchor was soon weighed, and the squadron under shortened sail ran down the lake. Chauncey's fleet at this time embraced the following boats: *Pike*, 28, *Madison*, 24, *Oneida*, 16, *Tompkins*, 9, *Conquest*, 6, *Ontario*, 6, *Pert*, 1, *Lady of the Lake* 1, in all, 2 ships, 1 brig and 5 schooners. The day after Perry's victory, Chauncey found the enemy becalmed off the mouth of the Genesee, and our boats getting into a breeze sailed within gunshot, before the enemy were able to move out under sail. Chauncey's heavier ships had their schooners in tow and this prevented a swift attack. As it was the *Pike* fired several broadsides and did some damage, receiving in turn a good hulling. The fight continued for three hours, when the British flotilla escaped into Amherst Bay, where our fleet could not follow it, owing to ignorance of the treacherous shoals; the British had four casualties and the Americans none. The accounts of the commanders of each squadron will be found of considerable historical interest.

H. M. Ship Wolfe, off the False Duck Islands,
on Lake Ontario,
Sept. 12, 1813.

Sir:

I have the honor to acquaint you that H. M.'s squadron under my command, being becalmed on Genesee River, on the 11th instant, the enemy's fleet of eleven sail, having a partial wind, succeeded in getting within range of their 24- and 32-pounders; and from their having the wind of us, and the dull sailing of some of our squadron, I found it impossible to bring them to close action. We remained in this mortifying situation five hours, having only six guns in the squadron that would reach the enemy (not a carronade being fired); at sunset a breeze sprang up from the westward, when I steered for the False Duck Islands, under which the enemy could not keep the weather gauge, but be obliged to meet us on equal terms. This, however, he carefully avoided.

Although I have to regret the loss of Mr. William Ellery, mid-

shipman, and three seamen killed, and seven wounded, I cannot but conceive it fortunate that none of the squadron have received material damage, which must have been considerable, had the enemy acted with the least spirit, and taken advantage of the superiority of position they possessed.

Inclosed is a list of killed and wounded.

Killed, 3; wounded 7.

J. L. YEO.¹³

On board the U. S. S., Gen. Pike, off Duck Island,
Sept. 13, 1813.

Sir:

On the 7th at daylight, the enemy's fleet was discovered close in with the Niagara River, wind from the southward. Made the signal, weighed with the fleet (prepared for action), and stood out of the river after him. He immediately made all sail to the northward; we made sail in chase, with our heavy schooners in tow—and have continued the chase, all round the lake, night and day until yesterday morning, when he succeeded into Amherst Bay, which is so little known to our pilots and said to be so full of shoals, that they are not willing to take me in there. I shall, however, (unless driven from my station by a gale of wind), endeavor to watch him so close as to prevent his getting out upon the lake. During our long chase we frequently got within from one to two miles of the enemy; but our heavy-sailing schooners prevented our closing in with him, until the 11th off Genesee River; we carried a breeze with us, when he lay becalmed, to within about three-fourths of a mile of him, when he took the breeze, and we had a running fight of three and a half hours; but by his superior sailing he escaped me, and ran into Amherst Bay, yesterday morning. In the course of our chase, on the 11th, I got several broadsides from this ship, upon the enemy, which must have done him considerable injury, as many of the shots were seen to strike him, and people were observed, over the side, plugging shot-holes; a few shot struck our hull, and a little rigging was cut, but nothing of importance—not a man was hurt.

I was much disappointed that Sir James refused to fight me, as he was so much superior in point of force, both in guns and

¹³ Cf. James, *Naval Occurrences*, London, 1817. See also, Rochester Historical Society Publications, III, p. 48, (Hanford's article).

men—having upwards of 20 guns more than we have, and throws a greater weight of shot.

This ship, the *Madison*, and *Sylph*, have each a schr. constantly in tow; yet the others cannot sail as fast as the enemy's squadron, which gives him decidedly the advantage, and puts it in his power to engage me when and how he chooses.

I have the honor, etc.

ISAAC CHAUNCEY.

Hon. W. Jones, Sec'y. Navy.

From the records it appears that Yeo had six vessels with a total tonnage of 2,091, 92 guns with a broadside poundage of 1,374, and 770 men. Chauncey had ten vessels with a tonnage of 2,042, 98 guns with a broadside of 1,288 pounds of metal, and 865 men.

The appearance of the British fleet off the Genesee caused a great stir throughout the region, it being thought that a landing might be intended by the enemy. Turner tells us¹⁴ that messengers were sent into the interior with warnings of the danger; in response, men, armed and unarmed, flocked from the backwoods settlements, ready to fight or run as chances of invasion should make it expedient.

"While anxiously watching the British fleet," says Turner, "expecting every moment to see their boats coming toward the shore, a light breeze sprang up, and soon after, the fleet of Commodore Chauncey was seen rounding Bluff Point. It was a welcome advent, was hailed with joyous shouts from the shore; at a moment when a weak force had supposed themselves about to engage with a vastly superior one, succor had come—a champion had stepped, or rather sailed in, quite equal to the task of defense, in fact seeking the opportunity that seemed to have occurred. Commodore Chauncey brought his fleet within a mile from the shore, and when it was directly opposite the becalmed fleet of the enemy he opened a tremendous fire upon it. At first a sheet of flame arose from the American fleet, and then a dense cloud of smoke that rolled off before a light breeze, blowing off shore, as completely shut out the British fleet from view as if the curtains of night had been suddenly drawn; while the American fleet remained in full view. The fire was returned, but as the breeze

¹⁴ Turner's History of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase.

increased, both moved down the lake, continuing to exchange shots until after dark."

Great excitement prevailed, and the militia was made subject to call at any moment, General Amos Hall, of Bloomfield, whose headquarters were at Batavia, taking over the situation a few weeks later. The event off Charlotte was not the last during the war, for several times afterwards the guns of armed war boats were heard and both forces landed men upon the beaches of Ontario.

On November 13th Chauncey, who now was master of the lake, sailed up the Genesee again, taking on board his ships 1,100 soldiers belonging to General Harrison's army; the schooner transports took off the men in a gale which carried them rapidly to the head of the lake. Chauncey now sailed to a position off Kingston to hold back the enemy while the troops were being moved. By the 27th all the transports had arrived at Sackett's Harbor, and the fleet went into winter quarters, the lake being virtually closed to navigation, owing to the weather and rough seas. But while the lakes were closed to fighting, the land was still open, and operations began to assume importance. Chauncey's only fruits of victory were those of October 5, when he encountered a fleet of seven sail bound for Kingston, capturing five of them with their provisions and crews.

Let us now look backward through the year and note some of the important events on other fronts. The Six Nations of the Iroquois, finding their national domain invaded, declared war on Great Britain in July and the United States accepted their services. Their leaders were chosen from among their own people and included Major Jack Berry, Captain Cold, Captain Red Jacket, Captain Little Billy, Captain Strong, Captain Cornplanter and several other chiefs. The venerable Farmers Brother held a rank equivalent to that of colonel. There were more than 300 Senecas and 300 warriors from the other tribes, under General Peter B. Porter, who knew the Indians as well as any military man on the Niagara front. Red Jacket had done much to swing his people into line and prevent Tecumseh from drawing off the younger hot-heads. He looked at the plans of Pontiac and Tecumseh as wild dreams and counseled his tribesmen to have nothing to do with the Indian confederation in the west. Porter gave these Indians strict charge to conduct themselves according to the

rules of civilized warfare, and, to the credit of the Six Nations, let it be said that they acquitted themselves with humanity as well as bravery. The British could not point out a single atrocity, while their own Indians, coming from wilder tribes, often behaved in a shocking manner and "could not be restrained."

Late in July General Proctor with 500 Canadian and western hostile Indians and 500 British regulars marched against Fort Stephenson on the Sandusky River in Ohio; on the 1st of August he invested it and demanded surrender. In command of the fort was Major Croghan, a young man of 21 years. With the major were 160 men. They proved to be as daring as he, and, to a man, refused to entertain the idea of surrender. The thousand surrounded the fort, and the 160 within saw what would happen if they gave way. As usual, had there been a surrender, the British, "could scarcely restrain their savage allies." Croghan's men were good shots and in the battle that ensued nearly every soldier averaged a man, 150 of the enemy falling; Proctor retired to Malden, scoring but one American killed and seven wounded.

Early in the year the United States ship *Hornet*, commanded by Captain Lawrence, had encountered the British sloop of war *Peacock*. In a fifteen-minute engagement the *Peacock* struck her colors and soon sank; there were three impressed American seamen on board.

Our navy now suffered a reverse. The United States frigate *Chesapeake* was lying in Boston harbor, Captain Lawrence having been given command as a reward for taking the *Peacock*. The British frigate *Shannon* hove into sight and challenged Lawrence to come out and fight. Lawrence took in the situation, and though he was at an entire disadvantage, having a new and unfamiliar crew almost mutinous by reason of not having received their pay. The British frigate, on the contrary, had a picked crew of officers and men, eager to whip the Yankees. Lawrence deemed it a matter of honor to sail out and fight. The engagement did not last long, for the British were prepared in every detail. The *Chesapeake* was riddled and every officer capable of commanding was wounded; Lawrence himself, received a mortal wound, and the battle becoming hopeless he was asked if the colors should be struck. "Not while I live," he replied in his delirium, at the same time crying out, "DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP." The ship, nevertheless, was soon boarded and taken by

Captain Broke, commanding the *Shannon*. It was borne away to Halifax, where Lawrence died four days later, honored by the oldest captains in the British navy stationed there. His thrilling command to his defeated men has long been the battle cry of the American navy, and was Perry's slogan at Put-in-Bay.

On August 14th the U. S. sloop *Argus* struck to the British *Pelican* in English waters, but eighteen days later the *Portland* captured the British *Boxer*, the commanders of both vessels being killed in action. About this time the Creek War was settled by a treaty, the Creeks being thoroughly whipped and their leaders taken; many of their bravest warriors perishing in a hopeless resistance. It was during this year that congress passed the embargo act, and the Emperor of Russia offered to mediate between the two warring countries; an army appropriation bill provided for heavy bounties for enlistments and bonuses for securing recruits.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE WAR OF 1812. (Continued.)

BY ARTHUR C. PARKER.

At the military conference on August 28th, 1813, convoked by General Wilkinson, and attended by the leading officers of the district, it was decided to concentrate all the troops at Sackett's Harbor, save the forces stationed on Champlain. The nine thousand British soldiers at Montreal, Kingston and Burlington Heights, were causing the American commanders much uneasiness. After this council of war, Wilkinson hastened to Fort George, where he called another council of officers. A decision was made to abandon Fort George and transfer all troops to the east end of the lake. No sooner had this plan been projected than contrary orders arrived from Washington to "—put Fort George in condition to resist assault; to leave there an efficient garrison of at least 600 regular troops—" The orders proceeded to cover the matter of forces and commands; for example, Captain Nathaniel Leonard was ordered removed from the command of the fort at Niagara, and General Armistead directed to assume the office. Wilkinson never carried out this part of the order, nor certain other specific directions.

A sudden movement of the British forces from Burlington Heights, caused Colonel Scott to leave his post at Fort George and cross the Niagara in anticipation of active service on the St. Lawrence. The fort was handed over to General George McClure, of the New York militia. Scott then undertook a march with his regulars on October 13th to the mouth of the Genesee River, where he expected to find lake transports ready to take his forces to Sackett's Harbor. He was greatly disappointed, however, and, amid great difficulties was compelled to march his troops up through the mud hole that now is Rochester, on through the marshes of Syracuse to Utica, where a road branched

off for the Black River country, the shores of which were his destination. There he met General Armstrong, who permitted him to leave his troops with Major Hindman and proceed to Ogdensburg, where he joined Wilkinson. All the military movements were toward the St. Lawrence front and, though troops came, they passed through or around Fort George. McClure was left there with his militia and volunteers unsupported; the enlistment period of the militia had about expired, and the hardships they had endured in the campaign were no inducement to the men to remain in service; they were marking time awaiting only the moment of their discharge. Melancholy news now floated in that Wilkinson had failed in his northern campaign; more startling yet was the report that General Drummond and General Riall, at the head of a large body of troops, were at the Peninsula, and that Murray with regulars and Indians was on his way to Fort George.

Let us consider McClure's position. His effective force was a remnant of the 24th U. S. Infantry—60 men in all. The fort could easily be wrested from this little group; they would be made prisoners; the fort occupied, and the enemy stationed in comfortable quarters in the neighboring village of Newark. What should be done? McClure determined to abandon the fort before investment, to destroy his stores and *to burn the village of Newark*. It was a rash decision, but a desperate situation seemed to demand it, McClure thought. His orders from the war department seemed specific, and read:

War Department, Oct. 4, 1813.

Sir—Understanding that the post committed to your charge may render it proper to destroy the town of Newark, you are hereby directed to apprise the inhabitants of this circumstance and to invite them to remove themselves and their effects to some place of greater safety.

John Armstrong.

Brigadier General McClure or

Officer Commanding Fort George.

The torch was applied to the village and soon the splendid little settlement, the pride of that part of Canada, was reduced to ashes. The question is whether or not the "defense of the post" actually did "render it proper to destroy the village of Newark." McClure thought so and did it, but in so doing he kindled the flame of British revenge that did not die out until the capitol of



the Republic itself had been laid in ruins. The Canadians could not forget the awful flight of their women and children through the snow of winter in a piercing wind.

McClure abandoned his post and retreated across the Niagara, amid considerable hardship, and placed his command in Fort Niagara, leaving that post two days later for his headquarters at Buffalo, putting Captain Leonard in charge.

Colonel Murray was at Twelve mile creek when he heard of the Newark affair, not knowing that Fort George had been evacuated, he pressed on, hoping to surprise and capture the garrison. News of his approach had caused McClure to retreat faster than he should have done, and, consequently, the stores at the fort, the supplies of clothing and about 1,500 army tents were left behind in the barracks. All this, together with several cannon and shot, fell into the possession of the British forces, who came up in time to take ten men who had lingered in the fort. That night Murray's troops slept in peace within the walls of Fort George. "Let us retaliate with fire and sword," exclaimed Murray to General Drummond, as they gazed in indignation at the smouldering timbers of Newark. "Do so," answered Drummond, "do so, swiftly and thoroughly." On the night of the 18th, a night cold, bleak and black, Murray, with about 1,000 British soldiers and Indians, crossed the river at Five Meadows, three miles above Fort Niagara. With about 550 regulars he pushed on under the cover of night, his men carrying scaling ladders and other tools of assault. How little they needed these things they did not know—or did Murray have better knowledge? The plan of attack was well worked out. An assault was to be made simultaneously from all sides. The five companies of the One Hundredth regiment under Colonel Hamilton were to assail the gate, the escalade and the protecting works; Colonel Martin's companies were to attack the eastern demi-bastion, while the Royal Scott grenadiers under Captain Bailey were to storm the salient angle of the fort. The flank companies of the Forty-First were to support the gate attack. The British reached the fort at 3 o'clock in the morning.

All went well and the advance pickets were captured and held in silence. The British quietly marched up to the slumbering fort. They made ready to storm the main gate. But all their splendid preparations were for naught; the gate was wide open!

Not only was the gate open, but unguarded. The commandant, Captain Leonard, was absent on a visit to his home. He had left the 500 men without a hint of the expected attack, knowledge of which he has been accused of possessing. The garrison was without orders or competent leadership;¹ it might easily have repelled the attack, as young Croghan had done on the western front. As it was, the British rushed in, made prisoners of the Americans, bayoneted the wounded in the hospital and killed eighty men in all. All was over before the garrison was fairly awake. And on that day (Sunday, December 19th, 1813), there fell into British hands, through this treachery or incompetence of Leonard, not only the fort and 500 men, but twenty-seven cannon, 3,000 stand of arms, an immense amount of ordnance and commissariat stores, a vast quantity of clothing and camp supplies and other materials of value.

The capture of the fort by Murray a settled fact, he caused one of the largest cannon to be charged and fired. It was his signal to General Riall and his regulars and Indians, awaiting at Queenston. That shot was also the signal for another movement by the British troops, including 500 Indians.

Riall's troops moved on and at dawn crossed the Niagara, landed and took possession of the village of Lewiston, unhindered by Major Bennet, stationed on Lewiston Heights, at Fort Gray. Lewiston was plundered and sacked and many civilians murdered. Eight or ten were found stripped and scalped, one was headless and one ten-year-old boy was scalped. The British allowed full rein to their savage allies, and Lewiston was desolate indeed. An advance was now made toward Manchester (Niagara Falls village), but the enemy was temporarily checked by Major Malloy and forty Canadian volunteers, and held back for two days. The march could not be stayed for long, however, and soon the enemy, spreading in all directions, involved the whole country between Fort Niagara and Tonawanda Creek for a distance of thirty-six miles inland in a reign of terror. Manchester and Schlosser were desolated and the Tuscarora villages were burned, and unrestrained license was given to the British Indians, who murdered all they met, driving women and children into the winter's snow. Buffalo was only saved for the moment by the destruction of the

¹ It is said that most of the men were intoxicated or sleeping off the effects of a debauch.

bridge over the Tonawanda. But there was another way to reach Buffalo; a bridge more or less could not stop the enemy.

Riall with his forces marched back to the ruins of Lewiston, crossed over to Queenston, and on December 28 was at Chippewa under his superior, General Drummond. The next day he marched to a point opposite Black Rock, reconnoitered, and, at midnight, crossed over with 1,000 Canadians and Indians, landing two miles below Black Rock. The devastation of the frontier north of the Tonawanda spread consternation throughout western New York; the whole Genesee Country was panic stricken. General McClure had previously issued a stirring address to the inhabitants of Niagara, Genesee and Chautauqua, calling them to the defense of the frontier. "The present crisis is alarming," he wrote, "the enemy are preparing to invade your frontier and let their savages loose upon your families and property. It is now in your power to avoid that evil by repairing to Lewiston, Schlosser and Buffalo."

General Amos Hall, whose headquarters were at Batavia, responded with his usual energy, calling out the militia and asking for volunteers. Batavia was a good rendezvous, for there the government had an arsenal, and there were the offices of the New York Militia. Hall assumed command, after McClure's pro-tempore resignation, and the latter then took his orders from the former. Hall now hastened to Buffalo, where he found that 200 ill-equipped men had responded to his call. In a letter to Governor Tompkins, of New York, he wrote:

Buffalo, December 26, 1813.

His Excellency Governor Tompkins.

Sir: On my receiving information of the enemy's crossing the Niagara River, and taking the fort, I immediately set off for that frontier. On my arrival at Batavia I found a number of volunteers assembled. I tarried one day to forward them on to the frontier and make arrangements for those who should follow.

I this day arrived at Buffalo and assumed command of the troops (being all volunteers) now at this station. The whole number here and at Lewiston, etc., may amount to 200 of all descriptions. The enemy have made their appearance opposite B. Rock, and an invasion is to be expected.

The troops now out can be kept but a few days—the troops

called out on your Excellency's last requisition can not all arrive at this place until the middle or last of this week. The order did not reach me until the evening of the 16th inst.

Our loss in the capture of Niagara has been immense. What number of brave men have been sacrificed we have not yet been able to learn; it must have been great. Several inhabitants have been killed at Lewiston, among whom it is not ascertained there are any women or children.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most humble servant,
AMOS HALL.

A few days later, when General Hall reviewed his troops at Buffalo, he found a motley lot of volunteers of all descriptions. They were greatly demoralized and confused, but after organizing them, he found that he had 2,000 men for the defense of Buffalo and the Niagara frontier. An analysis of these forces taken from Hall's official report is interesting. The following is the list: Lieutenant-Colonel Boughton, with 129 mounted volunteers; Lieutenant-Colonel Blakeslee, of Ontario, 433 exempts and volunteers; Colonel Chapin, 136 Buffalo militia; Major Malloroy, 97 Canadian volunteers; Major Adams, 332 Genesee militia. At Black Rock were forces as follows: Lieutenant-Colonel McMahon, 300 Chautauqua militia; Lieutenant-Colonel Granger, 83 Indians (probably Senecas); Lieutenant Seeley, with 25 artillerymen with a six-pounder; Brigadier-General Hopkins, 382 effective men (commands of Colonels Warren and Churchill); Colonel Ransom, 37 mounted infantrymen.

Such were the forces mustered to defend the Niagara frontier and resist the Canadian invasion. Opposing them were seasoned British troops, organized volunteers and Indians "who could not be restrained."

At midnight on the 29th of December, General Riall crossed the Niagara. Marching through the darkness over ground they had reconnoitered well, the British and Indians soon encountered the pickets stationed by Lieutenant Boughton; there was a brief resistance of these scattered men, and then they broke and fled before the British over Kenjockety (Shogeoquady) Creek, which flows into the Niagara at Squaw Island. The enemy took possession of "Sailor's Battery" and the bridge, which the Americans had failed to destroy. Boughton now hastened with all speed to

General Hall's headquarters between Black Rock and Buffalo to report the presence of the enemy. Hall called out his troops, and ordered Colonels Warren and Churchill to move forward with their corps and feel out the strength and position of the enemy. It was dark, the roadway was treacherous, the troops were raw and had no knowledge that the whole British army was not before them. Yet on they went with their commanders. It was not long before the British showed them where they were by opening a disastrous fire. The American soldiers broke ranks and fled in confusion through the night. Refuge was their only thought. They disappeared so completely that during the following day they were not seen. They had evidently found a place to shield themselves from the terrors of war. General Hall now ordered Chapin and Adams to go forward with their forces. They, too, were to "feel out the British," and provoke British fire; they also fled in confusion. Morning came and Buffalo's defender found himself with 800 less troops than he possessed at midnight; they had actually deserted. Hall now moved forward with his own command, at the same time ordering Colonel Blakeslee to advance for an attack on the British left; on marched the American columns, and, in the dim light of early morning, they saw a flotilla of the enemy's boats engaged in discharging troops on the shore near General Peter B. Porter's mansion. These troops proved to be 800 Royal Scots, and their landing was completed successfully in the very face of the fire of our five-gun battery and musketry opposition. Captain Gordon, with 400 Royal Scots, took the center and began the attack, while the British left wing attempted to flank the American right. Hall countered by throwing Granger with his Indians, and Mallory with his Canadian refugees, against the enemy's advancing left; Blakeslee with his Ontario County militia took the center; McMahan and his Chautauqua troops were posted as a reserve at the Fort Tompkins battery, under command of Lieutenant John Seeley. The batteries on both shores now opened on one another and the Ontario militia, brave as regulars, held back the foe with the determination of overwhelmed veterans, giving ground only inch by inch as the pressure of the enemy compelled it. Our right wing soon gave way, for the Canadians and Indians had neither the numbers nor determination to overcome the odds against them. McMahan with his little band of Chau-

tauquans was then ordered into the breach, but they, too, broke and fled, no orders being effective to rally them again.

Hall's center was in a perilous situation and almost surrounded. Outnumbered, his troops deserting him and fleeing, he had no other recourse than to retire. The Americans had been beaten in a half-hour struggle. Here and there were men conspicuous for their bravery. John Seeley, commanding the battery, fought with great obstinacy, firing his guns effectively, and receiving the enemy's fire until he had but seven men and one horse left. Retreat being ordered, he harnessed his horse to a gun and rode on to Buffalo, pausing to fire whenever a suitable occasion offered; when he had reached the marshy slough where Mohawk Street joins Niagara, he paused again and loaded; he fired, and his gun became dismounted by the recoil; replacing it, he marched on to the settlement. Seeley was a carpenter by trade, but had joined the militia and was stationed as lieutenant at Black Rock. Chapin fled back upon Buffalo, disputing the enemy's advance with great heroism, until the British successfully entered the settlement. Chapin then surrendered the town on condition that there should be no destruction of private property. General Riall accepted the surrender and promised immunity, but, when he found that Chapin had no legal power to consummate the surrender, he gave his troops full license to burn and plunder. Chapin and a number of citizens were made prisoners and held within the British lines. Hall fled to his headquarters on Eleven Mile Creek (Williamsville), and here he rallied about 300 faithful men to protect the retreat of the refugees and to hold the enemy from advancing into the interior. All but four houses were burned, those left standing being the stone jail, a barn frame, a blacksmith shop and the home of Mrs. St. John, who, by great diplomacy and a display of kindness, saved her home, though urged some time before to flee. A Mrs. Sally Lovejoy, seeing the Indians coming, fought them with musket fire, her son Henry assisting. Mrs. Lovejoy was killed, scalped and mutilated.

Black Rock fared no better, and the American boats *Ariel*, *Little Belt*, *Chippewa* and *Trippe*, heroic instruments in the battle of Lake Erie three months before, were burned to the water's edge. Such was British revenge for the destruction of Newark! General Hall had done his best, but volunteers then were uncertain elements; it was almost impossible to control them, and every

little deed of daring had to be lavishly praised. They came and deserted when they pleased, and only remained when cajoled. It takes instruction, training and a cultivated *morale*, guided by able leaders, to make soldiers who will fight and obey. The lessons of 1813 were fruitful in the year 1814. The newspapers of the day published mournful accounts of the disasters on the Niagara frontier, and many put the blame upon the militia, but then, as now, it should have been realized that training and organization count for half the victory. One Batavia account reads as follows: "*Batavia*, Jan. 8, 1813. To the want of discipline, of subordination and proper concert, is to be attributed the fate of Buffalo and Black Rock. Our forces were not only sufficient to have repelled, but to have captured the invaders. Our frontier, from Buffalo to Niagara, now presents one continued scene of ruin. The buildings that now remain in Buffalo are the jail (built of stone) and a small wooden building belonging to the widow St. John, who had the address to appease the ferocity of the enemy so far as to remain in her house uninjured.

"Since our last publication the enemy have evacuated Black Rock. Their last detachment crossed the river on Tuesday, since which time the alarm so generally spread through this section has in a great measure abated, and a degree of calmness succeeded that of bustle and confusion. Previous to evacuating Black Rock, the British fired every building in that place but three. Two of these—a stone dwelling house, belonging to Peter B. Porter, and a storehouse on the bank of the river—were blown up by a quantity of powder placed in them for that purpose. A log house in which some women and children had taken refuge was suffered to remain. This is an act of humanity in the enemy not to be expected after the barbarous assassination of about twenty of our wounded, who had been carried into a barn near that place. We have not been able to procure a list of the names of our men who have been made prisoners. Of the killed, thirty-three have been found, but stripped of their clothing, few of them have been recognized. This number, together with the wounded, said to be inhumanely butchered in a barn at the Rock, swells the list of the killed up to fifty.

"The schooners *Ariel*, *Little Belt*, *Chippewa*, and sloop *Trippe*, lying near Buffalo Creek, fell into the enemy's hands and are probably destroyed."

Such was an item in one of the weekly papers, but when the

"morning mail" was opened a citizen might have read such an extract as this, found in Nathaniel Sill's letter to General Porter, then (January 3d) at Albany. Dated at Lima, the letter in part reads: "The inhabitants are flying from Batavia. We know that the whole country, so far as this place, is in imminent danger. It is full of men who would defend it, but they are destitute of arms and ammunition. One thousand men would burn Canandaigua, and return with little loss." A sidelight on the condition of our volunteers may be gained from an account in the *Manlius Times*, of January 4, 1814. After recounting the facts incident to the landing of the British troops and the initial resistance of our forces, the account reads: "But what availed courage or numbers. Our troops were not organized,—had no cannon. *Their muskets could not be depended on, and but few had but four rounds of ammunition when they took the field.* They were soon put to flight. It is said that General Hall continued upon the field until he was almost deserted, when he was obliged to retire."

Let us now seek to discover the motives of the British. Their ferocity and indifference to humanity seem inexcusable; yet they had a well-prepared justification. In a proclamation of his excellency Lieutenant-General George Prevost, commander of his majesty's forces in North America, made January 12, 1814, he declares:

"The complete success which has attended his majesty's arms on the Niagara frontier having placed in our possession the whole of the enemy's posts on that line, it becomes a matter of imperious duty to retaliate on America the miseries which the unfortunate inhabitants of Newark had been made to suffer upon the evacuation of Fort George. The villages of Lewiston, Black Rock and Buffalo have accordingly been burned.

"At the same time that his excellency, the commander of the forces, sincerely deprecates this whole mode of warfare, he trusts that it will be sufficient to call the attention of every candid and impartial person, both among ourselves and the enemy, to the circumstances from which it has arisen, to satisfy them that this departure from the established usages of war has originated with America herself, and that to her alone are justly chargeable all the awful and unhappy consequences which have hitherto followed and are likely to result from it. * * * It will be hardly credited by those who shall hereafter read it in the pages of history, that

in the enlightened era of the nineteenth century, and in the inclemency of a Canadian winter, the troops of a nation, calling itself Christian, had wantonly and without a shadow of pretext, forced four hundred helpless women and children to quit their dwellings and be the mournful spectators of the conflagration and total destruction of all that belonged to them; yet such was the fate of Newark, on the 10th of December, a day which the inhabitants of Upper Canada can never forget, and the recollection of which can not but nerve their arms when opposed to their vindictive foe. * * *

“Lamenting, as his excellency does, the necessity imposed upon him of retaliating upon the inhabitants of America the miseries inflicted upon Newark, it is not his intention to further pursue a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings and so little congenial to the British character, unless the future measures of the enemy should compel him again to resort to it.”

There has been much discussion as to why the Buffalo-Niagara region should have been left in such a defenseless state as to make it possible for the enemy to devastate the frontier. There were rumors at the time that McClure and Chapin quarreled violently over the proposition to burn Newark, Chapin believing the act unnecessary. After McClure had abandoned Fort Niagara, knowing that the enemy was preparing to descend upon Buffalo, he retreated far inland to Batavia, and there resigned his command to Hall, as we have seen. From Batavia he fled afterwards to his Steuben County home. Major Chapin, in describing the events leading up to the burning of Newark, said in a public document, dated June 13, 1814: “The ill-fated town of Newark was burnt under his (McClure’s) orders on the night of December 10, 1813. Here was exhibited a scene of distress which language would be inadequate to describe. Women and children were turned out of doors on a cold stormy night; the cries of infants, the decrepitude of age, the debility of sickness, had no impression upon this monster in human shape.” * * * This statement from a soldier appears severe, but there are other statements that make one believe that McClure must have been suffering from some grievance, real or fancied.²

² For a complete documentary discussion of McClure’s conduct, and other papers relating to the burning of Buffalo, see Ketchum’s “Buffalo and the Senecas,” Vol. 2, pp. 379 et seq.

The year 1814 was ushered in with misgivings on the part of the people of America. The disasters in the autumn of 1813 were such that the country was seriously concerned about the situation, a situation rendered more disturbing by the fact that the British naval and military forces had been released from the campaigns against Napoleon. This meant that the United States might now face the hardened veterans of the European wars; indeed, the news soon leaked out that 14,000 of Wellington's veteran troops were on their way over.

The British, with a dawning conception of what the American conflict actually was, drew up a two-fold plan for handling the war: the first provided for the protection of Canada from invasion and attack; the second called for a maritime blockade from Maine to Georgia. A paragraph from a British journal, quoted in Baines' history, gives us a clue to British sentiment. The article reads: "After the fall of Napoleon, it was held in this country with a lamentable ignorance of the real state of feelings and energies of the United States, that Britain, so long the undisputed mistress of the ocean, would soon be able to sweep from the seas the ships of America; and that those troops which had acquired so much glory when contending with the veteran armies of Europe, would no sooner show themselves on the western side of the Atlantic, than the panicstricken soldiers of the United States would be driven far within their own frontiers. These pleasing illusions were heightened by the hope that England would soon be able to dictate peace in the capital of the republic; or at least that the splendor of British triumphs, and the pressure of American embarrassments, would induce and encourage the inhabitants of the northern states to form a separate government under the protection of the crown of Great Britain, if not actually under the sway of her sceptre." Thus, to break up the United States and gain control of the weakened states, was the avowed hope of the mother country, whose statesmen could scarcely see that they had in fact become a separate and distinct national entity never to return to British allegiance.

Let us now observe what effect the war had upon the Genesee Country. On January 8th, the following letter was drawn up by the Committee of Safety and Relief, of Canandaigua, addressed to DeWitt Clinton, Colonel Robert Troup, General Clarkson and others:



BLACK SQUIRREL,
Veteran of the War of 1812.

"Gentlemen: Niagara County and that part of Genesee County which lies west of Batavia are completely depopulated. All the settlements in a section of a country forty miles square, and which contained more than 12,000 souls are effectually broken up. These facts you are undoubtedly acquainted with; but the distress they have produced none but an eye-witness can thoroughly appreciate. Our roads are filled with people, many of whom have been reduced from a state of competence and good prospects, to the last degree of want and sorrow. So sudden was the blow by which they have been crushed that no provision could be made either to elude or meet it. The fugitives from Niagara County, especially, were dispersed under circumstances of so much terror, that in some cases mothers find themselves wandering with strange children, and children are seen accompanied by such as have no other sympathies with them than those of common suffering. Of the families thus separated all the members can never meet again in this life, for the same violence that has made them beggars has deprived some of their heads and others of their branches. * * * The inhabitants of Canandaigua have made a large contribution for their relief, in money, provisions and clothing. And we have been appointed, among other things, to solicit further relief for them from our wealthy and liberal minded fellow citizens. In pursuance of this appointment may we ask you, gentlemen, to interest yourselves particularly in their behalf? We believe that no occasion has ever occurred in our country which presented stronger claims upon individual benevolence, and we humbly trust that whoever is willing to answer these claims will always entitle himself to the precious reward of active charity."

This appeal met a generous response the city of New York appropriating \$3,000, and the State Legislature \$50,000, "for the relief of the indigent sufferers in the counties of Genesee and Niagara, in consequence of the invasion of the western frontier of the state, including the Tuscarora nation of Indians, and the Canadian refugees, the money to be distributed by Graham Newell, William Wadsworth and Joseph Ellicott." From this picture one can comprehend the danger that hung over the Genesee Country like an impending doom, and the suffering that resulted from the frontier invasion of 1813. War was brought home in all its grim realization, but even worse was to come.

General Wilkinson was in camp at French Mills until early in February, when, under orders of the secretary of war, he despatched General Brown with 2,000 troops to the Niagara front. He then destroyed his barracks and retired to Plattsburg. The enemy, gaining knowledge of his movement, raided Malone and destroyed the arsenal and public stores at that place. Wilkinson's movement was interpreted by the enemy as a feint against Canada, which caused the mustering of 2,000 men under Major Hancock and the fortification of LaColle Mill on the river Sorel. This reaction brought about an attack by Wilkinson, who was defeated with a loss of 100 men, killed and wounded. The expedition was characterized by so many failures that the General was tried before a court-martial at Troy, but was acquitted. The

British now began to close in for an attack on Champlain, where, at the mouth of the Otter River, at Vergennes, in Vermont, lay the American flotilla. Macdonald, however, was on guard, and repulsed the attack with vigor. Nevertheless, British boats had begun action in the lake; the end was not yet. Lake Ontario ports were also hives of industry and preparation. At Kingston the enemy was building an extra large ship, which furnished an incentive for Chauncey, who also started one to preserve the naval balance; each sought to destroy the other's work.

The alert British, noting the activities at Oswego, determined to attack it. At that place were quantities of naval stores, rigging, ropes, food supplies and guns; these would be of vast help to the British. The station was defended by a fort and five guns, and garrisoned by 300 men, under Colonel Mitchell, and promised an easy victory. On May 5th the enemy commenced a bombardment, and 1,500 men under General Drummond tried to effect a landing, but were held off by the little American force; the next day the attack was renewed, with greater success. Colonel Mitchell was forced from the fort by heavy fire, and, abandoning it, he joined his corps to the marines and seamen and engaged the enemy's front, but again fell back, defeated in his attempt to repulse the foe. Mitchell and his men now retreated to Oswego Falls, thirteen miles upstream, destroying all bridges as he retreated. The British held Oswego and the key to an important inland region. The enemy looked about for their prizes—the stores for which they had come—but the Americans had not left their valuables behind; they had been sent ahead to a secure hiding place, and the enemy found little with which to console themselves save some cannon and a few barrels of whisky. For this they had lost 235 men, killed and wounded; the American losses were sixty-nine killed and wounded. On May 7th the British evacuated Oswego. The stores came back with the American troops, and, on May 28th, Major Appling and Captain Woolsey were detailed to transfer them to Sackett's Harbor. The watchful British saw the move and covered the American boats, which sailed up a creek and moored; their men disembarked, formed an ambush and waited. The enemy walked straight into the trap, were surprised and surrendered after an action of twenty minutes. The Americans had no losses, and soon after took their barges safely into Sackett's Harbor. Chauncey by this time had completed his

Superior, which, when fully equipped, sailed out to meet the enemy before Kingston. Sir James Yeo made no response but kept his moorings, awaiting the completion of his own ship, which was capable of mounting almost twice as many guns as the *Superior*. In the west there were several attempts to reclaim Mackinaw, and in a battle on the Thames the American forces defeated the British, compelling their retreat.

General Brown, who had engaged in no offensive action during the spring of 1813, had with him two able men—Scott and Ripley. Aided by General Scott, who had adopted French military methods, the whole army at Niagara was drilled in the tactics of the new manual. A mass of undisciplined troops gradually became an organized army, ready for the call to action. There were many tasks to be accomplished, the first of which was the recapture of Fort Erie. With his troops, numbering some 2,000, General Brown in June marched his army to Buffalo, whose ashes were still a grim reminder of an enemy's vengeance; here his command was swelled by Towson's artillery and a corps of volunteers under Peter B. Porter, making a combined force of 3,500 men. Scott's discipline had developed a splendid morale and his men were inspired with new ardor and courage. His own brigade embraced the battalions of the Ninth, the Eleventh and the Twenty-fifth Regiments of infantry, a detachment of the Twenty-second and Towson's artillery. General Ripley commanded the First, the Twenty-first and Twenty-third Infantry, and Peter B. Porter the militia bodies known as the Canadian Volunteers, the Pennsylvania Volunteers, the New York Volunteers and the Six Nations' Indian companies. Early in the morning of July 3d, Scott's brigade, with the artillery corps of Major Hindman, crossed the river below Fort Erie, while Ripley's brigade landed above. The resourceful Scott, in command, had arrived in an open boat with Colonel Camp, and thus our forces were on the enemy's shore before a single hostile gun had been fired. One hundred and seventy men surrendered without firing a shot, and were later carried away as prisoners to the concentration camps at Canandaigua and other interior points.

The troops were greatly heartened by their success, and preparations were immediately made to advance and attack the enemy at Chippewa, occupied by General Riall. The morning of July 4th, 1814, was one of excitement and expectation for Scott's

men. Early, as usual, Scott, with his brigade several hours in advance, moved toward the goal, the village of Chippewa, on the river of the same name, near its junction with the Niagara. For sixteen miles of the way there was a running fight with the British One Hundredth Regiment, commanded by the Marquis of Tweeddale. Scott pursued him with such vigor that the enemy were driven at sundown across the Chippewa River, where they united with the main army under General Riall. As night fell Scott took up his position above Street's Creek, two miles from the enemy's camp. The next day was ordained for the battle of Chippewa, in the level between the two streams. The morning of the 5th dawned hot and dusty. The British were securely fortified on the Chippewa, and the Americans temporarily encamped south of the smaller stream; on the west were heavy woodlands, on the east was the Niagara. The British, anticipating an attack, moved forward to meet it, detachments occupying the woods with their Indian allies. The foe had 3,000 troops, and Scott but 1,300, all told; each side was ready and wary. Noon came before the enemy pickets began to annoy the American flanks, shooting from the woods to the left. Scott met Indian with Indian, and, under General Porter, with his volunteers and friendly Six Nations warriors, our forces skirmished through the woods and soon drove the enemy in retreat to their works across the Chippewa. The advance of General Riall checked the retreat and engaged Porter; bravely he urged his men on, but when they saw the seasoned British troops approaching, his militia broke and fled.

The afternoon had waned; it was 4 o'clock and General Brown was with Porter in the woods; the pickets reported a great cloud of dust and some firing ahead. It was the British army advancing. Scott in the open plain was unaware of this and was moving his troops in drill formation; reaching the bridge, he met General Brown, who informed him of the enemy's approach, and that he would have to fight; this was Scott's only order that day; if it was "fight," he would fight. Two hundred yards ahead was the bridge; Scott reached it and there saw the foe, until then hidden by a screen of trees and bushes; here, in battle array, before our soldiers was the celebrated One Hundredth Regiment under Tweeddale, the First of the Royal Scots under Colonel Gordon, a portion of the Eighth (King's) Regiment, a detachment of the Royal Artillery, a part of the Nineteenth Light Dragoons and a consider-

able body of the Canadian militia and their Indian allies. Scott further remarked before him a heavy battery of nine pieces commanding the bridge, which fired at him point blank; but the men went over the bridge in perfect order, with few casualties. The battalions under Leavenworth and McNeil advanced and formed a front line, which brought them directly before the center and left of the enemy. Major Jesup, commanding the Third Battalion, advanced, obliques in column to the left to attack the enemy's right in the woods; Captain Towson with his artillery moving down the road was stationed on the right, resting against the Chippewa road. There was one defect in the placement of our troops, which Scott undertook to remedy: the British right wing outflanked our left; Jesup's battalion moved out to cover the British right and the space between Leavenworth and McNeil was enlarged. It took real stamina to execute these manoeuvres under the steady fire of the British cannon and musketry, but Scott soon had his troops arranged in a manner that satisfied him. Jesup was in the woods out of sight engaging the enemy; the latter advanced and so did Scott, alternately advancing, halting and firing. Eighty paces separated the contending forces, when Scott, seeing the enemy's new flank, opposed McNeil's battalion obliquely to the charge, and flanking a bit to the right. Scott now shouted to McNeil's men, "The enemy say that we are good at a long shot but can not stand cold steel. I call upon the Eleventh instantly to give the lie to that slander. CHARGE!" McNeil at once charged, and almost at the same time Leavenworth advanced, while Towson supported by a flank fire upon the enemy; the British army meeting cold steel from the long shots, recoiled and fled in confusion. Jesup, in the woods, finding himself sorely pressed, ordered his men to "support arms and advance;" this they did under a galling fire. A better position was gained, and, once established, Jesup's men poured forth such an effective fire that the wood-protected enemy began to retire. The whole British army was now routed, and fled precipitously to their intrenchments beyond the Chippewa. Scott gave hot pursuit to within a distance of half a musket's shot from Chippewa bridge. The plain was strewn with dead and dying; Scott gathered in many prisoners. Brown, learning of the engagement, hastened to bring up Ripley's brigade for support, but arrived too late.

Our forces lost 328 killed, wounded and missing; the British

losses were 514, including prisoners. It was a fair fight, in an open plain, breast to breast and man to man. Though outnumbered, the Americans had driven off a seasoned foe. It was a pointed lesson, that trained Americans were the match of trained Britishers, a fact that the British had before repudiated. Meanwhile, a large body of British troops, commanded by General Drummond, were bivouacked at Burlington Heights, near the head of Lake Ontario, and others at York (Toronto). After the battle of Chippewa this body of troops was augmented by those of General Riall, both generals concentrating at Fort George, with a combined force of 5,000 men.

The American camp on July 10th was moved to Chippewa, General Brown intending to invest Fort George, but difficulties arose which compelled him to retire on the 23rd to Chippewa. All heavy baggage and the wounded and sick were sent across the river to Schlosser, under the care of General Swift. The British began to threaten the American positions. On the 25th they were at Queenston and had sent a detachment to menace the stores at Schlosser. General Brown knew of no better man to meet this menace than General Scott; the latter took his brigade and Towson's artillery, with the intention of manoeuvring near Queenston and divert the enemy's purpose to seize the supplies. This movement was the preface to a major engagement that went down in history. Let us see what happened.

The repeated attacks of the Americans upon the Niagara fortifications in Canada led the British commander to erect Fort Missauga near the mouth of the river, as an additional reinforcement of Fort George. Niagara then, and in the days of the French and English struggle for the supremacy of a continent, as now, is one of the keys to continental power. This was well understood by the British; it was quite as obvious to General Brown in the summer campaign of 1814. To accomplish the destruction of the British forts, General Brown sent to Sackett's Harbor for heavy guns, which were to be brought by Chauncey's boats; Chauncey, however, lay sick and the guns were not forthcoming. The British, therefore, for the time being had the ascendancy on the lakes, and their forts were safe enough. Brown, eager for action, did not let this condition disconcert him. He planned to attack Burlington Heights, and, with the intention of deceiving the enemy, make a feigned retreat, which might draw

the enemy out, and, while thus engaging the attention of the British, permit him to utilize his supplies across the river, at the same time quite likely precipitating a fight. This plan failing, Brown hoped to make July 25th a day of rest and preparation, and the 26th a time when he might send Scott forward to Queenston to force General Riall into an engagement. All went well throughout the morning of the 25th, which was given over to relaxation; no one dreamed that the closing hours of the day would be forever memorable.

During the afternoon a messenger reported to General Brown that the commanding officer of the forces on the American side of the Niagara had observed the movement of a thousand British troops across the river from Queenston to Lewiston. Brown construed this as a threat against his base of supplies, including ammunition and wagon trains and boats coming down from Buffalo, which, as we have explained, he sought to counteract by a movement against the British forts at the mouth of the river. Twenty minutes after receiving this information, Scott's command was on the march. There were 1,300 men in four small battalions under Colonel Brady, Major Jesup, Major Leavenworth, Major McNeil, Captain Towson, with artillery, and Captain Harris with his cavalry. The guards were left behind for lack of time to bring them up. When this little body of men had reached a point just above Niagara Falls, Scott saw before him a scattered group of mounted British officers on a reconnoitering tour, and also observed that the enemy was in considerable force below, screened from view by a narrow strip of woods. Scott hurriedly reviewed the situation, as it presented itself to him: the enemy, he argued, had been defeated and these troops were but remnants; their forces had been divided by their expedition across the Niagara, and they must be now at great disadvantage. He, accordingly, ordered his troops forward, confident of a short, decisive fight. He passed the woods, and at Lundy's Lane found himself facing a British force in battle array, and of greater size than he had engaged at Chippewa! It was a critical moment; what should be done? To remain fast was not possible, on account of the enemy's artillery and musket fire; to retreat meant disorganization, confusion and, perhaps, panic on the part of the reserves, which might even now be coming up, all unseasoned by lack of battle experience in the previous encounter. There was

but one thing to do—advance and fight. Come what might, Scott determined to employ his men against this superior force. The initial attack counted for much, for it kept the enemy on the defensive until reserves could be brought up to sustain the front. Scott lost no time in sending back Major Jones and Lieutenant D. B. Douglass,³ of the Engineers, to report the condition of affairs to General Brown. Jones was to report that the British force, far from being a mere detachment, was a well supported army; Douglass was to report the manoeuvring of the remnants of Riall's forces, to protect the divisions sent over the Niagara; he was also to request that the reserves be sent forward quickly.

Let us pause a moment to recall that during the night of the 24th General Drummond had arrived with heavy reinforcements, having come in transports to the mouth of the Niagara; his men were from the bases at Prescott and Kingston. Riall had been ordered to meet him on the 25th, at Niagara, and had marched up from Queenston over the very road that Scott had been ordered to take the next day; not a man had actually gone over the Niagara. These facts were all unknown to Brown and Scott, and they were completely surprised by the formidable character of the army now employed against them. Forty minutes before sunset the battle started, the British lines opening fire upon Scott's battalions at a distance of a hundred and fifty paces. It was the case of 1,800 well posted men against a surprised body of 1,300, but the smaller group under the brave Scott sustained the fire. The British were drawn up on a ridge running on a course nearly ninety degrees to the river and a little below the falls; their left was on a road parallel to the river and nearly a quarter of a mile from it, but hidden from the river by brushwood. Scott, quick to comprehend the situation, ordered Major Jesup, sustained by Colonel Brady, to take advantage of it. Jesup took position in the woods and, concealed by the heavy shrubbery, made very effective use of it. The other troops had been quickly deployed into line, with Brady on the right and Towson's artillery supporting, cavalry units on both sides were held in reserve. The enemy, perceiving that he outflanked us on the left, threw forward a battalion to attack in rear and flank; Scott's response was to order McNeil's battalion forward to meet it. The results were

³ Douglass afterward became a professor at West Point and subsequently the president of Kenyon College.

swift and bloody. Brady, with Leavenworth and Towson, now held the front line; Jesup had succeeded in his bushland fight and General Riall and several of his officers were made prisoners, Major Ketchum of Jesup's forces making the capture in person.

Twilight had now faded to dusk, but the fighting raged on. By nine o'clock the enemy's right had been beaten back from its flank assault with heavy loss. The British center, however, remained firm; its position, on the ridge was supported by a battery of nine guns mounted on a knoll; two of the guns were brass 24-pounders. Scott's position was becoming desperate, for the enemy center was inflicting terrible punishment. The British commander only awaited the moment when his reinforcements should come up, to move forward and crush the American forces. Scott, too, awaited fresh troops, and both sides, as if exhausted for the moment, ceased fire and lay in the darkness. The cessation of fire made audible the groans of the wounded above the roar of the cataract, but, while men groaned in agony, fresh troops were on their way to add to the quota of both contestants. The battle was renewed with the appearance of Porter and his volunteers, General Ripley's battalion and Hindman's artillery. Ripley, sometimes accused of being inefficient and delinquent, saw where the power of the enemy lay; it was in the battery of artillery. There is some dispute on the part of historians as to who first conceived the idea of storming the battery; both Brown and Ripley are said to have turned to Major James Miller and shouted "Sir, can you take that battery?" "*I will try,*" came Miller's brief but pointed answer. Scott, though wounded, conducted Miller in the direction of the eminence, and then returned to attack the front, in order to favor Miller's advance. "Close up, steady, men!" shouted Miller, and the gallant 21st walked into the very fire of the enemy's artillery, until they swept them from their guns. The Americans were now in control of the stronghold, the possession of which should determine the victory.

Again and again the British rallied to recapture the battery, but as often they were repulsed, the Americans at times not firing until the enemy's bayonets touched their own, so dark was the night. The onslaught continued, but at length the veterans of Wellington gave way and left the battery and the field to the American forces. The American army was suffering greatly from an insufficient water supply; men were not only wailing

from wounds, but were craving a sip of water to assuage their burning thirst. General Ripley, now in command, restored his line to order. Scott's shattered brigade was consolidated into one battalion and placed in the rear behind the second brigade, under Colonel Leavenworth. It was ordered to move forward to Lundy's Lane and form, with its right toward the Niagara road and its left to the rear of the artillery. A half hour passed; Drummond was again heard coming up in the darkness and there was an immediate assault; the Americans were ready and responded with a terrible fire, both artillery and musketry being employed. After the first discharge, the British threw their entire forces against the American center, where the gallant 21st resisted effectually, though a few platoons faltered, later to be brought into line by General Ripley himself. Two charges were led by General Scott, the first against the enemy's left, and the second against his right, flank. Neither attack succeeded beyond holding the enemy's attention; the British, however, fell back again, their principal accomplishment being in wounding Scott.

The third British attack, more terrible than those preceding it, was repulsed, and the British withdrew. The field was untenable for either army, the Americans suffering from want of water and the British unable to hold their ground against the American resistance. The Americans retired to their base further north at Chippewa. Both Scott and Brown were suffering from severe wounds, and the command devolved upon General Ripley, who was ordered to return the next morning and bring back the captured cannon; this could not be done the night of the battle for lack of horses. Ripley failed to return as ordered, and the British, finding a vacated field returned and recovered their field pieces. They, therefore, claimed, and with some justification, that they won the battle and recaptured their guns after the Americans had retreated. Ripley was reproached by his commander and later removed.

Our forces at the battle of Niagara Falls, more commonly called the battle of Lundy's Lane, consisted of about 2,600 men, and while the British had at least 4,500. In the contest each side lost about 900 men in killed and wounded including prisoners. The abandonment of the field gave the enemy a considerable advantage, even though he suffered heavily. It meant that the American base at Chippewa was the target for attack; General

Ripley realized that this was the case, and ordered a hasty retreat to Fort Erie, destroying the bridge over the Chippewa River and hurling his baggage and stores into the Niagara River. Had the British under Drummond followed Ripley, not a man in the latter's forces could have escaped. Moreover, his ill-advised and almost panic-stricken retreat put Chippewa, the fortifications, the artillery and the military supplies into the hands of the British and gave them command of the entire Niagara frontier.

The army now fell back upon Fort Erie, General Brown placing General Gaines, formerly of Sackett's Harbor, in command. Fort Erie became a new storm center, when General De Waterville, of the British army, moved against it on August 3rd with 1,000 men. On the same day Colonel Tucker crossed the Niagara, with the intention of attacking Buffalo and recovering General Riall, then behind our lines as a prisoner of war. An additional 200 men came over to reinforce this expedition, but Major Lodowick Morgan with a rifle corps of 240 repulsed the enemy at Conjockety Creek and drove them back over the river. The next day (August 4), General Gaines arrived at Fort Erie, to take command of the besieged fort. Works were being built with rapidity and the new commandant pushed the defenses to completion. For more than a week there was an incessant cannonade by the batteries of both armies; frequent skirmishes took place outside the walls, in one of which (August 11) the brave Morgan lost his life. Indications pointed to an assault by the British; a heavy bombardment took place on the 13th and was kept up until seven o'clock of the 14th. Late in the afternoon of the 14th a British shell fell into a small magazine exploding it with a loud noise; the enemy were greatly encouraged by this, imagining that the Americans had suffered heavily, though as a matter of fact not a man was killed.

Drummond, the British general, planned to invest the fort on all three sides at once, right, center and left. The attack was to be made shortly after midnight, a rain storm favoring the enemy's purpose. Accordingly, at half past two in the morning of the 15th, Drummond sent forward his right column of 1,300 men under Colonel Fischer. Their march was swift and steady, and within a short time, passing around the abattis, they attacked both Towson's batteries and the works towards the lake.

Their scaling ladders were thrown up against the walls, but they found it impossible in the face of the galling fire to enter the fortification. Fisher's attempt to pass around the abattis failed and two hundred of his men fell, dead or wounded. The right column thus busy, the left and center, under Colonels Scott and Drummond, advanced to the assault. The enemy fell upon the fort with great fury, and, though gallantly defended, were in a measure successful. The scaling party drove our men from a bastion, and Drummond, maddened by his losses, mounted the height and shouted to his men, "*Give the Yankees no quarter!*" A hand to hand fight ensued with the survivors. Captain Williams fell, and Lieutenants McDonough and Watmough were severely wounded. McDonough called for quarter, but Drummond, having ordered his men to give none, refused it. McDonough now determined to fight until he could do so no longer, and, seizing a handspike, he defended himself from his assailants until the infuriated Drummond sent a bullet into the wounded man; one of McDonough's friends, seeing this, killed Drummond with a single shot. The savage attack of the British was designed to set an example to the Indians, who waited outside until the time came for them to enter the fort and execute their vengeance in approved style. A mystery here presents itself: it may be inquired where the wounded McDonough went after Drummond shot him; did he roll off the parapet, or was a serious injury feigned? These questions are pertinent when we know what followed the British attempt to hold the bastion, and the futile struggle of the Americans to recapture it, the narrow passage way preventing the latter from getting in. Suddenly, and just at the moment when another desperate attempt was being made to drive out the enemy, there was a terrific explosion, the earth trembling and a column of flame and smoke shooting high in the air. The bastion had been blown up by the ignition of a powder magazine beneath it! Thus were the British driven out, and the fort cleared. But how did the explosion occur? Did the wounded McDonough drop the match that caused the explosion? Historians speculate, but none can answer the riddle; at any rate, howsoever the event happened, it saved our garrison from a terrible massacre.

Following this incident, the batteries of Biddle and Fanning opened on the British, causing their lines to break and flee to their

entrenchments, leaving 221 dead, 174 wounded and 186 prisoners. Was humane treatment accorded these foemen who had been instructed to give none? It was. The Americans lost seventeen killed, fifty-six wounded, and eleven missing. The British losses (Adjutant-General Baynes gives figures somewhat different) were reported as fifty-seven killed, 309 wounded and 539 missing. The British had been repulsed but they had not given up. While the Americans were mounting additional guns, to the number of twenty-seven, and augmenting their forces to 3,000, the enemy had also received reinforcements. On August 28th they again began a bombardment, throwing hot shot, shells and rockets into the fort. One shell fell into General Gaines' headquarters and, exploding, so wounded him that he was compelled to retire to Buffalo. General Brown, recovering at Batavia from wounds, came on to the scene and ordered General Ripley to take command, but Ripley's unpopularity with a certain group forced Brown to relieve him and to assume personal command. Fort Erie was in grave danger of a successful investment, but nature interposed with heavy rains, making the terrain a poor field for battle, leaving the British camp a marsh and causing an outbreak of fever. This predicament of the enemy furnished to General Brown an opportunity for an aggressive movement. After a council with his officers, he planned a sortie on the morning of September 17th, in which he would "* * * storm the batteries, destroy the cannon, and roughly handle the brigade upon duty before those in reserve could be brought into action."⁴ Toward noon on the 17th the forces were ready. General Porter was to have the left with his volunteers and militia, and, by a cautious and circuitous route, was to creep through the woods and assail the enemy's right. General James Miller was to move from the right and attack the British center. The remainder of the Twenty-first Regiment, under Ripley, was to be posted as a reserve out of sight of the enemy. Porter did not fail in his movement and was within a few yards of the enemy's works before his presence was suspected. The amazed British fell back, two of their batteries were stormed and within a half hour were captured. Immediately a block house in the rear of another battery fell, the garrison made prisoners, the cannon destroyed and the

⁴ General Brown's report to the Secretary of War.

magazine blown up. The fight was not an easy one, for the British lines were protected by entanglements of three branches and an abattis, the latter in this instance being lines of stakes driven into the ground obliquely with the sharpened ends facing the enemy; to penetrate these defenses meant a vigorous struggle in the face of British fire. While the Americans were crawling through the entanglements the British reserves came up and began to fire. Hand-to-hand fighting commenced with great ferocity, and, though the Americans penetrated the defense line, they were compelled to endure a disconcerting cross-fire; they were not discouraged and held their ground stubbornly.

During this sortie the officers were everywhere in the face of danger and often got into situations of great risk. General Porter at one time found himself alone, and a few steps showed that he had run into a detachment standing between One and Two batteries. He could neither advance nor retreat, and, thus placed, partially screened by the undergrowth, he called out boldly, "That's right, my good fellows; surrender and we will take good care of you." The deception was so perfect that every man in the company threw down his gun and turned to march to the rear. All went well until the soldier who stood next to the left guide saw that Porter was without even a squad to support him; with a flash of intuition, he grabbed a bayonet, came to the position of *charge* and demanded Porter's surrender. Porter was now in an awkward situation, but, with a tiger-like spring, he grasped the musket and began to wrestle for its possession, injuring his hand as he struggled; others of the enemy now set upon him, and Porter was on the point of yielding, when he called out for them to cease resistance, for they were all surrounded and would be put to death if they continued their struggle. Fortunately for Porter, Lieutenant Chatfield, of the Cayuga Rifles, heard the commotion and came to the rescue with his riflemen, thus saving the General, and the latter in his report writes of Chatfield as one " * * * by whose intrepidity I was, during the action, extricated from the most unpleasant situation."⁵

General Brown, believing that General Miller might be pressed too hotly by the enemy, ordered Ripley with the Twenty-first In-

⁵ L. I. Babcock, who tells this story in "The Siege of Fort Erie," N. Y. Historical Society Report, Vol. VIII, p. 57, suspects that it may be an after-war campaign story, but there appears to be ample corroboration.

fantry to advance; in this movement Ripley was seriously wounded and taken to the rear. Miller, with a tactician's practiced eye, seeing that nothing further could be effected in the face of an increasing resistance, began to arrange an orderly retreat toward the fort. The commanding general, satisfied that the specific object of the sortie was accomplished, ordered the other forces back; the offending batteries had been destroyed, and 1,000 of the enemy killed, wounded and made prisoners. The American losses were seventy-nine killed, 216 wounded, and about the same number missing. Twelve of our officers were killed, twenty-two wounded, and ten missing; this loss of effective officers was a serious blow to our small garrison. General Drummond in his reports converted the retreat of the Americans into a rout, and claimed a victory, but a review of his reports shows that he was a master hand at military letter writing, and an adept in making victories out of minor actions. Inasmuch as our sortie accomplished its object, and that it was not designed to hold the ground, there can be no question but that the laurels of victory belonged to the American arms. On the 21st Drummond retired to his position on the Chippewa River, leaving some of his supplies at Fort Erie and burning others at his depot on Frenchman's Creek. His retreat to a base in the rear shows more pointedly than the words of his official report how seriously the sortie affected his military position; it practically closed the heavy fighting on the Niagara frontier. It had been a Niagara-Genesee campaign and was fought largely by militia from these districts. The volunteers who had served faithfully so long were now dismissed and allowed to return home, the loudest and most sincere praise being given them for their steadiness and bravery. General Brown's testimony conveyed in a letter to Governor Tompkins may be quoted: "The militia of New York have redeemed their character—they behaved gallantly." The British report read differently and Drummond wrote of the "repulse of the American army of 5,000 men by an inconsiderable number of British troops." Quite in another strain was General Brown's report, in which he wrote to the secretary of war, "Thus one thousand regulars and an equal portion of militia in one hour of close action blasted the hopes of the enemy, destroyed the fruits of fifty days' labor, and diminished his effective force one thousand men, at least." The victories of Chippewa, Niagara Falls and Fort Erie

were soon followed by another, this time on the northern front, that of the battle of Plattsburg, September 17, 1814, fought to a finish, indeed, while the struggle at Fort Erie was in process. Of this we should know more because of its importance in the history of the northern frontier.

While Brown was holding Fort Erie, there was much concern in the War Department as to the ability of so small a garrison to hold out in the face of Drummond's increasing forces; this resulted in orders to General George Izard to abandon his northern post at Plattsburg, which the presence of large bodies of British troops at Montreal was making untenable, and march with 5,000 men to relieve the Niagara frontier. Izard started, and reaching Sackett's Harbor on September 17th, he found a letter awaiting him from General Brown, stating that the effective forces at Fort Erie were not more than 2,000, and urging him to effect a junction with his army at Buffalo. Brown said that Porter might raise 3,000 volunteers, but he added: "I will not conceal from you that I consider the fate of this army very doubtful unless speedy relief is afforded." That letter reached Izard the very day of the successful sortie at Fort Erie, though, of course, the slow progress of mails prevented his learning this good news. He did, however, hear from General McComb concerning the successful repulse of the British at Plattsburg. The north being safe, he resolved to embark on Chauncey's fleet with 2,500 infantry, at the same time directing that his dragoons, mounted and dismounted, with the light artillery, march overland by way of Onondaga.

General Izard and his infantry reached the Genesee River on September 21st and disembarked the next day. On the 24th they marched over the muddy roads, reaching Lewiston over the Ridge road eleven days later (October 5). The appearance of Izard and his swarm of troops at Lewiston was totally unexpected by the British on the opposite shore, and, had there been boats available, he might easily have captured a British battalion at Queenston.

In consultation with Generals Brown and Porter that evening, he revealed his design to attack Fort Niagara. Outranking General Brown, Izard assumed command of all troops, about 8,000 in number. Leaving Colonel Hindman with a garrison to hold Fort Erie, Izard and his men moved on toward Chippewa and endeavored to draw the enemy into an engagement. Drummond, however, preferred to retire to Fort George and Burlington

Heights. There were some minor exchanges and stores were destroyed. Izard saw that there was little use of continuing the Niagara campaign so late in the year, and soon fell back to Black Rock, abandoning the Canadian invasion. Most of the troops were sent into winter quarters and Fort Erie was blown up.

It must not be thought that all fighting was done along the Niagara. This is far from the case, for the British had swarmed the seas with their ships and were blockading our coasts. One of their plans was to attack and burn the capitol at Washington, and dictate a peace on their own terms. The British fleet arrived on August 17. Their forces were adequate to overcome almost any resistance that Americans might offer, and they made the most of their advantage. The American flotilla at Pig Point was quickly destroyed; this left the British only sixteen miles from Washington. At Bladensburg our forces under General Stansbury were defeated, and at 8 o'clock on August 24th the British entered Washington. Here their vandalism knew no bounds; they burned the capitol, the national library and the state records; other public buildings were burned and the President's house was destroyed. Alexandria capitulated, and the British army under General Ross was soon on its way to Baltimore, where a fight took place on September 11th. Here our forces were driven back to a more secure position and the British immediately saw that it was unwise to attempt to dislodge them. Fort McHenry, defending the harbor, endured an attack, but the British, after an all-night bombardment, could not demolish it. It was a tense situation; had McHenry fallen, the British would have destroyed Baltimore. After their assault, and a fight through the night, the dawn of the 30th showed that "OUR FLAG WAS STILL THERE." This wonderful news inspired Francis Scott Key to write his famous anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner." The British, failing to penetrate further, sailed away and abandoned their expedition, leaving Maryland and the District of Columbia to recover from their misfortunes. We had lost a national capitol and had gained a national hymn. The humiliation of having the capitol of the nation desecrated by the enemy followed upon the invasion of Maine, where Commodore Hardy had descended upon the coast and forced the inhabitants to pledge allegiance to the British crown (July 11th). A month later the Governor of New Brunswick, with the aid of Admiral Griffith, issued a proclamation de-

claring the country east of the Penobscot to be British territory, and, indeed, the British continued to occupy this area until the close of the war. It was not so easy to invade Connecticut, and, though Commodore Hardy ascended the river, he found no friends among the inhabitants. In his attack on Stonington he was repulsed, even the women assisting in the fight.

During the months of July and August, the British army in Canada was increased by a considerable body of troops from the European stage, and especially by detachments that had served under Lord Wellington on the Spanish peninsula. Sir George Prevost determined to use this picked body of men, steeled to conflict and nerved by their successes, to invade northern New York. If success crowned his venture, he might penetrate the Champlain Valley, reach the Hudson and successfully press on to New York City. This had been Burgoyne's project, and Prevost's enterprise was to be the same. A portion of his baggage consisted of arms and clothing for traitors and deserters whom he hoped to pick up and equip. This hope had been stimulated by smugglers and blockade runners, who had courted British favor by tales of the hosts of dissatisfied Americans who would be ready when the British came. It will be remembered that the departure of General George Izard to Fort Erie had left Plattsburg depleted of troops. This fact was well known to Prevost, who, upon entering United States territory on September 3rd, issued a proclamation stating that his mission was with the government and not against the inhabitants not engaged in actual warfare against the crown. It was an insinuating proposition and reacted exactly contrary to British expectations. Instead of causing Americans to look to Prevost as a friend and protector, it caused them to rise in indignation to repel a dangerous foe, who had suggested that they separate themselves from the government under which they lived. Sir George, with a mighty army of 14,000 men, marched on to Plattsburg. To avoid congestion, the army marched in two columns, one with the heavy baggage and artillery moved over the lake road, and the other, under command of General Brisbane, over the Beekmantown trail. Small American detachments cut trees as impediments to rapid travel, and others employed their time in destroying bridges and otherwise hampering the march. On the 6th of September, Major Wool with a small body of American regulars met the vanguard of the British seven miles north

of Plattsburg and an engagement followed, the Americans killing and wounding 120 of the enemy, while sustaining a loss of forty-five. Wool wisely retreated before the vastly superior force, and that night Sir George bivouacked at Plattsburg. Wool retreated to the south side of the Saranc, where he was able to maintain his position.

Plattsburg is situated on the north side of the Saranac River near its junction with Lake Champlain. The American base was on the southern side of the river, just opposite the village. The American army there was in charge of General Alexander Macomb, the son of a Detroit fur trader, who had taken up his residence in New York. A true nobleman and an able military leader, he was destined, after the death of General Brown, to become the commander-in-chief of the United States army. Macomb had worked diligently to strengthen his positions and to fortify Cumberland Head. The news that the British were coming speeded action, and, by working day and night, when the enemy arrived Macomb and his men were ready. Forts Brown, Moreau and Scott were situated at the entrance of the "head," Brown being on the Saranac, Moreau a little to the east and in the center, and Scott on the bank of Champlain. There were also several block houses, one being directly on Plattsburg Bay. Macomb's plan was to create a friendly rivalry and sense of responsibility among his troops, and this he did by dividing them into distinct bodies, charged with the duty of defending their own positions to the last drop of blood and energy within them. Opposed to our army were the veteran leaders, De Rottenburg, Robinson, Brisbane and Baynes, and it was not by land alone but by water that our stronghold was to be attacked. The British squadron was commanded by Commodore Downie and Captain Pring, the latter of whom was soon to learn that he had a foe worthy of his steel; this was McDonough. September 11, 1814, is a day in American history to be remembered. Its dawn found a hostile army of 14,000 men in battle array, and revealed a British squadron off Plattsburg Bay with ninety-five guns and a fighting personnel of a thousand; the utmost strength of the Americans was a land force of 2,000, and a flotilla comprising the *Saratoga*, *Eagle*, *Ticonderoga* and *Preble*, with ten galleys, with an equipment of eighty-seven guns and 820 men. Confident of success, the British had formed the frigate *Confidence* (flagship), the brig *Linnet* (Captain Pring),

the *Chub*, the *Finch*, and twenty gunboats in line of battle facing the Americans only 300 yards away.

Macdonough, taking in the situation, arranged his boats with great care, and then knelt on the deck of his ship, *Saratoga*, with his officers and men, and committed his fortunes to the care of the Almighty. Soon the enemy's fleet bore down upon him, the *Eagle* opening with a broadside. The *Saratoga* responded with a long shot from a 24-pounder, sighted by Macdonough himself. That shot swept the deck of the *Confidence*, killing several men and demolishing the wheel. The *Linnet* directed its course toward the *Eagle*, giving the *Saratoga* a broadside as she passed, but doing no more damage than smashing a hen coop and releasing a young game cock, which mounted a gun and, flapping its wings, crowed with all its lustiness, a grotesque incident, which, nevertheless, was received with cheers as a good omen. The *Confidence*, silent for awhile, aimed her guns well and suddenly let them loose—a broadside of sixteen 24s—straight for Macdonough's *Saratoga*; every ball struck and the *Saratoga* quivered from stem to stern; forty men were killed or disabled. The *Saratoga* was ready, and answered with a volley, one ball striking the muzzle of a 24 on the *Confidence*, lifting it bodily and hurling it against Commodore Downie, killing him instantly. It was not long before the *Saratoga* became quite disabled and obliged to use her larboard guns against the *Confidence*. This was done with such good effect that the British flagship soon struck. The *Saratoga* then directed her fire upon the *Linnet*, which after fifteen minutes also struck. The *Ticonderoga*, having been chased out by the gunboats, was fighting desperately, but, seeing that the leading ships of their squadron had surrendered, the smaller boats gave up the fight and hauled down their flags. The fight had lasted two hours and twenty minutes, and in that time both squadrons had literally been shot to pieces, so much so that Macdonough had no ships with which to pursue the fleeing galleys.

In the meantime Prevost and his men were pouring out shot upon the American works south of the Saranac. He made many brave attempts to cross the river, but each time was repulsed.

When the British squadron struck, Sir George began his retreat, leaving killed, wounded and missing to the number of 1,500 men, while our losses were thirty-seven killed, sixty-two wounded and twenty missing. The precipitate retreat of Prevost so dis-

gusted some of his seasoned officers that a number broke their swords and threw them away, declaring that never again would they serve in the British army. The Americans now controlled the northern front and Champlain was an American lake. The enemy's fleet was towed to the head of the lake and burned and sunk off Whitehall. The story of this battle is worthy of a detailed account and all patriotic citizens should study it. We mention it briefly, for our field is rather that of the Genesee-Niagara area. Nevertheless, the battle of Plattsburg is an essential part of the story of the war on all fronts, for it marked the end of British confidence, and led to the abandonment of their policy of attempting to batter down American morale to the point that when peace was sought, Great Britain should be able to dictate its terms, with but feeble protest from America. Not so now, with 14,000 seasoned veterans fleeing before 2,000 American militiamen and regulars, and a strong British squadron completely destroyed in a fair fight. Never were men acclaimed with more enthusiasm than Macdonough and Macomb and their men. Their services and heroism did much to inspire the country with a new sense of confidence and solidarity; again, the defeat of the British fleet and the flight of Prevost encountered unqualified censure from British sentiment, and a profound sense of humiliation. The British had abandoned stores worth half a million dollars and the fruitless expedition had cost their government five times as much more. This was the money loss alone, and takes no account of the destruction of the spirit of the army. Prevost was dismissed in dishonor, and never lived to clear his name. It must in justice be said that the British fought with great valor, and that defeat is one of the fortunes of war; brave men make mistakes, and great soldiers at times fail. Let it be remembered, however, that Macdonough and Macomb, though sorely pressed, did not fail. Their example should be an inspiration while the republic lives.

There was fighting on land and sea during the autumn and winter of 1814, but no engagement ranked with that of the battle of New Orleans, in which General Andrew Jackson with a small force defeated the British regulars in a conflict lasting from December 22d to January 8th. Two thousand British soldiers were killed and wounded, while our loss was but six killed and seven wounded. It was a needless fight on the part of the enemy,

and, had there been telegraphs and cables in those days, it would not have transpired. Peace had already been arranged when the battle was fought. Not until February 13 did messengers arrive telling that peace had been consummated in December at Ghent. The treaty was signed on Christmas eve, 1814, and when the news arrived there was great rejoicing. The treaty did not give us all that we demanded and for which we contended, but it did settle the boundary dispute, and the demonstrated power to cope with Great Britain secured for us a respect that prevented the recurrence of the insults and encroachments which we had endured. It was only after the War of 1812 that the Genesee Country became known as the paradise of the western world, attracting to its inviting acres thousands of new settlers and building up a citizenship that now makes it a land beyond compare for millions of happy people.



CHAPTER XVIII.

THE COUNTY OF ONTARIO.

At the close of the Revolutionary war, Massachusetts and New York both asserted the right, under royal grant, to land in western New York. The rival claims were adjusted by the Hartford convention of December 16, 1786. A history of this dispute and its final settlement is given elsewhere in this work, but it is necessary to make a brief reference to it here, in order to understand how Ontario County came into existence. By the Hartford compromise, Massachusetts was given the preemption right to all land west of a line "beginning on the northern boundary of Pennsylvania, eighty-two miles west of the northeast corner of that state, and running due north to Lake Ontario, except a strip one mile wide along the Niagara River." This was known as the "preemption line," destined to play a conspicuous part in the subsequent history of western New York.

Phelps and Gorham, representing themselves and a group of other men, consummated the purchase from Massachusetts of a part of the lands west of this line and mostly east of the Genesee River, and they immediately took steps to extinguish the Indian title and induce white persons to purchase and settle upon the lands. They sent William Walker to open an office at Canandaigua for the sale of the land to the settlers; it is said that this was the first office of its kind in America. In the instructions to Walker, under date of August 21, 1788, the proprietors said: "We expect the townships on the east line of the purchase will sell at an average of 1s 5d lawful money of Massachusetts per acre; but of that we cannot be quite competent judges until the townships are further explored; therefore you are to dispose of them (if any purchasers present) in the best manner you can, provided that the poorest township is not sold under one-sixth of a dollar per acre. * * * The lands upon the Genesee River are to be considered as more valuable, and we think that they will undoubt-

edly average one-third of a dollar per acre." On October 5, 1788, Walker reported sales as follows: "To Gen'l Chapin & Capt. Dickinson No. 10 first tier at 1s 10d per acre; to Gen'l Chapin & Capt. Noble No. 11 second tier at 1s 10d per acre; and to the same Gentlemen No. 10 second tier at 1s 8d, all N. York Currency. I have likewise sold to Messrs. Talmage & Bartle in No. 14 in the first tier about half a township, at 1s 7d, all the cash to be paid by 1st next May. A number of other towns are exploring by different gent'm in view of purchasing; in fine the prospects of a rapid settlement is as great as could reasonably be expected."

Walker was accompanied by General Israel Chapin, who had been commissioned to explore the country. After building a small log house for the storage of supplies, the two men examined the streams to the north and east of Canandaigua Lake for a route over which settlers could reach the lands of the new purchase by water.

Although Massachusetts owned the preemption rights, New York retained sovereignty and jurisdiction over the territory. On January 27, 1789, the Legislature passed an act providing that "all that part of the County of Montgomery which lies westward of a line drawn due north to Lake Ontario from the mile-stone or monument marked 82, and standing on the line of division between this state and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, shall be one separate and distinct county and called and known by the name of Ontario."

Passing reference should be made here to a daring scheme of certain individuals of influence and standing who formed an association styled the "New York Genesee Land Company" in 1787-8, and secured from the Indians a 999-year lease of "all the land commonly known as the lands of the Six Nations in the State of New York," at an annual rent of 2,000 Spanish milled dollars. There was involved in the scheme no less a purpose than the erection from the territory embraced within the least of a new commonwealth to be set off from New York State. The persons promoting it are known in the history of the state as the lessees, and were guilty of a flagrant evasion of the spirit of the law which prohibited intrusion upon Indian lands. Governor Clinton and the Legislature acted promptly and energetically, which course, as O'Reilly expresses it, "at once crushed the adventurous project and destroyed the embryo state."

In 1796, in spite of earnest opposition, the Legislature began the work of subdividing the county, first setting off Steuben County, at the instance of Charles Williamson, who, as the representative of the Pulteney-Hornby-Colquhoun syndicate, had recently established headquarters at Bath. Steuben County at that time had a population of not much over 1,000, but doubled it within the next four years.

In March, 1802, Ontario was again deprived of a very considerable part of its territory, by the creation of Genesee County, which consisted of all that part of the state west of the Genesee River and west of the western boundary of Steuben County. At this point it is interesting to note the wonderful rapidity with which this western wilderness was being populated. Ontario County had only 1,075 inhabitants the year following her erection. Ten years later, in 1800, in spite of the loss suffered in the setting off of Steuben, she had a population of 15,218. In 1810 what was left of Ontario's original area had a population of over 42,000 and Genesee had 12,588.

The next successful attempt to deprive Ontario County of territory was in 1821, when both Livingston and Monroe counties were formed from Ontario and Genesee.

In 1823 two more sections of Ontario County were cut off, one on the southeast, to constitute the County of Yates, and another section was united to a part of Seneca, to form the new County of Wayne.

Two small additions are to be noted, however, while these repeated diminutions of the territory in the original County of Ontario were going on. On February 21, 1791, a strip of Montgomery County embraced in the "Gore" between the first and the later preemption line was annexed to Ontario County, and in 1814 a small tract in the fork of Crooked or Keuka Lake was taken back from Steuben County. This also is now a part of Yates County.

Thus within a period of thirty-four years after its organization not less than six counties had been created directly in whole or in part from Ontario. These were the daughters of old Ontario; its granddaughters and dates of birth include: Allegany, taken from Genesee in 1806; Cattaraugus, Niagara and Chautauqua, taken from Genesee in 1808; Erie, taken from Niagara in 1821; Orleans, taken from Genesee in 1824; Wyoming, taken

from Genesee in 1841; Schuyler, which was taken in part from Steuben, originally Genesee County territory, and in part from Chemung and Tompkins counties, in 1854.

On May 5, 1789, Oliver Phelps was appointed judge of the Court of Common Pleas; John Cooper, surrogate, and Nathaniel Gorham, clerk. These were the only county officers then appointed, and their tasks were not onerous, as few white people were then living in the Phelps and Gorham territory. Judah Colt was appointed sheriff April 7, 1790.

About the time the first county officers were appointed, and when the county was less than four months old, General Israel Chapin brought a party from New England over the route explored by him and Walker the previous autumn. After arriving at Schenectady, these prospective settlers loaded their supplies into batteaux, ascended the Mohawk River to Fort Stanwix (now Rome), make the portage to Wood Creek, passed down that stream to the Oneida Lake, over that lake to its outlet, thence via the Oneida, Oswego, Seneca and Clyde rivers and the Canandaigua outlet to the Phelps and Gorham land office. Other parties came by this route later as far as Manchester and from there overland to Canandaigua.

General Chapin was a prominent figure in the early history of Ontario County. He was born of Welsh ancestry at Grafton, Massachusetts, December 4, 1740. From the time he was twenty-two years old until the breaking out of the Revolution there was hardly a year in which he was not elected to some local office. He was captain of a company of Minute Men in the spring of 1775, but it does not appear that he took part in the battle of Lexington. On April 27, 1775, he enlisted in the Continental army; was at Saratoga at the surrender of Burgoyne; was made lieutenant-colonel in October, 1777, and was promoted to colonel the following February; as brigadier-general he took part in the campaign against Quebec, and was mustered out November 21, 1779. It is said that there were 104 members of the Chapin family in the Colonial army during the Revolution. In April, 1792, he was made deputy superintendent of the Six Nations by the secretary of war and was influential in negotiating treaties of peace with the Indians of western New York. He died March 7, 1795.

By the act of January 27, 1789, the justices of the Court of Sessions were directed to divide the county into districts. Turner

gives the five districts as "Canandaigua, Jerusalem, Seneca, Sodus and Tolland." The first census was taken in 1790 by General Amos Hall, United States marshal, and included the "towns of Canandaigua, Erwin, Genesee and Jerusalem." In the district, or town, of Canandaigua, which was practically the same as the present County of Ontario, there were eighty-eight families, with a population of 464, two of whom were listed as slaves. As the heads of these families constituted the pioneers of the county, the list is given in full:

John Adams, Reuben Allen, Thomas Barden, Abner Barlow, John Barnes, Phineas Bates, David Benton, Gerard Boughton, Seymour Boughton, Daniel Brainard, Francis Briggs, James Brocklebank, Lemuel Castle, Israel Chapin, Israel Chapin, Jr., Oliver Chapin, John Clark, Judah Colt, Daniel Comstock, Nathan Comstock, ——— Day, Martin Dudley, John Fellows, General John Fellows, James D. Fish, Nathaniel Fisher, Easther Forsyth, John Freeman, Daniel Gates, James Goodwin, William Goodwin, Nathaniel Gorham, Jr., Pierce Granger, William Hall, Joshua Harrington, Nathan Harrington, Isaak Hathaway, Webb Herard, Seth Holcomb, Matthew Hubble, Joseph Kilbourn, Abraham Lapum, James Latty, John McCumber, Nathaniel Norton, Zebulon Norton, ——— Okes, John Pane, Ezza Phelps, Michael Pierce, Phineas Pierce, ——— Platt, Arnold Potter, Israel Reed, Seth Reed, Aaron Rice, Ephraim Rice, Lot Rice, John D. Robinson, Michael Rogers, John Russell, Allen Sage, Nathaniel Sanbourne, David Smith, Elijah Smith, Harry Smith, Jacob Smith, Jereme Smith, Joseph Smith, Thomas Smith, Aaron Spencer, Phineas Stevens, ——— Sweet, ——— Sweets, Elijah Taylor, Benjamin Tibbet, Benjamin Tuttle, Caleb Walker, Solomon Warner, Thomas Warren, Benjamin Wells, Samuel Wheeton, John Whitcomb, ——— White, Jonathan Whitney, Ephraim Wilder, Gamaliel Wilder. The total population of the four districts covered by the census was 204 families, numbering 1,075 persons, including eleven slaves.

By the act of April 9, 1792, the supervisors of the county were authorized to levy a tax sufficient to raise 600 pounds for the erection of a court house, with the addition of one shilling per pound for the cost of collection. Before the court house was completed, courts were held in an unfinished room in Judge Moses Atwater's residence. The tax was levied and the contract

for building the court house was let to Elijah Murray. The first court house was a frame structure and was located on the public square, just south of the present court house. It was completed in 1794 and served the county for a little over thirty years.

In 1823 a movement for a new court house was started and in April, 1824, the legislature passed an act authorizing the county to erect one. On July 4, 1824, the cornerstone was laid. When the structure was completed, in 1825, the old court house was moved across the street, to the northwest corner of Main and Cross streets; there the lower floor was used for the postoffice and lawyers' offices, and the second floor (the old court room) for a lecture and concert hall, for town meetings.

After another thirty years, the growth of the county business demanded larger quarters. The question of a new court house was debated for some time, and in November, 1856, the supervisors appropriated \$15,000 for the building. William Clark, of Victor, Evander Sly, of Canandaigua, and James Soverhill, of Seneca, were appointed a building committee. A considerable appropriation was obtained from the United States, by an act of Congress which provided that the new building should contain quarters for the postoffice and the federal court. Architect Searles, of Rochester, was employed to draw plans and specifications for a building, to cost \$40,000; these plans were adopted February 12, 1857. A few days later a portion of the Gorham lot on the north side of the original square was bought. The court house was located facing Main Street, partly on the square and partly on the Gorham lot. The cornerstone was laid July 4, 1857; the cost of the new building was \$42,000. The first term of court was held in it beginning January 10, 1859, Judge Henry Welles presiding. In July of that year, the second court house was sold to the village of Canandaigua for use as a "town house." About the same time the old first court house—or Star Building, as it was then called—was sold to Thomas Beals, who removed it to Coach Street and converted it into a storehouse. It was torn down in May, 1899, to make room for a modern business block. McIntosh says it narrowly escaped the fire on the night of November 21, 1875, when the "old codfish" which had so long served as a weather vane was blown off. It was rescued by F. M. Howell, who presented it to the Wood Library.

On May 21, 1908, the board of supervisors adopted a reso-



OLD JAIL, CANANDAIGUA, FROM WHICH WILLIAM MORGAN WAS ABDUCTED
ON SEPTEMBER 12, 1826

lution to remodel the court house and erect a fire proof addition for the safe keeping of the records. Various committees were appointed and the cornerstone laid September 25, 1908. The first court was held in the new court room on June 7, 1909, and in the following November the remodeled building was formally dedicated.

Ontario County's first jail was the old blockhouse that had been erected as a protection against the Indians. It stood near the southwest corner of the public square. Two small windows on each side and one door were the only openings. Fastened securely to the walls were heavy iron chains for holding the prisoners and the floor was covered with straw for bedding.

In the autumn of 1813, Septimus Evans, John Price and Roger Sprague were appointed a committee to receive bids and superintend the erection of a new jail. The committee held its first meeting November 4, 1813, at Atwater's Tavern, and the next January 26, 1814. The contract was let in April and the legislature of 1815 passed an act directing the county treasurer to pay the building committee for the jail. While the jail was under construction the upper story of the old Pitts tavern (later the Franklin house) was fitted up with cells, and the lower floor was used as the jailer's residence and for the accommodation of travelers.

The jail built in 1814-15 was a substantial stone building, with a high-walled yard for the exercise of the prisoners. It was from this jail that William Morgan, who had threatened to make public the secrets of the Masonic fraternity, was abducted on September 12, 1826.

In 1895 the present jail and sheriff's residence was completed. About the first of June in that year removal was made to the new quarters. The old stone jail, which, for three-quarters of a century, had stood as a landmark, was then demolished.

Prior to the year 1826 each town in the county made provisions for the care of its own poor. In October, 1825, the board of supervisors appointed Thomas Beals, Moses Fairchild and Nathaniel Lewis a committee to purchase a county farm, upon which to erect an almshouse. After examining several tracts of land, the committee selected 100 acres in the town of Hopewell, about three miles east of Canandaigua, and recommended its

purchase. The next summer a building was erected and the institution opened October 23, 1826.

In 1906, through the generous offer of Mrs. Frederick Thompson, a laboratory was erected upon the grounds of the Thompson Memorial Hospital at Canandaigua. It is the first institution of the kind to be established in the state and is intended for the use of physicians and chemists engaged in research work. It is in charge of a bacteriologist appointed by the supervisors and paid by the county.

In 1909 the board of supervisors appropriated \$15,000 for a tuberculosis hospital. A grove on an eminence in the town of East Bloomfield was selected as a site and the institution was given the name of Oak Mount Sanitarium. After the project was started it was discovered that some legislative action was necessary. The legislature then passed a general law, which would permit other counties of the state to follow Ontario's lead and establish similar hospitals. Oak Mount was opened in January, 1911.

The act of January 27, 1789, which created Ontario County, also made provision for the erection of towns as occasion demanded. Under this act ten towns were formed. From these six others have since been created.

Bristol is one of the original ten towns created under the act of 1789. When first erected it included the present towns of Bristol and South Bristol. Although the actual settlement of the town did not begin until 1788, the region was visited by white men a century before. In August, 1669, Father Galinee, one of the Sulpician priests who accompanied La Salle to the Seneca village where Victor now stands, wrote:

"In order to pass away the time, I went with M. De la Salle, under the escort of two Indians, about four leagues south of the village where we were staying, to see a very extraordinary spring. Issuing from a moderately high rock, it forms a small brook. The water is very clear, but it has a bad odor, like that of the mineral marshes of Paris, when the mud on the bottom is stirred with the foot. I applied a torch and the water immediately took fire and burned like brandy and was not extinguished until it rained. The flame is among the Indians a sign of abundance or fertility, according as it exhibits the contrary qualities."

The fame of this burning spring went abroad. In 1700 the

Earl of Belmont, then governor of the province of New York, sent Colonel Romer on a mission to the country of the Iroquois, and gave him particular instruction "to go and view a well or spring . . . which they have told me blazes up in a flame when a light coal or fire brand is put into it. You will do well to taste the said water and give me your opinion thereof, and bring with you some of it." Since the world learned about natural gas, such springs are no longer a mystery.

Settlement of the town began in 1788, when the seven Gooding brothers—Elnathan, James, Job, John, Thomas, William and Zephaniah—came from Massachusetts. They cleared a few acres of ground, sowed some wheat and turnip seed, after which all, except Elnathan, returned to Massachusetts. With an Indian youth, the latter spent the winter in the little log cabin which had been erected. The following spring, William Gooding returned with his family, the other brothers coming a little later. In the meantime, Aaron Spencer located at the place known as Burbee Hollow and Daniel Wilder at Seneca Point. Following these pioneers came Nathan and Theophilus Allen, James Austin, Amos Barber, Jeremiah Brown, James and John Case, Faunce, George and John Coddington, John Crandall, Nathan Fisher, Aaron and Jabez Hicks, Eleazer Hill, Ephraim, Seth and Sylvanus Jones, Oliver Mitchell, Moses Porter, George and Joshua Reed, the eight members of the Simmons family—Benjamin, Constance, David, Ephraim, John, Philip, Raymond and Simeon—Jonas and John Wilder and perhaps a score of others, who were residents of the town when it was organized.

The first town meeting was held April 4, 1797. William Gooding was elected supervisor; John Coddington, clerk; Nathan Allen, Faunce Coddington and Nathaniel Fisher, assessors. George Coddington and Gamaliel Wilder, who had previously been appointed justices of the peace, conducted the meeting.

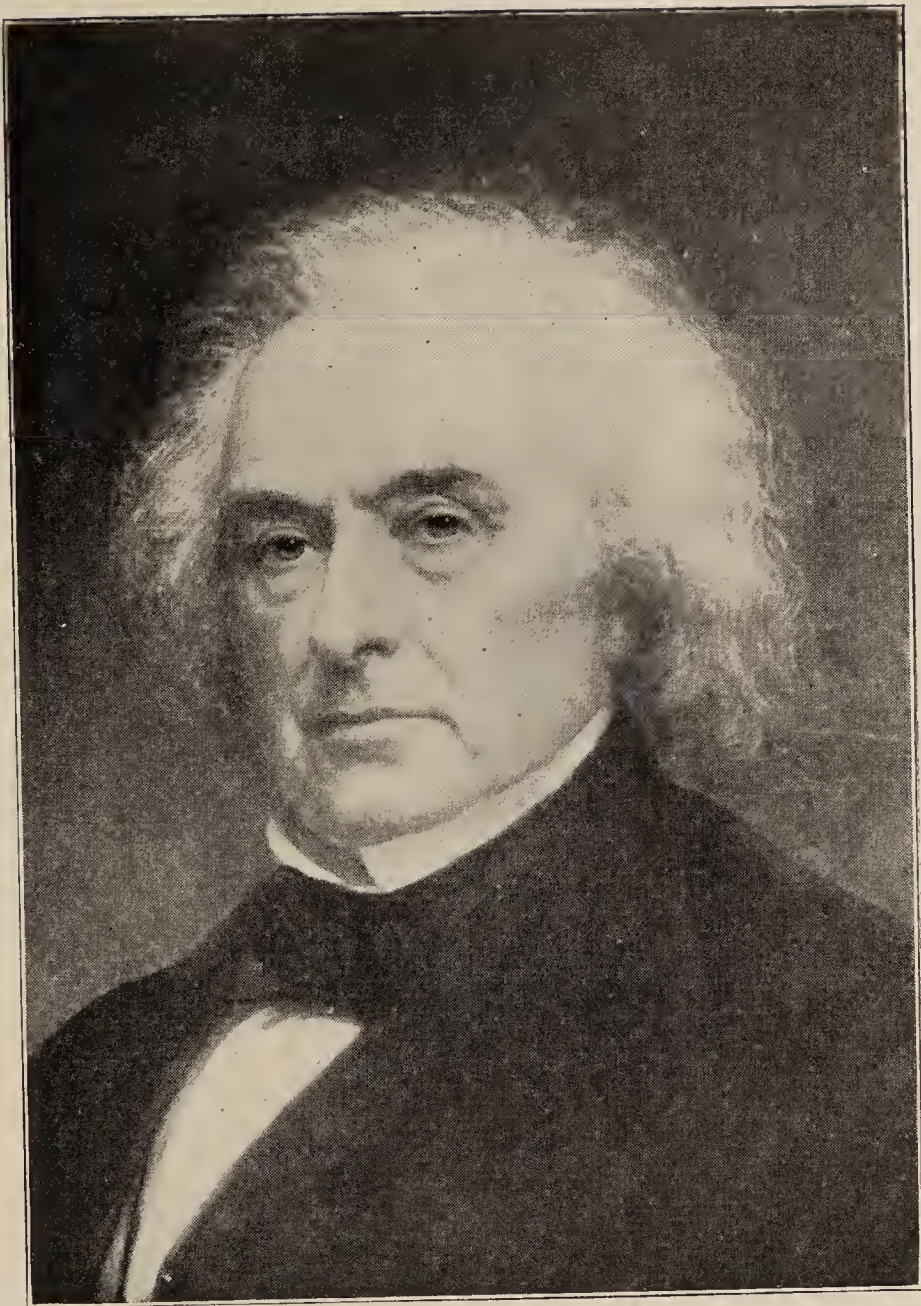
The town has no railroad and only three small villages, Bristol Center and Vincent, each with a population of less than two hundred.

The town of Canadice was set off from the town of Richmond April 15, 1829, and was named for the small lake in its western part. The first town meeting was held April 6, 1830. The early records are not available, but it is known that Reuben Hamilton, a veteran of the Revolutionary war, was elected the first super-

visor and held the office for two years. It is said that at the time the town was organized it had the greatest number of inhabitants in its history, 1386. Less than a third of this number now live within the town borders.

In 1795 Jacob Holdren and Aaron Hunt settled near the head of Honeoye lake. They are credited with having been the first actual settlers. Holdren afterward married Jane Hunt, daughter of Aaron, and acquired a reputation as a millwright. When they came to the town the nearest grist mill was at Hopewell and Canandaigua was the nearest postoffice. Townships had been surveyed in the Phelps and Gorham purchase, but the only way of marking claims was to blaze a line of trees along the boundaries. For several years, Holdren and Hunt were the only occupants of this part of the county. Early in the autumn of 1804, Josiah Jackman, Gideon and John Walker came from Vermont and constructed their cabin near the foot of Canadice Lake. They walked from Vermont. They returned there early the next spring and brought their families to the new country. All resided in the one log house until two more cabins could be finished. During the next decade probably fifty families located in the valleys around Canadice and Honeoye lakes. Prominent among them were: John Alger, James Anderson, Jesse Ballard, Nathan Beers, Samuel Bentley, James Button, Bartlett Clark, John Darling, Ezra Davis, Albert, Darius and Tobias Finch, Reuben Gilbert, Luther and William Gould, Hiram and Samuel Hogans, Ebenezer Ingraham and his sons, Abel and Andrew, Cornelius Johnson, Ebenezer Kimball, Seth Knowles, John Leggett, James and Jesse Penfield, John Richardson, Abram and Sylvanus Stacy, Ezekiel, Frederick, John and Robert Wilson. Canadice, or Canadice Corners as it was first called, is the only village in the town.

The name of the town of Canandaigua is of Indian origin and was spelled in divers ways by early writers. Lewis H. Morgan, who made an exhaustive study of the Six Nations, the location of their villages and their nomenclature, gives the name of the village at or near the foot of Canandaigua Lake as Ga-nun-da-gwa, with the accent on the third syllable. It was from this name that the modern Canandaigua was derived. The meaning of the Indian name as given by Morgan was "a place selected for settlement," or "the chosen spot."



(From oil painting in courthouse at Canandaigua)

FRANCIS GRANGER

Born in Suffield, Connecticut, December 1, 1792. Came to Canandaigua in 1816, and admitted to the Bar same year. He was principal organizer of what was known as the "Silver Gray Whig Party," and was a candidate for the vice-presidency of the United States. A member of the state legislature, a member of Congress for many terms, and was postmaster general under William Henry Harrison. Died in Canandaigua, August 28, 1868.

Settlement of the town began in 1789. Joseph Smith removed from Kanadesaga (Geneva) early in that year, built his log house on the shore of Canandaigua Lake and opened a tavern, in expectation of the arrival of settlers. Later in the spring came the company led by General Israel Chapin. In this group were Benjamin Gardner, Daniel Gates, Nathaniel Gorham, Jr., Frederick Saxton and a number of others. Thomas Morris, son of Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, became a resident in 1792. A little later came the Grangers (mentioned in another volume), Howells, Hubbells, Porters, Spencers and other prominent families, who left the impress of their character upon the Genesee country and its institutions.

As originally established under the act of 1789, the town embraced the town lots (or townships) 9 and 10 in range 3 of the Phelps and Gorham survey. McIntosh's history of Ontario County, published in 1876, states on page 19: "The first town meeting held in Ontario after its set off from Montgomery, resulted from the formation of two towns known respectively as Canandaigua and Big Tree. Two justices of the peace were appointed, one for each town: General Israel Chapin for the former and Moses Atwater for the latter. The meeting in and for Canandaigua was held at the house of Joseph Smith at the foot of Main Street, near the lake. It was opened and conducted on the first Tuesday of April, 1791, by General Chapin, who was chosen supervisor, and James D. Fish, town clerk."

At the same meeting James Austin, Enos Boughton, John Call, Nathan Comstock, Nathaniel Norton, Arnold Potter and Seth Reed were elected assessors; Phineas Bates and John Codding, collectors. General Chapin held the office of supervisor until his death.

In 1804, a tract of 3,000 acres in the southern part of Township No. 9 was given by Oliver Phelps for the support of the Canandaigua Academy. The land was thought to be of inferior character, covered with a growth of stunted timber and huckleberry bushes. A settler named Eaton located at Bell's Point in 1810 and was the first on the so-called Academy tract. Ten years later there were about forty families living on this tract, among them Elias Bascom, the Bullards, Jonathan Crooker, James Courier, Robert McGee, John Penoyer, Solomon Riggs and William Warren. When the land was cleared and placed

under cultivation it was found to be as productive as any in the town. Some of the best farms in the county are located on the former despised Academy lands. Near the north line of this tract is the village of Cheshire, first known as Rowley's school house. Jonathan Beebe opened a store in 1812 and John Rowley built a sawmill in 1814. John Adams was the first blacksmith and the first tavern was conducted by Joseph Israel.

When first established in 1789 the town of Bloomfield, one of the first ten, included the towns of East and West Bloomfield and Victor in Ontario County, and the town of Mendon in Monroe County. The land in what is now East Bloomfield was purchased from Phelps and Gorham in 1789 by a company composed of John Adams, John Ashley, William Bacon, John Fellows, Elisha Lee and Dr. Joshua Porter, all from Massachusetts. Deacon John Adams became acquainted with the character of the country while driving cattle to Fort Niagara and it was largely due to his representations that the company was formed and the land bought. In the spring of 1789, he and his wife, his five sons, Abner, John, Jonathan, Joseph and William, three sons-in-law, Lorin Hull, Ephraim Rew and Mr. Wilcox, also three unmarried daughters, formed part of the company brought here by General Chapin. They were among the first settlers in East Bloomfield. Others who came at the same time were John Barnes, Benjamin Gauss, Moses Gunn, Asa Hickox, John and Thaddeus Keyes, Eber and Nathaniel Norton, Lot Rew, Elijah Rose, Roger Sprague and Joel Steele. Elijah Rose's wife was the sister of Deacon Adams and it is said that she received fifty acres of land as a reward for being the first white woman to settle in the town. Another early settler was Elijah Hamlin, whose daughter Mary was the first white child born in the town, in 1791.

On the east side of Mud Creek, a short distance south of the site of the old Indian village of Gannagaro, John Adams erected the first dwelling west of Canandaigua for white people. It was a large log cabin and, as his family was rather numerous, sleeping berths were arranged in tiers along the walls, Pullman fashion, but without the luxury. Nearby were the cabins of other pioneers. General John Fellows and Augustus Porter built the first sawmill in 1790. A little later the first grist mill was built by Joel Steele. Both of these mills were on Mud Creek.



HOME OF FRANCIS GRANGER

Postmaster General under President William Henry Harrison.

Ox cart and wagon shops were started at an early date and were just as indispensable as the garage of today; a brickyard was established in 1804; three wool carding and cloth dressing machines were in operation in 1805; and by 1811 three clock factories were doing business. Blacksmiths, coopers and gunsmiths were in almost every neighborhood, and brass andirons, candlesticks and sleighbells, wool and fur hats, were among the early manufactured products. The state gazetteer of 1813 said: "This is the most populous town in the county and one of the best farming towns in the state. The inhabitants are wealthy, enjoying all the ease of independence derived from agricultural industry and economy. The soil is of the best quality of loam, good for grain and grass, and the surface but gently undulated."

The first town meeting was held at the house of Asher Saxton April 5, 1796. Amos Hall was elected supervisor; Jared Boughton, clerk; John Adams, Asa Hickox and David Parsons, assessors and school commissioners. At this meeting a wolf bounty of \$10 was authorized and it was paid for fifteen years thereafter.

Holcomb and East Bloomfield are the two villages in the town, both of which were incorporated in 1916.

Another of the ten original towns formed in 1789 is Farmington. It was named after Farmington, Connecticut. The land in this town and the one directly east of it was purchased in 1789 by a company of Friends, or Quakers, from Berkshire, Massachusetts. These purchasers, who were also the pioneers, were Nathan Aldrich, William Baker, Dr. Daniel Brown, Jeremiah Brown, Nathan Comstock, Ephraim Fish, Nathan Herendeen, Edmund Jenks, Abraham Lapham, Benjamin Rickensen, Benjamin Russell and Stephen Smith. The deed was given to Comstock and Russell as trustees of the company. Soon after the purchase was concluded, Nathan Comstock and his two sons, Darius and Otis, assisted by Robert Hathaway, cleared a small piece of ground, sowed some wheat and built a log cabin. Otis remained through the winter, but the others returned to Massachusetts. The next spring they returned, accompanied by Nathan Aldrich, Isaac Hathaway, Nathan Herendeen and others. The first town meeting was held April 4, 1797. Jared Comstock was elected supervisor; Isaac Hathaway, clerk; John McLouth, Isaac Hathaway

and Asa Wilmarth, assessors. Farmington and Mertensia are the only villages in the town.

The town of Geneva is the youngest in Ontario County. On October 11, 1872, the board of supervisors adopted a resolution to the effect that the town of Geneva should consist of "all that part of the town of Seneca lying east of the west line of the the first tier of township lots, next west of the old preemption line." On March 4, 1873, the first town meeting was held at the Franklin House in the village of Geneva. John J. Doolittle was elected supervisor; Charles Kipp, clerk; William H. Gamble and George R. Long, assessors; George W. French and Martin H. Smith, justices of the peace; Edmund S. Spendlove, collector. In 1786, William Ansley came from Pennsylvania and located within the present town limits. He is credited with having been the first permanent settler. Two years later Jerome Loomis, a veteran of the Revolution, located in the northwestern part. Other pioneers were two Scotchmen named George Wilkie and John Scoon, who came about 1800, and George Bennett, who settled in the northern part of the town. Benjamin Barton settled on the lake shore near the southeast corner of the town and from 1802 to 1806 was sheriff of Ontario County.

When the town of Gorham was established January 27, 1789, it was given the name of Easton and then included the town of Hopewell. On April 17, 1806, the name was changed to Lincoln and on April 6, 1807, the present name was adopted in honor of Nathaniel Gorham, one of the original proprietors. The land comprising the town was originally sold to Caleb Benton by Phelps and Gorham, and Benton, who was a physician of Columbia County, parceled out the land by small sales to the early settlers. James Wood, who located in the northwestern part in 1789, was the original pioneer. His earliest neighbors were John McPherson, Silas Reed (for whom Reed Corners was named) and Jeremiah Swart. Other early settlers were Southwick Cole, Christian and John Fisher, Henry Green, Otis Lincoln, Nathan Loomis, Samuel Powers, Elisha and Nathan Pratt, Thomas Ruffs, Samuel Torrey and Richard Washburn. Otis Lincoln had served under Washington in the Revolution and when one of his sons was drafted in 1812 he offered himself as a substitute and was accepted. The first town meeting in Gorham (then Easton) was held April 4, 1797. The name of the supervisor elected is un-

known, but James Austin was elected clerk; George Brundage, Samuel Day, Frederick Follett and Silas Reed, assessors; and John Warren, collector. The village of Gorham is located in the eastern part of the town on the Flint Creek. The first settler here was Levi Benton, who opened a tavern and built the first mill on the creek. A man named Craft soon afterwards erected a saw-mill and Joseph Palmer established the first store. Mr. Palmer was also the first minister in this part of the town. He was succeeded in the mercantile business by Perry Hollett in 1816. Armstrong Tompkins was the first blacksmith and Doctor Coffin the first physician. George and Samuel Stewart erected the first business block in 1822. The village was first known as Bethel. Reed Corners, located on the old stage route between Canandaigua and Penn Yan, is one of the oldest settlements in the town. A portion of the incorporated village of Rushville is located in the town of Gorham, most of it, however, being in Yates county.

On March 29, 1822, township 10, range 2, of the Phelps and Gorham survey, was set off from Gorham and given the name of Hopewell. According to one account this name was adopted from Hopewell, New Jersey, where Washington held his council of war on the evening before the battle of Monmouth. Others claim that the name was chosen because the citizens of Gorham "hoped well" for the new town. The first town meeting was held at Murray's inn April 17, 1822. Nathaniel Lewis was then elected supervisor; John Price, clerk; James Birdseye, George Brundage and Elisha Higby, assessors; Walter Wells, collector; Elisha Higby, Amos Jones, Nathaniel Lewis and John Price, justices of the peace. The settlement of the town began, of course, while the territory was yet a part of Gorham. Among the earliest pioneers were George and Israel Chapin, Jr., Frederick Follett, Daniel Gates, Ezra Platt, Thomas Sawyer, Daniel Warner, Benjamin Wells and William Wyckoff. Follett and Sawyer were Revolutionary veterans, the latter having been with the Green Mountain Boys. So rapid was the settlement in this part of the county that in 1830 Hopewell reported over 2,000 inhabitants, a population which McIntosh says "has never been exceeded or equalled at any subsequent enumeration." Soon after the first settlers came in, General Chapin built a grist mill on the Canandaigua outlet at the foot of the first rapids. Around this mill grew up the little hamlet of Chapinville, now known as Chapin.

Another mill on the outlet was built by Oliver Phelps in 1791. He employed Samuel Day to operate it and for years it was known as the Day mill. Edward Parker, Stephen Bates and Norman C. Little were later owners. Little opened a store about 1842 and the settlement then became known as Littleville. Here was the old ford, or "stepping stones," which marked the intersection of two old Indian trails. One of the most popular taverns in this section was operated by Samuel House in this town.

The town of Manchester, described on the records as township 12, range 2, of the Phelps and Gorham purchase, was originally included in the town of Farmington. The minutes of the Farmington town meeting for 1816 show that "a vote was taken to divide the Town of Farmington on the center line between the two elevens running north and south, and was negatived." For the next four years the proposition came before the annual town meetings and at a special meeting January 15, 1820. On each of these occasions the majority was against the division. Those who favored the formation of a new town, undismayed by their successive defeats, determined to carry the matter to the legislature. Here they met with success, for on March 31, 1821, the act to divide the town of Farmington became a law. This act gave the new town the name of Burt, for a member of the legislature, but not the representative from Ontario County, and provided that the first town meeting should be held at the school house near David Howland's residence. At that meeting Joshua Van Fleet was elected supervisor; Gahazi Granger, clerk; David Howland, Thomas Kingsley and Peter Mitchell, assessors; William Popple, collector. The name of Burt was not satisfactory to the citizens and again they appealed to the legislature. By act of April 16, 1822, the name was changed to Manchester.

In 1788 a road was opened from Canandaigua to the head of navigation for flatboats on the Canandaigua outlet, where the village of Manchester now stands. The first settlements were made along this road in 1793 by Joab Gillett, Stephen Jared and Joel Phelps. Jared and Phelps remained only a short time. Other early settlers were Benjamin Barney, Sharon Booth, Bezaliel Coats, Jedediah Dewey, Thomas Harrington, Jeremiah Hart, Gilbert Howland, John McLouth, William Mitchell, Elihu Osgood, Luke Phelps, Nathan Pierce, Ebenezer Pratt, Peleg Redfield, Hooker and Joseph Sawyer, William Stafford, John Van Fleet,

Ananias Wells and a few others, all of whom came before 1800. Ruth, daughter of Joab Gillett, became the wife of Sharon Booth in 1794, which was the first marriage solemnized in the town. The first birth was that of Dorris Booth March 26, 1795. The first death was that of Thomas Sawyer, March 12, 1793.

The first settlement developed in time into the village of Manchester. Nathan Barlow opened the first store in 1801; Doctor James Stewart was the first physician; Achilles Bottsford started a shoe shop and a town library was established in 1814 in the village. As early as 1811, the water power of the Canandaigua outlet was utilized for the purpose of operating the woolen mill of the Ontario Manufacturing Company. The company erected a stone building three stories high and equipped it with the best machinery then in use. Owing to the industrial depression incident to the War of 1812, the business was forced to suspend after a brief period. A flour mill erected about the same time was more successful and continued in active operation for many years. Early in the present century the property was purchased by the Ontario Electric Light Company and converted into an electric light plant. In 1892 the Lehigh Valley Railroad, connecting Geneva and Buffalo, was completed and Manchester was made a division point. Shops were erected and more than a hundred acres of land bought for the railroad yards. This activity brought new life to the village, which was in that year incorporated. Shortsville, a little way above Manchester on the Canandaigua outlet and the New York Central Railroad, takes its name from Theophilus Short, who built a flour mill and sawmill here in 1804. The place was at first known as Short's Mills. In 1811 William Grimes built a carding mill a few rods below Short's mills. Grimes sold out to Stephen Brewster, who operated the mill for many years. It was then purchased by a stock company and became the Diamond Paper Mill. Case, Abbey & Company established a paper mill in 1817, which later became the property of the Jones Paper Company, by whom the plant was enlarged. In 1822 Short built a larger flour mill, which was burned in the early '40s, but another large flour mill was soon erected on the site. In 1850 Hiram and Calvin Brown established the Empire Drill Works. A distillery was built by a stock company a few years later, but the building was destroyed by fire. After about fifty years of successful operation, the drill works were sold to

a syndicate and the machinery was removed to Indiana. The buildings and water power then passed into the hands of the Papec Machine Company, manufacturers of ensilage cutters. The Shortsville Wheel Company, a more recent industry, is one of the largest spoke and wheel factories in the country, with a department for the manufacture of automobile wheels. Shortsville was incorporated in 1889.

Clifton Springs, the largest village in the town, was settled by John Shekels in 1804. He built a large log house and opened a tavern. Two years later a larger building was erected as a dispensary. For a long time the community was known as Sulphur Springs. Just when and why the name was changed is not known. The medicinal properties of the waters here were early recognized and in February, 1850, a company was organized to build a sanitarium. The institution was opened September 13, 1850. Doctor Henry Foster, the founder of the company, became sole owner in July, 1867, and continued as such until his death, January 15, 1901. The first building, erected in 1850, after being several times enlarged, gave way to a new one in 1865 and this was replaced by a fireproof structure in 1896. A rival institution, called the Air Cure, was established in the spring of 1867 and located in the large hotel formerly owned by Lyman Crain, but it was not a success. On January 2, 1872, the building was burned and was never rebuilt. Doctor Foster afterward purchased the property and added it to his sanitarium. On November 1, 1881, he and his wife executed a deed of trust conveying the entire property to a self-perpetuating board of thirteen trustees, with the provision that the institution should be continued as it had been conducted by the founder for the preceding thirty years. The village was incorporated in 1859.

In addition to the incorporated villages already described, there are three small hamlets, Gypsum, Manchester Center and Port Gibson, in the county. Gypsum, a short distance east of Clifton Springs, was settled by Hollanders and was long known as the Dutch settlement. Manchester Center was at first known as Coonsville, after the pioneer, John Coon, at whose house several of the early town meetings were held. Valentine Coon built a grist mill here in 1824. Port Gibson, near the Wayne County line, was established as Ontario County's only port on the Erie

Canal. It was named for Henry B. Gibson, a prominent banker of Canandaigua.

The town of Manchester was the birthplace of Mormonism, or Church of the Latter Day Saints. Many volumes relating to the merits or demerits of this peculiar sect have been written, but it is fitting that a brief account of its beginning should be included in this sketch of the town where it originated. Joseph Smith, the first prophet and founder of the church, was born in Windsor County, Vermont, December 13, 1805. While still in early boyhood his parents came to Palmyra, New York, where his father opened a small tavern. The father was a man of little worth, but the mother was of stronger character, and both parents were ignorantly imbued with religious fanaticism. Mrs. Smith firmly believed that her son was destined to be a prophet, even during his early boyhood. In 1819 the family moved to a small farm on the road known as Stafford Street, in the northern part of Manchester. Soon after locating here the Smiths, father and son, were employed by Clark Chase to dig a well. While engaged in this work, a white, glossy pebble, resembling a human foot in shape, was found. The future prophet kept the pebble and soon pretended to have discovered that it possessed supernatural powers. In the pebble he claimed to discern happenings in distant places and to read the course of future events. This pebble became known as the "peek stone," although Smith was the only one who could make it do tricks, which was evidence enough to him that he was the destined prophet.

Near the Smith home was a hill and, according to rumor, hidden treasure was buried therein. This rumor was told to the credulous Smiths by Oliver Cowdery, a school teacher residing on Stafford Street. Young Joseph immediately consulted his peek stone in order to locate the treasure. How many times the father and son spent the midnight hours spading up the hillside is not known, but no treasure was found. Loath to acknowledge defeat, the Smiths maintained that they found a chest, three feet long, covered with a dark stone, in the center of which was a white spot. Upon being exposed to the air, the white spot began to spread and finally exploded loudly, and then the chest vanished.

When Joseph, Jr., was about nineteen years old he attended a Methodist camp meeting and was converted. Having no further use for his remarkable stone, he now communed directly

with the angels. One of these accommodating spirits directed him to dig in the "Hill of Camorah" for some gold plates containing "a record of the ancient inhabitants of this country, engraved by Mormon, the son of Nephi." Smith "obeyed" and "found" the plates September 21, 1827. With them was a pair of spectacles, the lenses of which were opaque to all except the prophet, and only by wearing these spectacles could the record be translated. Apparently with great reluctance, Smith undertook the task, at the same time announcing that anyone else who gazed upon the plates would be stricken with death. As a business man, Smith was without a superior in his day. Seated behind a curtain, he donned the spectacles and read from the plates, while his words were written down by Martin Harris and Oliver Cowdery.

Various stories of the finding and translation of the gold plates have been told. One of these, apparently authentic, is that Smith did not claim for the plates any religious significance, but that they were simply a historical record of the ancient inhabitants of America. About the time the translation commenced, Sidney Rigdon, of Ohio, attracted to Smith by the news of the great discovery, appeared on the scene. Rigdon had been a Baptist minister, but had fallen into disrepute with that denomination. There seems to be little doubt that it was Rigdon who gave the Book of Mormon, or Gold Bible, its religious color. It has been intimated that the greater part of the "translation" was prepared by Rigdon, then read behind the curtain by the prophet to his secretaries.

Martin Harris mortgaged a good farm in Palmyra to raise the necessary \$2,500 to pay for the printing of the first edition of the Book of Mormon. It was printed at Palmyra by E. B. Grandin in 1830. Mrs. Harris, with a woman's intuition, had no faith in the book which had so captivated her husband, and she got hold of about a hundred pages of the manuscript, which she either hid or destroyed. Smith, Cowdery and Harris agreed not to make another translation, because "the evil spirit might get up a story that the second translation differed from the first."

The Mormon Church was founded on the Gold Bible. About 1832 all those who had joined the church gathered at Kirtland, Ohio. Their subsequent wanderings, until they reached the Great Salt Lake Basin in Utah, is not pertinent to this history. The

Hill of Camorah, where the gold plates were supposedly found, has since been known as Mormon Hill, and parties of Latter Day Saints make regular pilgrimages to the place where their prophet made his astounding discovery. Joseph Smith, Sr., was only a squatter on Stafford Street. He left in 1830 and the land afterward became the property of the Chapman family. In 1907 William Chapman sold the place to George A. Smith, of Salt Lake City, a grandson of the prophet and one of the twelve apostles of the Mormon Church.

Shortly after Ontario County was created, in 1789, a company was formed at Partridgeville, Massachusetts, for the purpose of buying from Phelps and Gorham a township of land in the Genesee Country. William Cady, Edward Kibbe and Nathan Watkins were appointed to go there and make a selection. In due time they arrived at Canandaigua and, after looking over the land, decided in favor of what is now the town of Gorham. A speculator, learning of their plans, hurried to the land office and purchased the township, hoping to dispose of it at a profit. The present town of Richmond was then selected, but through an error on the part of the land office, they were given a deed to Naples. During the summer of 1789 the land was surveyed and divided into 208 lots of 108 acres each. Fifteen of these lots were subdivided into tracts of twenty-seven acres each, called "settling lots," one of which was awarded to each member of the company. That winter Levi, Reuben and Samuel Parrish brought their families. The first house, a small log cabin, was built by Samuel Parrish where the village of Naples now stands. Early the following spring the Parrishes were joined by William Clark, John Johnson, Jonathan Lee, Nathan and William Watkins, with a part of their families. The settlement soon became known as Watkinstown. Benjamin Clark built the first sawmill, said to have been the first in the Genesee Country, but for the first year or two the settlers had a hard time getting breadstuffs. The nearest grist mill was about thirty miles distant, so they adopted the Indian method of burning out the top of a stump for a mortar. A grist mill was built by Benjamin Clark in 1796 a short distance below where the Ontario mill was afterwards erected. The stones for this mill were brought from Wyoming, Pennsylvania, by ox team. The whole settlement turned out for the "raising" and

the bread famine in Naples was broken. The new mill would grind about sixty bushels of grain in a day.

The territory comprising Naples was originally embraced in the town of Middletown, one of the original ten of 1789. The first town meeting in Middletown was held April 5, 1796. William Clark was elected supervisor and Joel Watkins clerk. On April 6, 1808, the name of the town was changed to Naples. Slight changes in the boundaries were made in 1815 and 1816, when portions of the town were added to Italy, Yates County, and Springwater, Livingston County. The first settlement, near the center of the town, developed into the village of Naples, which, before the Civil War, was a trading center for a large section of country. The first merchant was a Hollander named Haselgesser. In the early '50s, Edward A. McKay procured 160 grapevines of the Isabella variety and started a vineyard. This was the beginning of the grape industry. McKay's success brought to Naples a number of Germans who understood grape growing and wine making. D. H. Maxfield, Jacob Widmer and a man named Graf soon became the leaders in this line, and their wines won a widespread reputation.

Phelps is the most northeastern town of the county. The first settler was John D. Robinson, who arrived with his family at the site of the present village of Phelps May 14, 1789. Others who came that year or the following spring were: Patrick Burnett, Seth Dean, Elias and Augustus Dickinson, Solomon Goodale, Elisha and Pierce Granger, Charles and Oliver Humphrey, Jonathan Oaks, John Patton, Nathaniel Sanborn, Philetus Swift, Jesse Warner, Cornelius Westfall, David Woodward, and a little later, John Baggerly, Lemuel and Theodore Bannister, David Boyd, Erastus Butler, John B. Green, Cephas Hawkes, Samuel and William Hildreth, David McNeil, Jonathan Melvin, John Newhall, Nicholas Pullen, Francis and Luther Root, John Salisbury, John Sherman and Harvey Stephenson.

When created, the town was given the name of Phelpsburg. Subsequently the name was changed to Sullivan, in honor of General John Sullivan. On April 4, 1796, the first town meeting was held at the tavern of Jonathan Oaks, who was elected supervisor and Solomon Goodale was chosen clerk. A session of the court of common pleas in the following June changed the name of the town to Phelps. The principal settlement was made on Flint

Creek, where the village of Phelps now stands. One of the first improvements there was a sawmill built by Seth Dean and Oliver Phelps. A short time after they put up a grist mill. In 1799, Theodore Bannister, Augustus Dickinson and Cephas Hawkes built a grist mill on the Canandaigua outlet. This brought forth a protest from Seth Dean, because the mill erected by him and Phelps was sufficient to meet all the demands of the infant settlement. The mill on the outlet was afterward known as Norton's mill and still later as the Exchange mills. The village was at first called Vienna, a name which clung to it for about half a century. Orrin Redfield was the first merchant. Alfred Stow opened the second store. William Hildreth established a distillery at an early date. A woolen mill was built in 1812 by Erastus Butler, Francis and Luther Root. The Vienna postoffice was established the same year, with David McNeil as postmaster. On July 4, 1841, the first railroad train arrived at Vienna, on what is now known as the Auburn division of the New York Central. The railroad gave an impetus to the growth of the village, the name of which two or three years later was changed to Phelps, and in 1865 the village was incorporated. The Lehigh Valley Railroad was completed through the town in 1892.

Oaks Corners, the next station east of Phelps, was settled by Jonathan Oaks, from whom it takes its name. Oaks built the first tavern in the town and many of the early town meetings were held there. The first store in the town was opened at Oaks Corners by John B. Green and for several years the place was a rival of Vienna as a trading center. Orleans, on the Sodus Bay branch of the Pennsylvania Railroad, is also an old settlement. One of the pioneers here was Harvey Stephenson, who came from Massachusetts in 1800. His son, Dolphin, afterward became a lawyer and served as postmaster at Phelps.

Richmond is the middle of the towns on the western tier of the county. In the spring of 1787 Asa and Goodwin Simmons, of Dighton, Massachusetts, made a journey to the Genesee Country. Upon their return they organized the Dighton Company, which purchased 46,080 acres from Phelps and Gorham, partly in what is now the town of Richmond. The land was surveyed in 1789 and was divided among the members of the company by lot. Captain Peter Pitts drew 3,000 acres and the first crops were raised in 1790 by Gideon and William Pitts. Among the early settlers

were: Alden and Isaac Adams, Noah Ashley, David, Heman and Sanford Crooks, William Crooks, Eleazer and John Freny, Elias and Joseph Gilbert, Daniel H. Goodsell, Whitley Marsh, Philip Reed and his five sons, John F., Philip, Silas, Wheeler and William, Orsamus Risen, Roderick Steele and Cyrus Wells. At the first town meeting, April 5, 1796, it was voted to name the town Pittstown, in honor of Captain Peter Pitts, who was one of the most prominent of the pioneers. Leonard Chipman was at that time elected supervisor and Gideon Pitts clerk. By the act of April 6, 1808, the name was changed to Honeoye, and on March 10, 1815, another act changed the name to Richmond.

Honeoye, the largest village, is located near the foot of the Honeoye Lake. It occupies the site of a Seneca village which was destroyed by Sullivan in 1779. Letters written by Sullivan's officers described it as having "about twenty houses, with fifty acres under cultivation and some fruit orchards." The location of Honeoye is due mainly to the water power furnished by the outlet of the lake. This power was first utilized by Gideon Pitts about 1813 to run a grist mill and sawmill. Moses Risen established a tannery about the same time. In 1815 a man named Davis opened a tavern and the first shoemaker appeared in the person of Isaac Seward, who started a tannery shortly thereafter. John Brown and Linus Giddings built a fulling mill in 1817 and in 1822 the former opened the first store. Edwin Gilbert was the second merchant, beginning business in 1823.

Allen's Hill, in the northern part of the town, took its name from Moses Allen, who settled there in 1796 with his two sons, Nathaniel and Peter. Nathaniel was a blacksmith and Peter took an active part in the War of 1812, rising to the rank of brigadier-general. David Pierpont came from Vermont and opened a tavern in 1816. He was also a cabinetmaker by trade and established the first line of daily mail coaches from Canandaigua westward, over the Canandaigua and Genesee Road. In the early days of the last century Albany was the nearest market. As it was easier to transport grain in the form of whiskey than in bulk, distilling was an important industry. It is said that in 1810 there were no fewer than fifteen distilleries in operation. About half of these were located on what is known as the "Pan Handle"—the section of the town situated between Honeoye Lake and the town of South Bristol. Wagons loaded with whiskey or

wheat in sacks would make the trip to Albany and return with goods for the merchants along the route.

The town of Seneca, one of the original ten, was formed in 1793 and then embraced what are now the city and town of Geneva. Geneva was then a thriving little village, the center of the Indian trade for a wide surrounding country. On November 15, 1872, the original town of Seneca was divided, to make room for the town of Geneva, which is described in a subsequent paragraph.

Among the more prominent of the early families of the town of Seneca was that of the Whitneys, descendants of whom yet reside here. The progenitor of the family in this section was Jonathan Whitney, who located near Old Castle in 1798, having come from Massachusetts. Other early settlers of the town were: Anson Dodge, Abram Burkholder, Peter Van Gelder, Ami Whitney, William Esty, Thomas Tallman, Thomas Ottley, Nathaniel Page, Edward O. Rice, Seth Stanley, Thomas McCauley, James Rice, Whitney Squier, Squier Parks, John Rippey, James Black, Aden Squier, Adam Turnbull, Richard D. Bill, William Forster, John Dixon, Edward Hall, also the Croziers, Wilsons, Perkins and Stokoes. The first town meeting was held at the home of Jonathan Fairbanks in March, 1793, when Ezra Patterson was elected supervisor and Thomas Sisson clerk. A number of other town officials were chosen at this time. The villages of Stanley, Flint and Seneca Castle are located within the present limits of the town.

The town of South Bristol, formerly a part of the town of Bristol, was set apart as a town March 8, 1838. The history of the town of Bristol is told in a foregoing paragraph. The first town meeting of South Bristol was held at Brown's tavern in March, 1838. Franklin Crooker was chosen supervisor and Simri Collins clerk.

The town of Victor is noted for having been the scene of the only battle ever fought on Ontario County soil, this was in 1687, when Denonville encountered the Seneca forces. The first white settlers in the town were Jared and Enos Boughton, brothers, and Horatio Jones. They came in 1789. Enos Boughton, who was secretary to William Walker, agent for Phelps and Gorham, bought the land now in the town for about twenty cents per acre, making the purchase for his father, Hezekiah, who lived in Massa-

chusetts. The two Boughtons and Jones constructed their log cabin in the southern part of the town and during the ensuing weeks parceled out the land into farms which they intended to sell to new settlers. In June, 1789, Jacob Lobdell and Hezekiah Boughton, Jr., came to the town and put in some crops. All of the settlers here returned east for the winter, with the exception of young Lobdell, who was left in charge. In 1790 Enos and Jared Boughton returned with their families, also Hezekiah Boughton and his brothers, Eleazar, Matthew, Seymour and Nathan, also David, Deforest and Abram Boughton, who were other relatives. Two sons-in-law of the elder Boughton, Nicholas Smith and Joshua Ketcham, located in the vicinity. Israel M. Blood, Abijah Williams, Ezekiel Scudder, Asa Hecox were others who came in at this time. Scudder founded a small settlement which was called Scudderville, at East Victor, and here built a mill. It is said he slept in the trees to escape the wolves. Hecox was an early miller, doing his first grinding in a tree stump, hollowed out in Indian fashion. A stone attached to a sweep for pounding completed his crude mill. The Boughtons then owned practically all of the town, a quarter of which they reserved for themselves, selling the rest. Their ambition to establish a village in the vicinity of Boughton Hill, however, was frustrated by the growing importance of Victor as a trading point on the Rochester-Canandaigua Road. Jacob Lobdell became a very prosperous and influential resident. Reuben, Herman, John, Joseph and Elisha Brace purchased four square miles of land in the northeastern part of the town in 1793. Ezra Wilmarth, who came in 1796, had one of the first hotels in the town, on Boughton Hill. Some of the pioneers in the southwestern section were: Jonathan Culver, Roswell Murray, Abijah Covill, Elston, Hunt, Samuel, Stephen, and Eleazar Ellis, James M. Campbell, Increase Carpenter, Peter Perry, Jeremiah Richardson, Isaac Marsh, James Upton, Jabez Hart, John Lane, John Ladd, Joseph Rowley, Simeon Parks, Asahel Lusk, Gregory Hill, Joseph and Barzella Woodston, Samuel and Joseph Rawson, Colonel Lanson Dewey, Rufus Dryer, Enos, Samuel and James Gillis. In 1812 the new town of Victor was officially set off from Bloomfield and named after Claudius Victor Boughton, son of Hezekiah, Jr. The first town meeting was held in the new Proprietors' meeting house, erected in 1805 in

the village of Victor, and Jacob Lobdell was chosen supervisor and Eleazar Boughton, clerk.

The village of Victor was incorporated as such December 8, 1879. Rufus was one of the early hotel keepers of the village and the Gillis brothers were early tanners and shoemakers. William Bushnell was a prominent merchant and landowner. Nathan Jenks was a pioneer merchant, partner of Bushnell, and later with Thomas Embry. Albert Simonds was a merchant who came here in 1832. Stephen Collyer was the first wagon maker in the town.

The town of West Bloomfield was formed February 11, 1833, from the old town of Bloomfield. In April following, the first town meeting was held and among the officers elected then were Reynold Peck, supervisor, and H. B. Hall, clerk. Peregrine Gardner was the first white settler in what is now West Bloomfield town. He came here in 1789, and was shortly followed by Ebenezer Curtis and his family. Amos Hall was a prominent man of his day in civil and political life. Other of the pioneers were: Reuben Lee, Deacon Samuel Handy, Josiah Wendle, Nathaniel Shepard, Nathaniel Eggleston, Josiah Eggleston, Bayze Baker, Martin Minor, Philemon Hall, Daniel Curtis. Nathaniel Eggleston was a tavern keeper; Samuel Nichols had a distillery; Jacob Erdle owned a saw mill; Julius Curtis was a pioneer surveyor; Colonel Jasper P. Sears was a tavern keeper also, the first; general stores were kept by Erastus Hunt, A. Hendee & Company, Ludwick C. Fitch and Augustus Hall; Doctors Hickox and Fairchild had a drug store; Captain Arnold established a tannery; M. and D. Pillsbury owned an axe factory, Reuben Pierce a wagon shop, Bushnell Arnold a shoe shop, D. W. Pillsbury an iron foundry, and Edward Herrick a brass foundry. Other early settlers of the village and town were: Joseph Gilbert, Jasper Marvin, Palmer Peck, and Samuel Miller. At the present time there are no incorporated villages within the town limits, although West Bloomfield, North Bloomfield and Ionia are thriving rural communities.

The village of Canandaigua, as noted before, came into existence as the headquarters of the Phelps and Gorham Company. William Walker was the agent appointed to dispose of the land to the new settlers who were to be induced by a well planned campaign of publicity to make their homes in the western country.

Walker, then a man of about thirty-seven years of age, a Revolutionary War veteran, was given the authority to select the site of the company headquarters; he was advised by Phelps to make "ye outlet of the Kennadarqua Lake" the designated spot. In October, 1788, Walker reported that he had selected "west of Canandarqua Creek" a "beautiful situation and good ground for a town plot." This was the beginning of Canandaigua. Walker and his friends apparently desired his name adopted into the title of the new village, as it has been mentioned as Walkersburgh, but the name Canandaigua, with its various spellings, was applied and continued permanently.

A building erected by Walker on lot No. 1, east side of Main Street south of the square, and used by him as a residence and land office, was the first structure in the village. The house was constructed by John D. Robinson, for which Walker paid him the equal of forty pounds. Similar houses for James D. Fish and Joseph Smith were built about the same time. Smith was the first actual settler on the site, coming in the spring of 1789; General Israel Chapin and his companions arrived in May following. It was reliably stated that by the first snows of the following winter there were eighteen families in the village, consisting of seventy-eight males, twenty females and one slave. The principal heads of families were: Nathaniel Gorham, Jr., Nathaniel Sanbourne, John Fellows, Joseph Smith, James D. Fish, General Israel Chapin, John Clark, Martin Dudley, Phineas Bates, Caleb Walker, Judah Colt, Abner Barlow, Daniel Brainard, Seth Holcomb, James Brocklebank, Lemuel Castle, Benjamin Wells and John Freeman. Oliver Phelps had the site of the village surveyed and laid out into lots, the first survey making provision for 280 lots. Phelps and Gorham had 166 lots on this tract, Samuel Street had thirty, William Walker, Judge Sullivan, Thompson J. Skinner and Colonel Butler four each, while others had two each. The first appearance of the village was that of an orderly, well-kept settlement and mention was frequently made by those journeying through the Genesee Country of the comfortable frame houses, neatly painted, and the hospitable character of the settlers; while other travelers deplored the presence of mosquitoes and rattlesnakes and other handicaps, which were common features of early settlement in all of western New York.

Upon the first village plat was a square of six acres, quar-

tered by Main and Cross streets. Milliken's history of Ontario county states: "Its south line was what is now the north face of the Hubbel block; on its east line the Canandaigua Hotel now fronts; its north line was what is now the north line of the street known as Atwater Place. Court Street and Atwater Place, therefore, both occupy land and the New York Central Railroad tracks occupy land originally included in the square. The property was conveyed by Phelps and Gorham in 1800, for a consideration of \$1.00, to the county of Ontario, it being provided in the deed that nothing but a court house should be built in the northeast corner, that the southeast corner should be devoted exclusively to park purposes, and that that portion lying west of Main Street should be occupied only by buildings used by the county, excepting that no building should be erected that would obstruct the light or obscure the view of the school house then standing thereon.

"The extension of the square to the north, on the east side of Main Street, where the present court house stands, came into possession of the county at the time of the erection of that building in 1857, the conveyance having been from Samuel Brush, for a consideration of \$6,000. The deed provided that no building should ever be erected on the land therein conveyed, within twenty feet of Gorham Street.

"In the square have been grouped a succession of noble public buildings, beginning with the first court house erected in 1794, including the second court house erected in 1824 and now known as the town house and culminating in the splendid county building erected in 1858 and recently rebuilt and enlarged.

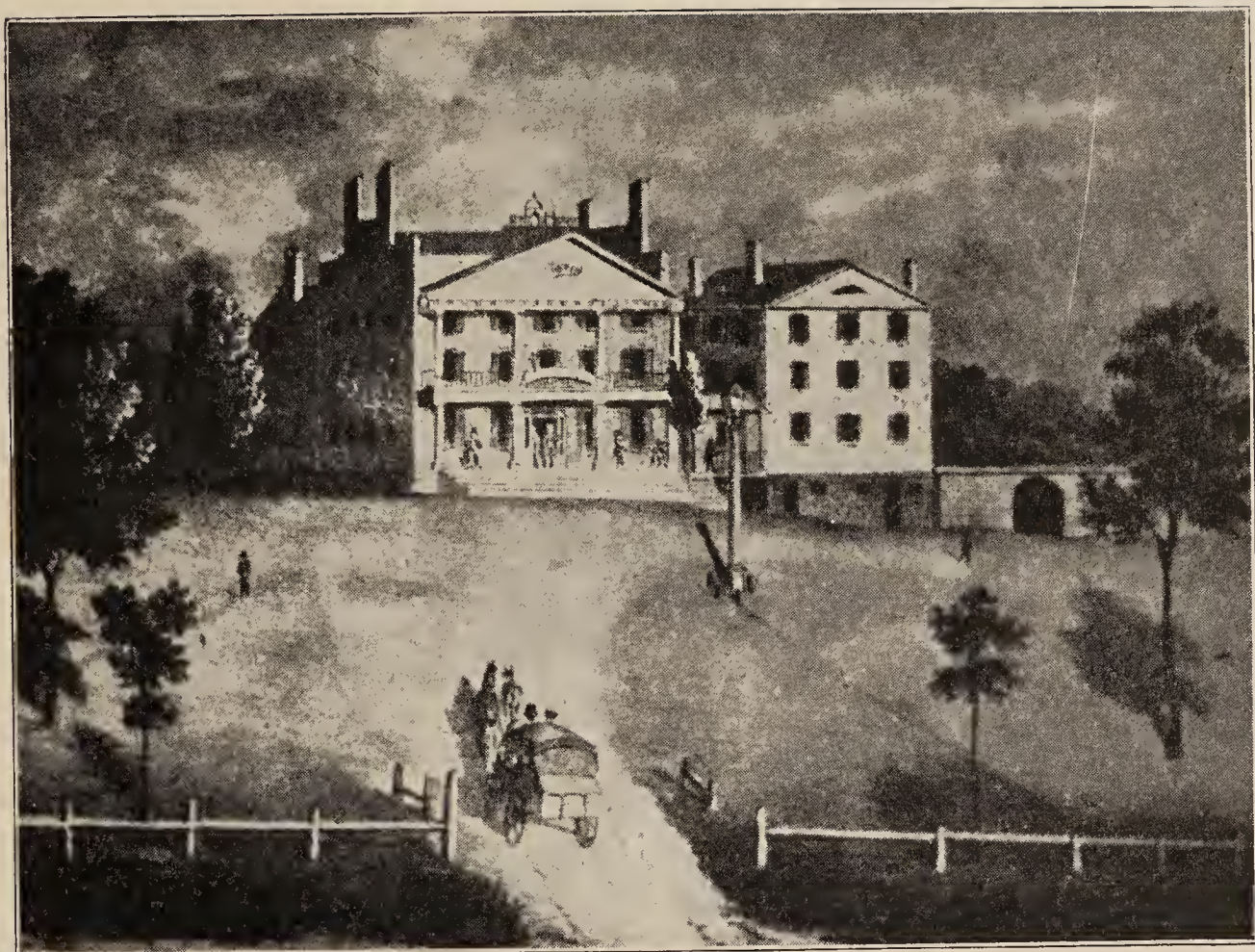
"Facing the square on the north and south were located originally the dwellings of four of the most prominent citizens of the village. On the south side, east of Main Street, stood the house of Oliver Phelps, the head of the Phelps and Gorham Land Company. This continued to be the residence of the family until after the construction of the Canandaigua and Jefferson Railroad in 1849, when it was utilized for the business offices of that company. A few years later it was destroyed by fire. Facing the square on the north was the dwelling of Nathaniel Gorham, Jr., which upon the opening of Gorham Street in 1849 was moved to a location on the north side of that street, where it now stands. Across Main Street, on the north side of the square, stood the house of Dr. Moses Atwater, which, in 1850, in preparation for

the erection of the office building known as Atwater Hall, was moved to a site further west, and was for many years the residence and studio of Marshall Finley, the pioneer photographer of the village. On the south side of the square, west of Main Street, was located the house of Thaddeus Chapin, son of Gen. Israel Chapin. This was later adapted to business uses, and about the year 1865 was destroyed by fire.

"Among the buildings facing the square as now constituted are the Red Jacket Building, erected about the year 1812 by Nathaniel Gorham, Jr., long occupied by the Red Jacket Club, and now serving a useful purpose as an office building; the stately Canandaigua Hotel erected in 1852-53, on the site originally occupied by the Blossom House."

Schools and churches were among the first things the pioneer settler thought of after he had reached his new home in the Genesee Country. Also, one of the first considerations was hotel accommodations, taverns and inns. Following closely upon the selection of Canandaigua as the headquarters of the Phelps and Gorham Company, Joseph Smith arranged to use his home as a stopping place for the newcomers. His house stood on what is now the north side of Coy Street, west of Main. The first tavern, though, was that opened in 1790 by Nathaniel Sanbourne and his wife, on the site of the present postoffice building. Captain Martin Dudley opened another tavern in 1796, on the east side of lower Main Street. About 1791, on the west side of upper Main Street, Phineas Bates dispensed cheer and comfortable quarters to the traveler. The first real hotel of the village was the Blossom House, built in 1814, on the site of the present Canandaigua Hotel. On the night of December 2, 1851, fire destroyed this hotel. The next year a stock company was formed and in 1853 the hotel now known as the Canandaigua was constructed. The Webster House Block, which was constructed in 1860, occupies a site originally that of Pitts Tavern, in which was located the old jail; in 1827 Thomas Beals erected here the Franklin House, which was burned in March 1860. There are a number of other hotels of varying size in Canandaigua.

Public utilities, or municipal improvements, had their beginning in 1853, when the Canandaigua Gas Light Company was established and laid its wooden mains through Main Street. Street and house lighting was also supplied by this company, of which



BLOSSOM HOUSE, CANANDAIGUA
Site of Present Canandaigua Hotel

E. G. Lapham was president, without competition until 1886, when electric lighting was introduced by outside interests. The two companies afterwards arranged a nominal consolidation. In 1893 the electric lighting and street railway interests were amalgamated, the power having been generated at Littleville. In 1900, through foreclosure sale, all these interests were taken over by the Ontario Light & Traction Company, an outside corporation. The first water mains were laid in Canandaigua, in 1884, by a company formed by eastern capitalists, but it did not function properly, and in 1895 a municipal system supplanted that of private ownership. The first street railway was laid out in 1887, from the lake dock through Main Street to a point above the Buffalo Street corner; a number of local men were interested in this enterprise. It was first operated by horse power, but when taken over in 1893 by the Canandaigua Electric Light Company it was electrically operated. In 1900 it became the property of the Ontario Light & Traction Company. Sewers in the city of Canandaigua were first laid in 1883, when a trunk sewer was put down in Main Street. Brick pavements were laid for the first time in 1899; this was on Chapin Street, from Main Street to Sucker Brook bridge. Two years later a macadam pavement was put down on Howell Street, followed by one on Gibson Street.

Transportation facilities for Canandaigua were at first limited to crude roads, trails and fairly close connections with the Erie Canal and its Geneva branch. In 1840 the Auburn and Rochester Railroad completed the line between Rochester and Canandaigua, and the first locomotive came over the line September 12th. By November the line was completed to Auburn. Francis Granger and Oliver Phelps were connected with the promotion of this railroad. Railroad communication southward was undertaken in 1845, among the promoters having been Mark H. Sibley, Jonas M. Wheeler, Jared Wilson, John A. Granger and Oliver Phelps, 3d. The road was opened between Canandaigua and Watkins (then Jefferson) in September, 1851, and was at first called the Canandaigua & Corning Railroad; this road is now a part of the Pennsylvania system. What is now known as the Batavia branch of the New York Central was constructed in 1853 by the Canandaigua and Niagara Falls Railroad Company. The electric interurban line between Rochester and Geneva was completed in May, 1904, and was first called the Rochester &

Eastern Rapid Railway; it is now a part of the New York State Railways.

Canandaigua was incorporated as a village under the terms of the legislative act passed April 18, 1815, and on the first Tuesday of the following June the first village election was held. The officers chosen then were: James Smedley, Thaddeus Chapin, Dr. Moses Atwater, Nathaniel W. Howell and Phineas P. Bates, trustees; Jasper Parrish, Asa Stanley, Freeman Atwater, Abner Barlow and John A. Stevens, assessors; Thomas Beals, treasurer; Benjamin Waldron, collector. Judge Howell was elected president of the board, and Myron Holley, clerk. The presidents of the village from this date were: Eliphalet Taylor, 1816; Jeremiah F. Jenkins, 1817-18; James D. Bemis, 1819-20; William H. Adams, 1821; Francis Granger, 1822-23; Henry B. Gibson, 1824; John W. Beals, 1825; Phineas P. Bates, 1826-27; James Lyon, 1828-29; William Kibbe, 1830; Nathan Barlow, 1831-32; William Blossom, 1833; Alexander H. Howell, 1834; Phineas P. Bates, 1835; Nicholas G. Chesebro, 1836-39; Phineas P. Bates, 1840; Nicholas G. Chesebro, 1841-43; Jabez H. Metcalf, 1844; George W. Bemis, 1845-46; John A. Granger, 1847-49; Myron H. Clark, 1850-51; Alexander H. Howell, 1852; Thomas F. Brown, 1853; Cyrus Townsend, 1854; Alexander H. Howell, 1855; John J. Lyon, 1856-59; Henry C. Swift, 1860-61; Gideon Granger, 1862; Alexander McKechnie, 1863-64; Noah T. Clarke, 1865-66; John C. Draper, 1867; William H. Lamport, 1868; Jacob J. Mattison, 1869-71; Edward G. Tyler, 1872; Marshall Finley, 1873-74; Rollin L. Beecher, 1875-76; Hilem F. Bennett, 1877; J. Harvey Mason, 1878; William T. Swart, 1879; Amos H. Gillett, 1880; Rollin L. Beecher, 1881-82; Lyman C. North, 1883; John B. Robertson, 1884-85; Alexander Grieve, 1886; Frank H. Hamlin, 1887; Mattison L. Parkhurst, 1888-89; W. M. Spangle, 1890; Charles F. Robertson, 1891; Lyman C. North, 1892-93; Mack S. Smith, 1894; Daniel M. Hulse, 1895-98; William H. Warfield, 1899-1902; Cornelius J. Andruss, 1903-04; Maynard H. Clement, 1905-10; Peter P. Turner, 1911.

Canandaigua was chartered as a city April 28, 1913, and the first officers were; Peter P. Turner, mayor; William Brooks, clerk; W. M. Crowley, treasurer; Philip J. O'Keefe, judge; and Fred D. Cribb, attorney. Fred H. Partridge became mayor Jan-

uary 1, 1918, and on January 1, 1923, was succeeded by William J. McFarlane.

The Canandaigua Fire Company was the first organization of its kind in the village and came into existence in 1816, equipped with a hand engine, and composed of John W. Beals, Charles Underhill, Walter Hubbell, Punderson B. Underhill, Ebenezer Ely, Spencer Chapin, Nicholas Chesebro, Charles Hill, Manning Goodwin, Joseph Bull, George H. Boughton, George Clark, James Lyon, Mark H. Sibley, Simeon T. Kibbe, Hiram T. Day, Jeremiah F. Jenkins, W. N. Jenkins, John Clark and Abraham H. Bennett. In 1830 Fire Company No. 2 was organized; in 1832 the Canandaigua Hook and Ladder Company, and in 1843 the Ontario Fire Company No. 3.

The first settler on the site of the city of Geneva was Elark Jennings, whose home and tavern stood near the present junction of Washington and Exchange streets, on the old Indian trail. This was in June, 1787. Within a comparatively short time several log huts and houses had appeared along this trail, one of the most pretentious of which was the tavern used by the Lessee Company, whose exploits have been mentioned, and occupied by its agent, Dr. Caleb Benton. Probably ten or twelve families lived on the site of Geneva by 1790. Milliken's history of Ontario County states that other settlers of this period were: "Peter Bartle, Indian trader; Horatio Jones, Indian interpreter; Asa Ransom, maker of Indian trinkets; Gilbert R. Berry, silversmith; John Widner, farmer at the foot of the lake and ferry keeper; Daniel Earl and Solomon Earl, his son, farmers over the outlet; Capt. Timothy Allyn and one Hickox, merchants; Jacob and Joseph Blackenstose, tailors, who by their skill created in time a statewide ambition to wear clothes made by a 'Geneva tailor;' one Butler, the first carpenter; James Tallmage, a blacksmith, and Elisha Tallmage, merchant; Ezra Patterson, inn keeper, presumably on the site of Carrollton; Joshua Fairbanks, inn keeper; Colonel Seth Reed and Peter Ryckman, first holders of important land patents in Geneva; Major Benjamin Barton, Major Adam Hoops, Jacob Hart, Joseph Annin, William Jenkins, surveyors; Dr. William Adams, first physician, and a little later Doctor Andrews; and landowners among others as follows: Jerome Loomis, from Lebanon, Connecticut; Major Sanford Williams; Capt. Jonathan Whitney; Roger Noble, from Sheffield, Massachu-

setts; James Latta, from New Windsor, New York; Solomon Warner, William Ansley, a Mr. Ringer, a Mr. Crittenden, owner of the farm on which were the Old Castle and the Indian mound; Phineas Stevens, at the Charles Bean place; while at Kashong were settled Joseph Poudre and Dominique De Bartzch, the latter a man of great influence at the time in this region. Other names of this period are: Sisson, Van Duzen, Butler, Jackson, Graham, and Scott, the last two being merchants who came in June, 1793." The McCormick Tavern on the southwest corner of North and Exchange streets, the first inn on the Kirkwood site, and Tuttle's tavern were other early hostelries in Geneva.

The site of Geneva was involved in two important land patents. The first of these, covering the northern portion of the city, was issued by the land office of the state of New York to Col. Seth Reed in 1790, for services in the Revolutionary war; this consisted of 2,000 acres. The second patent, issued the same year and covering the southern part of the present city, was given to Peter Ryckman and Seth Reed, as tenants in common of a 16,000 acre tract, ceded by the Cayugas to Ryckman. However, at a later date, as noted elsewhere, a resurvey of the preemption line rendered void all former titles here as the land was found to lie east of true preemption, and thus inside of the military tract.

Much of the success of the early settlement and solid foundation of the village is due to the efforts of Capt. Charles Williamson. In 1793 he came into possession of the Reed and Ryckman reservation; a survey of the southern part of Geneva was then made by Joseph Annin, which became the basis of titles for this portion of the city, as that of the Hart survey of 1790 was for the northern part. The village of Geneva itself was laid out in 1796 under the direction of Captain Williamson. In 1805 an estimate of the village gives sixty-eight houses and 325 inhabitants. The Geneva Hotel and the Mile Point mansion were two structures which notably enhanced the beauty of the village.

The first few years of the nineteenth century brought a number of new residents of importance to Geneva, among whom may be mentioned: Judge Jacob W. Hallett; Major James Rees; Herman H. Bogert, J. Grosvenor, Judge Elijah H. Gorden, Robert W. Stoddard, Daniel W. Lewis, David Hudson, John Collins, and Henry Beekman, lawyers; John Hemiup, who was a friend of

Lafayette; Dr. John Henry and Dr. Daniel Goodwin, the first permanent physicians; Samuel Colt, Thomas Goundry, Nathaniel Merrill, Col. Walter Grieve, W. Houten, Thomas and James Barden, Richard M. Williams, William Tappan, Col. Richard M. Bailey, John Moffatt, Richard Larzalere, John and Abram Hall, business men; Isaac Mullender, landowner; John Johnstone and Charles Cameron, assistants to Captain Williamson; Moses Hall, who started the first iron foundry in Geneva.

Geneva was incorporated as a village in the year 1806. This was the first village incorporated in the Genesee Country. The first village election was held on the third Monday in May, 1813, when the following were chosen: Foster Barnard, Herman H. Bogert, Abraham Dox, Samuel Colt and David Cook, trustees; David Hudson, clerk; James Rees, treasurer; and Jabez Pease, collector. The first fire company in the village was organized in 1816. Between the years 1840 and 1850 public utilities in Geneva had their beginning. Park space on the village square was provided for in 1841, and in 1849 Genesee Park was finished. In 1841 the first railroad, the Auburn branch of the New York Central, was constructed, and in 1849 the telegraph was first made available to Genevans. In 1852 gas was first used for illumination, and for street lighting in 1854. Electricity was first used here in 1883. Geneva was incorporated as a city in 1898.

In the town of Bristol a Congregational Church was organized at an early date by Rev. Zadoc Hunn. A log church was built and used until 1814, when a frame house of worship was erected. The church has an endowment fund from the estate of George Coddington. The First Baptist Church was organized in this town in February, 1805, with forty-two members, most of whom had been affiliated with the Baptist Church of Bloomfield. In 1806 a Methodist Episcopal class was formed and in 1815 the first steps were taken toward the organization of a church. In 1846 a house of worship was erected at Bristol Center. The first Universalist Church dates back to 1837. Reverend William Quele was the first pastor. The church building was erected in 1861 and about 1901 was remodeled and enlarged.

A Presbyterian Church was organized at Canadice in 1828, but was dissolved in 1839. April 12, 1834, a Close Communion Baptist Church was organized at the Kimball School House. The

last meeting of this church was held in September, 1849. The Congregational Church, organized at the same place by Rev. Isaac Sergeant, was also discontinued after a few years.

In the town of Canandaigua a Baptist Church was organized in 1800. Services were held in various places until 1832, when a meeting house was built. Some thirty years later the church declined and the building was sold. In 1840 a Baptist Church was started at Cheshire. This society united with other denominations in building a Union Church. A new building of the same nature was erected in 1870.

In East Bloomfield, as early as 1798, Benjamin Keyes deeded six acres of land to the Congregational Church for \$108. In 1801 a church building was erected on the west side of the lot and in 1836 it was remodeled. The remainder of the lot became known as "the square." A Universalist Church was organized early in the nineteenth century, but was afterwards disbanded and the building was sold to the Protestant Episcopal Church (St. Peter's), which was established in 1830. The structure was sold in 1859 to the Methodist Episcopal Society that had first worshiped on Mud Creek in 1830. At that time the new church of St. Peter was occupied. This church has an endowment of \$8,000, the bequest of Mrs. Hiram Holcomb.

Soon after the first settlements were made in the town of Farmington, the Friends organized a church. The first house of worship was built in 1796 near New Salem, or Pumpkin Hook, as it was originally called. This church, built of logs, was burned in 1804 and the next year a frame building was erected on the site. A larger meeting house was built about 1816, but the old one was left standing. In 1828, the followers of Elias Hicks, known as "Hicksites," withdrew and in the division secured possession of the new church. The orthodox Friends then returned to the old meeting house and worshiped there until it was burned, in 1875. A new edifice was dedicated in June, 1876. A Presbyterian Society was formed in 1817 and prospered for a few years. It was finally dissolved about 1832. In 1846 the Wesleyan Methodists organized a church at New Salem and built a house of worship. Rev. Thomas Burrows was the first pastor. When this church was disbanded in the early '80s, the building was sold to the Farmington grange. In 1893 the German Lutheran Church

at New Salem was established and a house of worship was erected the following year. Rev. Herman Leibich was the first pastor.

A Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in the town of Gorham in 1796, by Jefferson Hamilton and Arming Owen, missionaries from Philadelphia. Meetings were held in various places until 1828, when a reorganization was effected and a frame house of worship erected in the village. The First Baptist Church of Gorham was organized about the same time as that of the Methodists. Services were held in the school houses until 1841, when a church building was erected at Baldwin's Corners. It was moved to the village later and the society then took the name of Bethel Baptist Church. Rev. Abraham Ellis was the first regular pastor. On February 26, 1828, a Presbyterian Church was organized at Reed Corners, with twenty-four members. The first house of worship was built about a mile away from the Corners and the congregation met there until 1843, when a second building was erected at Gorham. Rev. Flavel Gaylord was installed as pastor in 1830 and served for ten years. When the majority of the members of the Presbyterian Church voted to move to Gorham in 1843, those who were opposed withdrew and organized the Congregational Church of Reed Corners. These dissenters removed the old house of worship, which stood about a mile north, to Reed Corners. On Christmas night, 1903, this building was destroyed by fire and a new edifice was erected the next year. A Baptist Church was started at Reed Corners in 1804.

Early in the nineteenth century a Congregational Church was organized in the village of Naples, but no house of worship was erected until 1825. It was first used by the Congregationalists, then for a time by the Methodists, after which it stood idle for some time. It was torn down about 1870. The First Methodist Episcopal Church of Naples was built about 1830. It was replaced by a new one in 1851 and again in 1880. A new building was dedicated by this society July 13, 1924. A Baptist Church was organized in 1842 and a frame church building put up soon afterward. It was later converted into a business house and a new church was built in 1865. The Presbyterian Church was the outgrowth of the old Congregational society above mentioned. Its first church building was erected in 1850, but was destroyed by fire in March, 1874. For many years a Christian

Church existed in Naples. The basement of the church building was known as the "Hall of Science," and was the first public hall in the village. It was succeeded in 1861 by the Marks Hall and the church property was then used for other purposes.

In the town of Phelps, as early as 1804, the citizens of Oaks Corners organized the Phelps Union Religious Society. Thaddeus Oaks donated a site for a church building, which was not fully completed until some years later. It was used by all denominations until 1813, when it became the property of the Presbyterians. While the Union Church was under construction, the Baptist Church at Melvin Hill and the Methodist Episcopal Church at Vienna were organized. The latter built a house of worship in 1819. Solomon Goodale, the first town clerk, was a Baptist preacher, and Pierce Cranger was a Methodist exhorter. These men conducted some of the early services of their respective denominations. In 1819 the Baptists organized a congregation at Orleans and built a house of worship. The next year the Presbyterian Church at Vienna was organized. The Old School Presbyterians organized their church in 1840. In 1870 the two Presbyterian societies were united and the old Church Street building, erected in 1822, was sold to the Catholics. Episcopal services were first held in the Masonic Hall, the second story of the old school house on Church Street. In 1832 a parish was organized and in 1856 a stone church was erected, known as St. John's. St. Francis' Roman Catholic Church was established in 1854 and two years later a frame church building was erected. In 1870 the Presbyterian building was bought and remodeled.

The first religious services in the town of Richmond were conducted by Rev. Samuel Mills, in 1792. A little later Peter Pitts and his sons engaged Rev. Zadoc Hunn to hold regular services at Captain Pitts' house. Louis Philippe, afterwards King of France, who visited this section with Talleyrand, attended one of these meetings and afterward wrote: "We set out with Blacons to visit an estate belonging to one Mr. Pitts, of which we had heard much talk throughout the country. On our arrival we found the house crowded with Presbyterians, its owner attending to a noisy, tedious harangue, delivered by a minister with such violence of elocution that he appeared all over in a perspiration. There were handsome women in attendance and we found them even more pleasant than the fine rural scenery."

Doctor Hunn died May 12, 1801, and services were held irregularly until the fall of 1802, when the First Congregational Church of Richmond was organized by Rev. Joseph Grover with fourteen members. Two years later ten acres of land were purchased of David Crooks, "near the center of the town for a burying ground and meeting house green." In 1810 the society became a Presbyterian organization. A house of worship was dedicated in 1818 and in 1843 the church returned to the Congregational form of worship. This society is no longer in existence. The First Congregational Church of Honeoye was organized in November, 1854, with about a dozen members. Rev. Cyrus Pitts was the first pastor. A church building was erected in 1861. Rev. Davenport Phelps conducted Episcopal services as early as 1808. In 1813 the Episcopal Church of Allen's Hill, was organized. Rev. Alanson W. Welton was installed as the first rector in 1815, and two years later a house of worship was built in the eastern part of the town. The society was reorganized in 1859, and in 1861 voted to remove to Allen's Hill, where a new church was erected. The First Methodist Protestant Church was organized in 1832, with a minister named Covill as the first pastor. A church building was erected at Honeoye the same year, but it was destroyed by fire in 1869, when the society sold the site and ceased to exist. A Baptist Church organization of about 1808 has also perished. St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church at Honeoye was built in 1876, with Father Burns as the first resident priest.

In the town of Seneca the first church organized was that known as "No. 9" Church, Presbyterian. In June, 1807, a number of settlers met at the house of Samuel Latta and formed themselves into what was called the "Associate Reformed Church of the Town of Seneca." A frame church building was completed soon after and Rev. Andrew Wilson was the first supply; the first regular pastor of this church was Rev. Thomas White, in 1814. A new church building was constructed in 1839. The second church society to be organized in the town was the Presbyterian Church at Castleton, now called Seneca Castle. This was an offspring of the First Presbyterian Church at Geneva, which was the first Presbyterian Church organized in western New York. The Castleton Church was organized March 4, 1828. The school house was first used for meetings, but in 1829 a church edifice was dedicated, and Rev. Stephen Porter

was the first pastor. The next church in the town was the Methodist Episcopal at Castleton, in the early '30s, and in 1842 a brick church was erected in the village. St. Theresa's Roman Catholic Church at Stanley was organized in 1875, and the church edifice was constructed in the next year. Rev. James A. Connolly was the first priest. The Methodist Episcopal Church at Stanley was organized in 1889. The church of the same denomination at Flint was established in May, 1884.

The first church building in the town of South Bristol was erected in 1814, on Wilder's farm, for which purpose the owner donated the land and contributed to the building. A Union Church was built at Bristol Springs about 1880.

In the town of Victor church services of all denominations were first held in the meeting house erected in 1805, within the confines of Victor village. The first religious society in the town was the Congregational, organized by Rev. Reuben Parmele, in 1799, under the name of the North Congregational Society of Bloomfield. In 1833 the society erected its own church. This organization later became known as the First Presbyterian Church in Victor. The first Methodist preacher in the town was Rev. Joseph Jewel, who came in 1805. Reverends Amos Jenks and James Kelsey came the next year. The first society of this denomination was established in 1807. Services were held in school houses and other places until 1821, when the first house of worship was built. The first Universalist minister in the town was Rev. Nathaniel Stacy, and a society was organized in 1834. Two Catholic priests held mass here about 1850. Two years later Father Casey came and began the erection of a church. An Episcopal mission was started in the town of 1871.

In West Bloomfield the first religious services were held either in 1793 or 1796. Elisha Wade was the first to preach to the settlers. Rev. Zadoc Hunt also preached through this town. The first church was Congregational. In 1818 a Christian Church was organized by Rev. David Millard, and in 1825 a church building was erected about a mile south of the village of West Bloomfield. In 1860 the society was dissolved and the church building became the town hall. In 1831 a Methodist Episcopal Church was established in the village. In 1866 St. Joseph's Catholic Church was organized.

The first religious service of any kind held in the village



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, CANANDAIGUA, BUILT IN 1812

of Canandaigua was that of the funeral service for Captain Caleb Walker, in August, 1790. This was the reading of the Church of England burial service. In the same year meetings were held in a log barn on Judge Phelps' place, John Call having been the exhorter. The first permanently established church society was that of the First Congregational Church of Canandaigua, February 25, 1799. A Protestant Episcopal Church had been formed a few days earlier, but it existed only a brief time. The first Congregational pastor was Rev. Timothy Field. The organization of this Congregational society, as in the case of numerous other societies of the denomination in Ontario County, was largely the work of Rev. Zadoc Hunn. St. John's Episcopal Church of Canandaigua was organized in 1814; the first rectors, Alanson W. Welton and Doctor Onderdonk, conducting meetings first in the town hall until 1816, when the first church building was erected. A new stone church was completed in 1886, having been fourteen years under construction. As early as 1796 a Methodist class had been formed west of the village of Canandaigua. In 1816 first steps were taken to organize a regular church. A Chapel Street lot was purchased through the activities of Rev. William Barlow and in 1818 a building was finished. On February 4, 1823, the First Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canandaigua became incorporated. The present church site was bought in 1834. A Baptist Church was organized at Centerfield, west of the village, in 1826, but was transferred to Canandaigua in January, 1833. The town house was the scene of the first meetings here, but in 1835 a church building was completed. The Presbyterian Church was organized in 1870 by former Congregationalists. First meetings were held in the court house. There were fifty-seven original members, and Rev. Samuel H. Thompson was the first pastor. The church building was completed in 1872 at the corner of Main and Gibson streets. In the earlier years Roman Catholic priests celebrated mass in the village at different times. Not until about 1849 was a small house of worship provided, of brick, and located at the corner of lower Main and Saltonstall streets. The first regular pastor was Rev. Edmund O'Connor. The St. Mary's Orphan Asylum and Academy was incorporated in 1855 and at first had quarters on Saltonstall Street, but in 1873, following the purchase for the church of the John A. Granger property at

the corner of Main and Gibson streets, it was installed in the house there, where it remained until the children were transferred to Rochester during the pastorate of Father Dougherty. The present church building was erected in 1903.

In Geneva the first steps toward the establishment of religious organization were taken in 1797. In this year a Presbyterian Church was organized. Oliver Whitmore, Elijah Wilder, Septimus Evans, Ezra Patterson, Samuel Latta, William Smith, Jr., and Polydore B. Wisner were the first trustees. The first church buildings in the village, the Presbyterian and the Episcopalian, were erected in 1809. Rev. Jedediah Chapman was the first regular Presbyterian preacher, beginning in 1800; Rev. Davenport Phelps was the first Episcopal minister, 1803-13. The Female Bible Society of Geneva, composed of practically all the leading women of the village, was organized in 1813. The Methodist Episcopal Church at Geneva was established in 1818. In 1826 there were organized in the village of the Baptist Church, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Free Church for colored people. In 1831 the Dutch Reformed Church came into existence; in 1832 St. Francis de Sales Roman Catholic Church was established; in 1834 there was started the Universalist Church; and in 1839 the Bethel Society, which later, 1870, by combining with the United Presbyterian, became the North Presbyterian Church. In 1852 St. Peter's Church was organized, and in 1861, in connection with it, there was established by Bishop De Lancy The Diocesan Training School of Western New York, which later became known as the De Lancey Divinity School.

Records are very scattering in regard to the early history of education in the different towns of Ontario County. A school house was built in Canadice Hollow in 1809 and the first school was taught by Betsey Walker, a sister of Gideon and John Walker. Three years later a school house was built on Kimball Hill—the ridge between Canadice and Honeoye lakes—where the first school was taught by Belinda Jackson. In the same year a school house was built in the northeast part of the town. Abigail Root was the first teacher at this place. In East Bloomfield the first school was taught in 1792 by Laura Adams. A second school house was built in 1795. In the town of Gorham a log school house was built near the Yates County line in 1807, and before this another had been built near Reed Corners. Among

the early teachers were: Oliver Babcock, Lucy Catlin, Mrs. Laura Clark, Abner Duvalle, James Hogeboom, Chester Loomis, Darius Miner and Lemuel Morse. The last named held the office of justice of peace for several years and at one time represented Ontario County in the assembly. It is related that in one neighborhood five families each sent ten children to school making a class of fifty pupils. The first record of a school house in the town of Manchester is found in the minutes of a meeting held at the house of Ebenezer Pratt in 1813, when "it was voted to levy a tax of \$250 for the erection of a frame school building 26 feet long, 20 feet wide and 9 feet high." In 1868 the Clifton Springs seminary was incorporated and in 1876 the Foster School for Young Women was opened with Dr. George Loomis in charge. The latter died in 1885 and the school was discontinued. The Seminary ceased operation about 1892, and a modern high school building took its place. The first school in the town of Naples was taught by Miss Susanna Parish in the summer of 1792, and the second was taught by Doctor Thompson in the winter of 1793. In the late '50s an effort was made to establish a union school, but opposition developed and the project was abandoned. Then some of the public-spirited citizens organized the Naples academy. A brick building, the first in the town, was erected in 1860-61, and the institution was opened with M. M. Merrill as principal. In 1897 the academy was merged into a union school. In the town of Phelps, in 1800, a log school was built. Among the early teachers here were: Caleb Bannister, Abigail and Ann Bigelow, Rowland Dewey, Betsy Newell, Chloe Warner and Jared Wilson. This early school was the forerunner of the Phelps union school, which was established in 1846. The first principal of the union school was Lewis Peck. The first teacher in South Bristol was Joanna Forbes, and the first log school house stood near the later No. 7 district school. Elisha Parrish taught winter school for several years. Winthrop Holcomb taught the first school at Covell settlement and afterward at the Standish settlement. The first school house in the village of Victor was situated on the west side of School Street, and the first teacher was Melancthon Lewis, who came from Massachusetts and became one of the prominent men of the town. In West Bloomfield schools were established soon after the settlement of the town and in 1812 an academy was established.

In the village of Canandaigua, it is said, Louis Philippe taught a school in part of the old Morris house during the years he was a resident in this country. William Williams taught a school in Judge Howell's office, and Miss Sybil Mosely, Miss Mary Baker and Warren Bundy were other early teachers. A log school house stood on the west side of Main Street in 1800, and when the public square was deeded to the village in that year ample protection was given to this building. The village was divided into three school districts after the establishment of the state public school system, in 1813. In January, 1791, Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps, realizing the necessity of adequate educational facilities, deeded to trustees fully 6,000 acres of land, for the purpose of creating and supporting an academy or seminary. In 1795 the Canandaigua Academy was formally incorporated and efforts were made to raise money for the construction of a building. This structure, of wood, was completed in 1804. The first board of trustees was made up as follows: Dudley Santonstall (substitute for Nathaniel Gorham), Oliver Phelps, Nathaniel W. Howell (substitute for Israel Chapin), Nathaniel Gorham, Jr., Thomas Morris, Arnold Potter, John Smith, Timothy Hosmer, Charles Williamson, James Wadsworth, Oliver L. Phelps, Daniel Penfield, Ambrose Hill, John Coddington, John Wickham, Moses Atwater, Judah Colt, Israel Chapin, Jr., and Amos Hall. Canandaigua instantly became an important educational institution of its kind in western New York. The first principal was Dudley Saltonstall. Dr. Noah T. Clarke was a notable principal of this school, having served from 1853 for a period of thirty years. The school, having failed to secure an endowment, eventually came under the control of the village board of education. The new building was constructed in 1906-07. The Ontario Female Seminary was another early Canandaigua school of prominence. It was incorporated in 1824 and in the next year a building was constructed on land given by Henry B. Gibson. This school was suspended in 1875. The Upham School for Girls, named in honor of Miss Hannah Upham, was founded in 1876, by Mrs. Samuel D. Backus, and continued until 1891. In 1876, also, the Granger Place School was established in the old Francis Granger homestead. This school closed in June, 1906. For a number of years the Fort Hill School for boys, begin-



CANANDAIGUA ACADEMY, ERECTED IN 1796

ning in 1884, was conducted in the old Rankin place in the north-east part of the village.

In the village of Geneva the first school was taught in 1792 by Samuel Wheaton. On January 30, 1807, twenty-three citizens of Geneva petitioned the regents of the University of the State of New York for the incorporation of Geneva Academy, but the petition was not granted and the academy remained without a charter until 1813. The first public school in Geneva, under the state enactment of 1812, was established in 1813. In 1822, the first school for young ladies in Geneva was opened by Mrs. Plum. In 1839 the public or district schools of Geneva were consolidated into the union school and in 1853 it was incorporated. In 1869 its corporate name was changed to the Geneva Classical and Union School.

Under the provisions of the act establishing Ontario County, the districts of Bristol, Bloomfield, Canandaigua, Farmington, Gorham and Middletown (Naples) were formed, and among the county officials appointed were Oliver Phelps, judge of the common pleas, and John Cooper, surrogate. Judge Phelps held no courts. The first term of Oyer and Terminer and general gaol delivery was held at Patterson's Tavern, at Geneva, June 18, 1793. John Storrs Hobart, one of the justices of the supreme court of judicature of New York, was present; Ebenezer Lindley and Timothy Hosmer were associate justices at this court. Othniel Taylor was appointed foreman of the grand jury, but no business was done by this court. The next court held in the county was the court of common pleas and general sessions, at Canandaigua, in November, 1794, in Nathaniel Sanborn's Tavern. Judge Timothy Hosmer presided. Associate justices were Charles Williamson and Enos Boughton. Lawyers present were Vincent Mathews, James Wadsworth, John Wickham and Thomas Morris. No jury cases were tried. The next term of the common pleas was held in June, 1795. At this term, the first jury trial west of Herkimer County occurred, having been that of the People vs. Luther Haskins, an indictment for stealing a cow-bell. Vincent Mathews and Peter B. Porter successfully represented the defendant, the prosecution appearing in the person of Nathaniel W. Howell. A sketch of Judge Hosmer as well as that of this son, George Hosmer, a prominent pioneer lawyer, are given elsewhere.

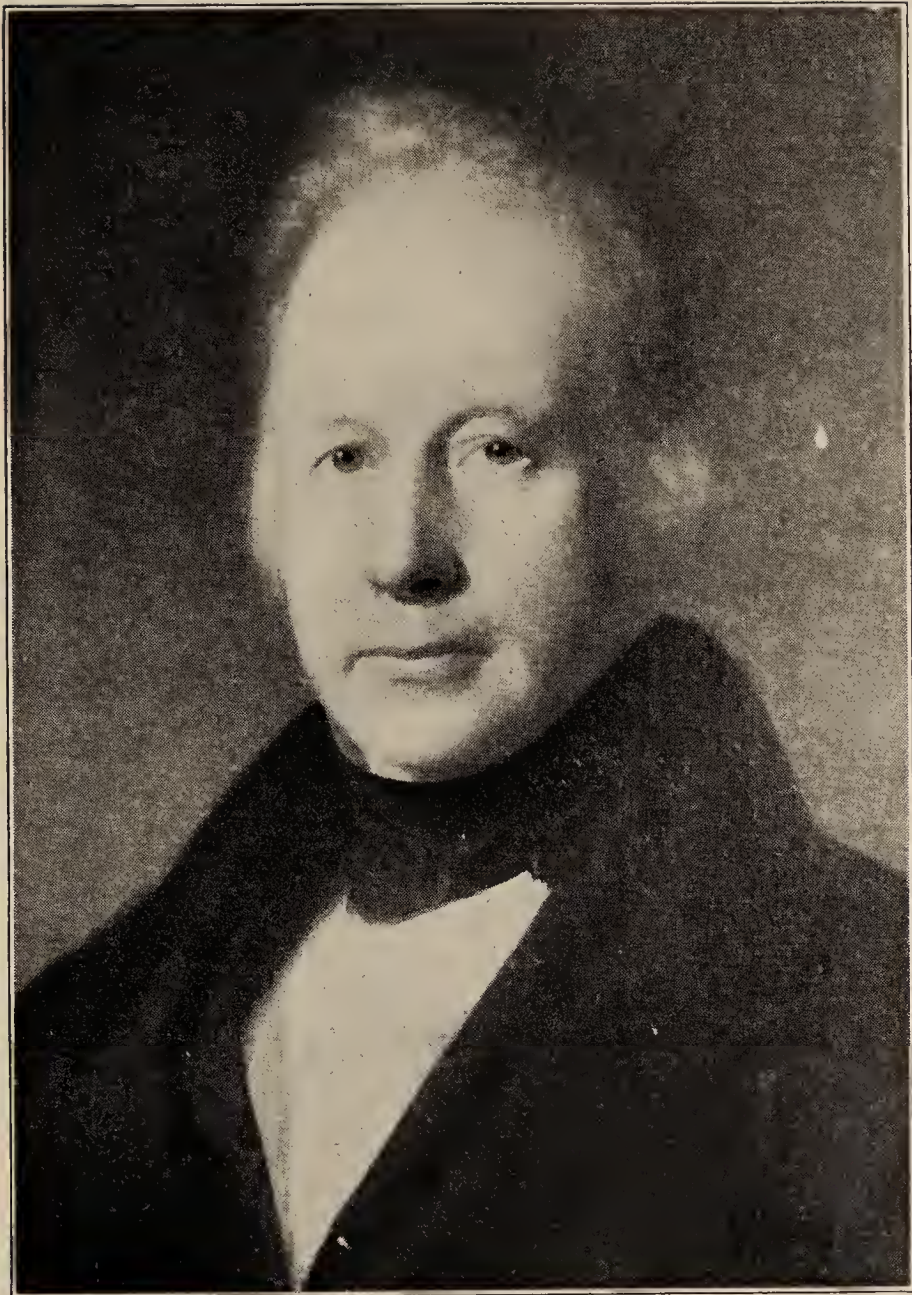
Following Judge Phelps, the judges of Ontario County have been: Timothy Hosmer, 1789; John Nicholas, 1803; Nathaniel W. Howell, 1819; Oliver Phelps, 1833; Bowen Whiting, 1838; Charles J. Folger, 1844; E. Fitch Smith, 1845; Mark H. Sibley, 1847; C. J. Folger, 1851; Peter M. Dox, 1855; John M. Bradford, 1856; H. W. Folger, 1856; George B. Dusenberre, 1857; William H. Smith, 1868; Francis O. Mason, 1872; William H. Smith, 1878; Frank Rice, 1884; J. H. Metcalf, 1890; Walter H. Knapp, 1896-1902; Robert F. Thompson, 1908; Horace W. Fitch, 1916-1922. The dates are those of assuming office.

The surrogates of Ontario County have been: John Cooper, 1789; Samuel Mellish, 1792; Israel Chapin, Jr., 1795; Amos Hall, 1796; Dudley Saltonstall, 1798; Reuben Hart, 1809-1811-1815; Eliphalet Taylor, 1810-1813; Stephen Phelps, 1817; Ira Selby, 1821; Jared Wilcox, 1823; Jared Willson, 1837; Orson Benjamin, 1840; George R. Burburt, 1844; George Wilson, Jr., 1851; Orson Benjamin, 1852-1857; Samuel Salsbury, 1853; John N. Whiting, 1855; Elihu M. Morse, 1861; Isaac R. Purcell, 1869; Charles A. Richardson, 1873; Edward P. Babcock, 1879; David G. Lapham, 1885-1892; Oliver C. Armstrong, 1891; George F. Ditmars, 1898-1904; Harry I. Dunton, 1910-1916-1922.

Oliver Phelps, who served as first judge of Ontario County from 1789 to 1793, was not a lawyer. However, he was one of the most important men in the development of the early Genesee Country. He was a native of Connecticut; served in the commissary department of the Continental army during the Revolution; held high political offices in Massachusetts, and then participated in the Phelps and Gorham Purchase, which has been thoroughly exploited elsewhere in this volume. He removed to Canandaigua in 1802 and died here in 1809, aged sixty.

Nathaniel W. Howell, a noted member of the early Ontario bar, was born in Orange County January 1, 1770; came to Canandaigua in 1796; was elected president of the board of trustees upon the incorporation of the village in 1815; was assistant attorney general for the western counties from 1799 to 1802; member of the legislature in 1804; representative in Congress in 1813 and 1814, and was first judge of Ontario County from 1819 to 1833. He died at Canandaigua October 15, 1851.

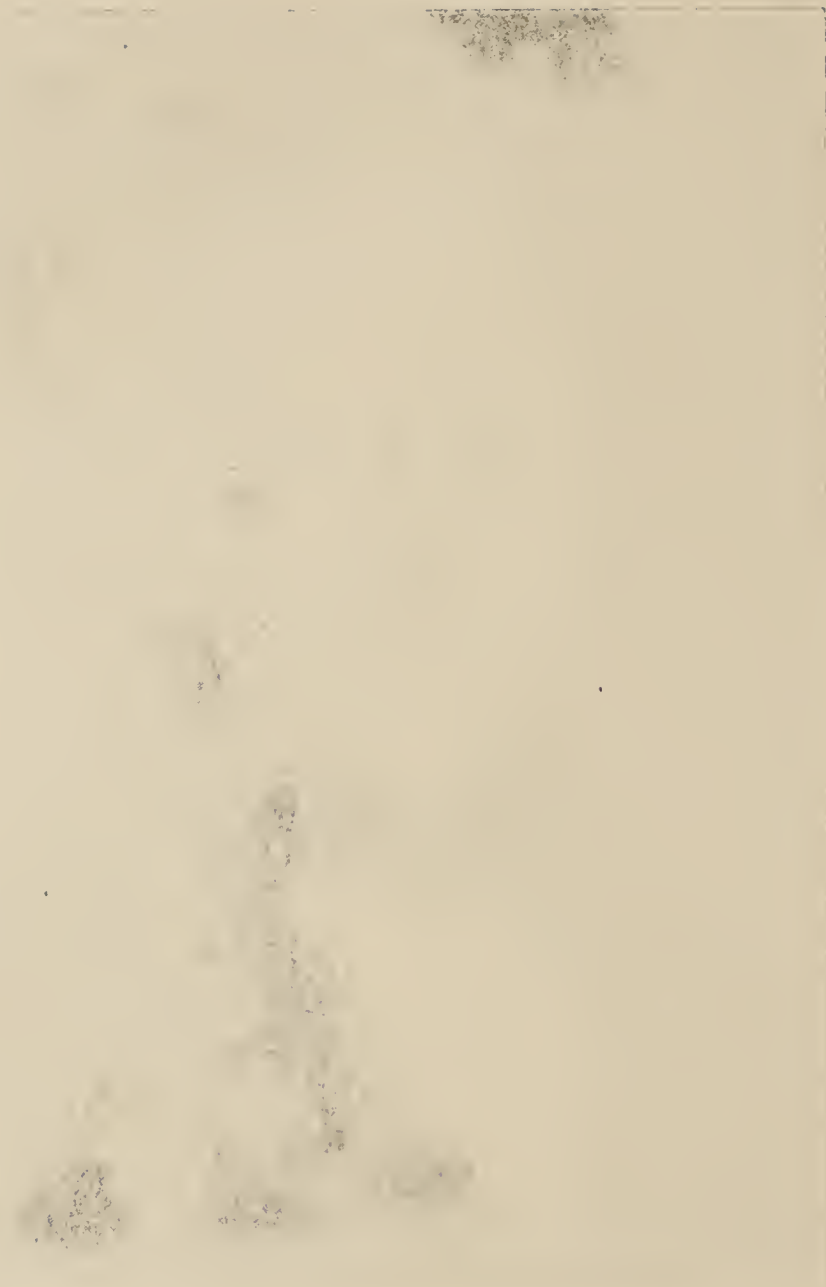
Mark H. Sibley, also prominent as a lawyer and jurist in



(From oil painting in courthouse at Canandaigua)

JOHN GREIG

Born in Moffat, Scotland, August 6, 1779, Attorney and Counsellor at Law. Settled in Canandaigua 1801, where he died April 9, 1858.



early Ontario County, was born in Massachusetts in 1796; came to Canandaigua in 1814; studied law with Dudley Marvin; served two terms in state assembly; representative in Congress, 1837-39; county judge, 1847-51; died in Canandaigua September 8, 1852.

Walter Hubbell, well known pioneer lawyer, was a native of Connecticut, born in 1795, and located in Canandaigua in 1814. He was member of assembly in 1829, and died here March 25, 1848.

John C. Spencer was one of Ontario County's most distinguished lawyers. He was born at Hudson, New York, in 1788; came to Canandaigua soon afterward and here lived for thirty-six years. When nineteen years old he was appointed private secretary to Governor Tompkins; was appointed master in chancery in 1811; was brigade judge advocate on the frontier in 1812; was appointed postmaster at Canandaigua in 1814; became assistant attorney general in 1815; in 1816 was elected to Congress from the 21st district, which included Ontario; in 1821 entered the state assembly and became speaker of that body; state senator, 1824-28; appointed by Governor Van Buren in 1826 as special attorney general in the prosecution of defendants in Morgan case; again member of assembly in 1830; in 1839 was appointed secretary of state by Governor Seward, also served as state superintendent of schools; served as regent of state university; in October, 1841, was appointed secretary of war by President Tyler, and in March, 1843, was transferred to the position of secretary of the treasury, but resigned the next year on account of his opposition to the annexation of Texas. He died at Albany May 18, 1855.

Gideon Granger, who won distinction at the bar and in other ways, was born in Connecticut in 1767, graduated from Yale, and in 1801 became postmaster-general. On his retirement from Washington, in 1814, he settled in Canandaigua, and in 1820-21 was a member of the state senate. He died here December 31, 1822.

Micah Brooks was born in Connecticut in 1775, removed to western New York and settled on a farm in Bloomfield in 1799. He was for twenty years an associate judge of the Ontario court of common pleas; represented the county in assembly in 1808

and 1809; was a member of Congress 1815-17; delegate to the constitutional convention of 1821, and in 1824 was a Presidential elector. He died in Livingston County July 7, 1857.

Jared Willson was born in Massachusetts in 1796 and settled at Canandaigua in 1811, where he studied law with John C. Spencer. He served as a lieutenant of militia in the War of 1812 and was taken prisoner at the battle of Queenstown. He died April 8, 1851.

Elbridge G. Lapham was born in the town of Farmington, Ontario County, in 1814, and was educated at Canandaigua Academy. Was admitted to the bar in 1844 and won a high reputation as an advocate. He served in Congress in 1874, 1876, 1878 and 1880; and in 1881 was appointed to the Senate to succeed Roscoe Conkling, resigned. He died at Canandaigua January 8, 1890.

Thomas Morris Howell, son of Nathaniel W. Howell, was born at Canandaigua in 1811 and died October 27, 1892. He was admitted to the bar in 1834, and was district attorney for a number of years. He was representative in Congress and member of the state legislature, also police justice of Canandaigua.

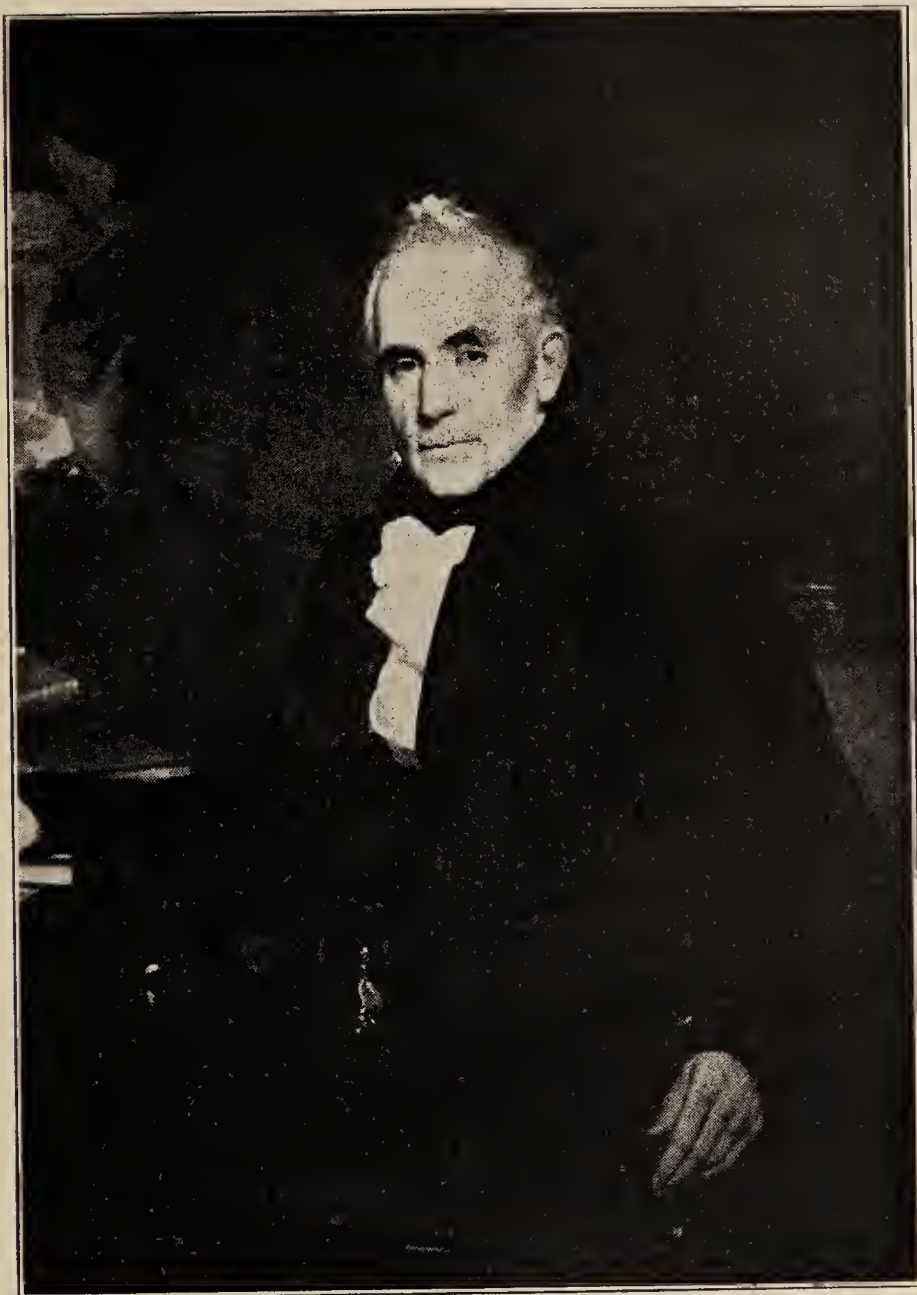
Samuel A. Foot was a native of Connecticut, and during the latter part of his life lived at Geneva; he served in the assembly as Ontario County representative. He died May 11, 1878.

Henry W. Taylor was born in Massachusetts in 1796 and died at Canandaigua December 17, 1888. He served in the assembly a number of years. His residence in Ontario County dates from 1816. He was a justice of the supreme court in 1850, and county judge, 1858-60.

Emory B. Pottle was born at Naples in 1815 and died there April 18, 1891. He was elected to the assembly in 1846, and to Congress in 1856. He studied law with Sibley & Worden at Canandaigua and engaged in practice with Alexander H. Howell.

James C. Smith, who was born at Phelps in 1817, was admitted to practice in 1838; he first settled at Lyons and became surrogate of Wayne County. He removed to Canandaigua in 1854, became a partner of Elbridge G. Lapham, and was justice of the supreme court 1863-87. He died at Canandaigua September 26, 1900.

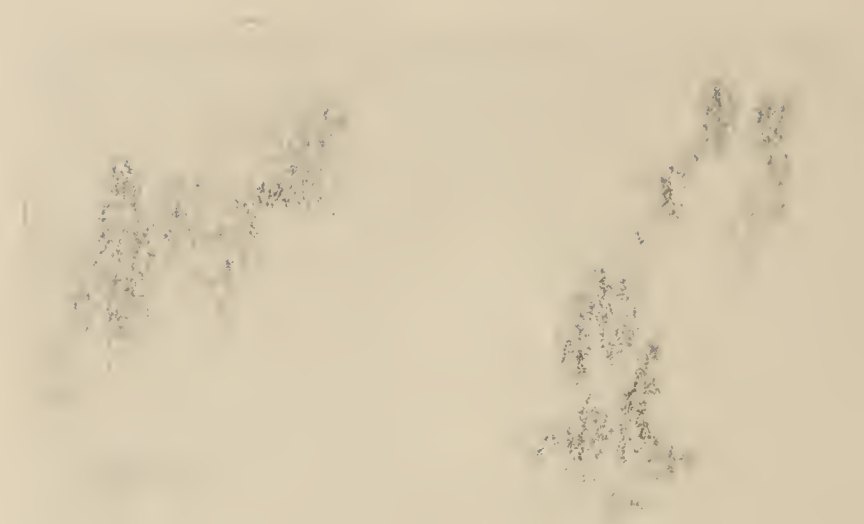
William H. Smith was born in the town of Farmington Jan-



(From oil painting in courthouse at Canandaigua)

NATHANIEL W. HOWELL

Born at Blooming Grove, New York, Orange County, January 1, 1770. For thirteen years first Judge of Ontario County, New York. Assisted as counsel with Vincent Matthews and Peter B. Porter in 1795 in trying in Canandaigua the first case ever tried before a jury in Ontario County.



uary 23, 1829; studied law with Mark H. Sibley and entered practice at Canandaigua in 1852; he died there November 30, 1902. He served as district attorney, county judge and was a member of the national convention which nominated Lincoln for his second term.

Edwin Hicks was born in the town of Bristol in 1830 and was district attorney of the county, member of the state senate, and at the time of his death in 1902 was United States referee in bankruptcy.

William H. Adams was born at Lyons, Wayne County, in 1841. He died at Canandaigua in 1903. He studied law with Smith & Lapham in Canandaigua, served in the Civil War, during which he attained the rank of brigadier-general; was elected supreme court justice in 1887; appointed a member of the appellate division, fourth department, in 1896, and became its presiding officer in 1900.

Harlow L. Comstock was born in Groton, Tompkins County, in 1821; settled in Warsaw, and was elected district attorney and county judge of Wyoming County. In 1868 he became a resident of Canandaigua, where he practiced law with his brother-in-law, Thomas H. Bennett. He died in 1883.

Charles J. Folger, who was born in Massachusetts in 1818, came to Geneva in 1830. He was county judge, 1844-55; member of the state senate 1862-69; delegate to the constitutional convention of 1867; elected judge of the court of appeals in 1870, and was chief judge of that body in 1880; appointed secretary of the treasury by President Arthur in 1881; he died at Geneva in 1884.

Francis O. Mason, who was born in the town of Bristol in 1832, engaged in the practice of law at Geneva at the close of the Civil war, during which conflict he was assistant adjutant general of the state. He served as member of assembly and county judge. He died at Geneva in 1900.

Vincent Mathews, who was associated with such men as Thomas Morris, Peter B. Porter and Nathaniel W. Howell in the practice of law at the first terms of court held in Ontario County, was a native of Orange County. Further mention of him is made in the history of Rochester, in which city he died in 1846.

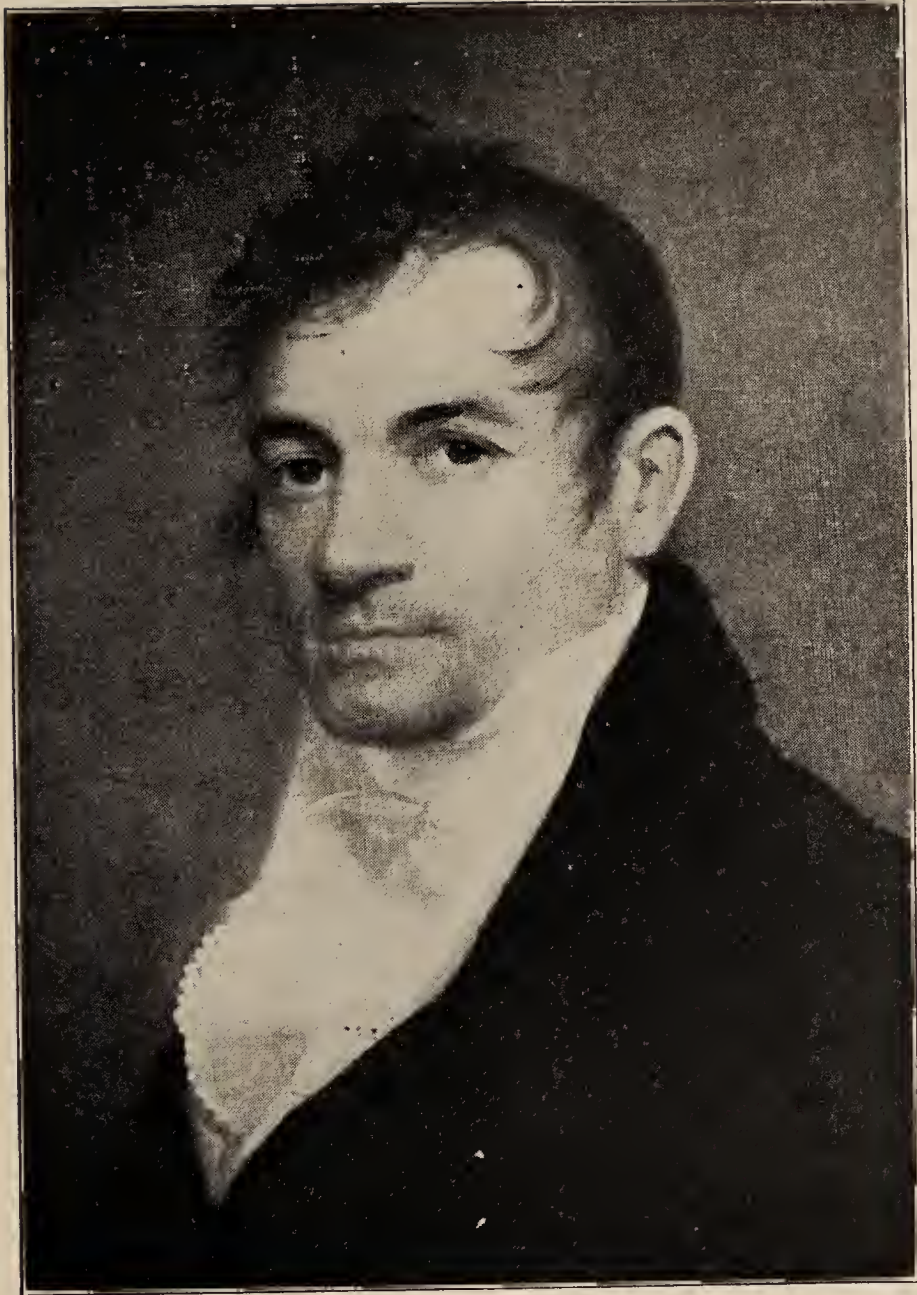
Bowen Whiting, prominent member of the early Ontario bar, was born in Connecticut in 1790, and died at Geneva, New York,

in 1850. He was district attorney of Ontario County from 1823 to 1832, having come to the county in 1816. He was member of assembly in 1824 and 1825; county judge from 1838 to 1844, and appointed a supreme court judge for the seventh district in 1844.

Robert W. Stoddard, another early member of the Ontario County bar, came to Geneva from Connecticut, and here died in 1849.

Jabez H. Metcalf was born in the town of Naples in 1813, and was admitted to the bar in 1843. He studied law with Willson & Lester in Canandaigua and later was associated with Elbridge G. Lapham and Henry M. Field. Died in Canandaigua April 19, 1883.

The first physician to settle on the Phelps and Gorham Purchase was Dr. Moses Atwater, who came from Connecticut. He became a resident of Canandaigua in 1790, when twenty-five years old. He held a number of important offices here, including that of associate judge of the county court, and died in 1847. Oliver Phelps, when writing to Nathaniel Gorham in 1790, stated: "We have suffered much for want of a physician. Atwater has not yet arrived. We have now a gentleman from Pennsylvania to attend the sick who seems to understand his business. The two Wadsworths who came from Durham have been very sick, but are now recovering. They are low spirited. They like the country, but their sickness has discouraged them." Doctor Atwater was one of the organizers of the Ontario County Medical Society in 1806. His home stood on the site of the present post-office building. He was an eccentric character, and many traditions of him exist today. Milliken's history of Ontario County states: "The doctor may well be described as a gentleman of the old school, courtly in his bearing, having a most excellent opinion of himself, and queer and epigrammatic in speech, and, as Dr. Noah T. Clarke states, somewhat contentious. Doctor Clarke has given us some interesting reminiscences of the doctor and his wonderful horse Robin and his good dog Bose. Several of our oldest residents describe with vivid recollection the erect figure of the old judge as he rode through the streets behind his faithful steed, holding his whip in the air, generally with the butt uppermost. In politics the doctor was a Federalist and strongly opposed to the War of 1812. He not only refused to illuminate his



(From oil painting in courthouse at Canandaigua)

JOHN C. SPENCER

Born Hudson, New York, January 8, 1788. Lawyer, Member of the Assembly Senate (State) Congress, Secretary of State 1830. 1841, Secretary of War under John Tyler. Died Albany, New York, 1855.

house, but actually put out all the lights during the victorious celebration at the close of the war, and so offensive was this action that the house was stoned and many windows broken. I have been told by one who remembers his own feeling at the time, that most of the girls were afraid to go by the house, for it was said that he kept his coffin in one of the front rooms." Doctor Atwater had a brother, Dr. Jeremiah Atwater, who practiced a time, but blindness compelled him to retire. He died in 1861 at the age of ninety. He was affectionately known as Doctor Jerry.

Dr. William A. Williams came to Canandaigua in 1793, when a young man of twenty-three. He was a native of Connecticut, was a Yale graduate, and had practiced a short time in Hatfield, Massachusetts. He was a very popular physician in Canandaigua, where he spent his life, dying in 1834. In his profession he was really in advance of his time. Like his contemporary, Doctor Atwater, he is remembered by many interesting traits of character. His hobby was the raising of pigeons and chickens; also he bore a great love for children, who frequently flocked to his office for the doctor's liquid concoction of peppermint, sugar and water.

Dr. Samuel Dungan, prominent physician and surgeon of the early day, came here from Philadelphia in 1797. Doctor Dungan died in either 1818 or 1823. Dr. Claudius C. Coan and Dr. Richard Wells were early physicians in this vicinity. Coan was a student of Doctor Dungan. Doctor Wells encountered some financial difficulties after coming here, due to creditors back east, and he was placed in jail. He cleared the matter up, however, and until his death in 1842 enjoyed a large practice, and was much respected.

Dr. Pliny Hayes, a native of Massachusetts, practiced medicine and conducted a drug store at Canandaigua in the early years of the last century. He died in 1831. He was an accomplished musician and scientist.

Dr. Nathaniel Jacobs was a resident of Canandaigua for more than sixty years. He died in 1860.

Dr. A. G. Bristol came to Canandaigua from Connecticut in 1831, but after about five years he moved to Rochester, dying there in 1873.

Dr. John Rosewarne, although not a practicing physician, was often a consulting doctor in the early days.

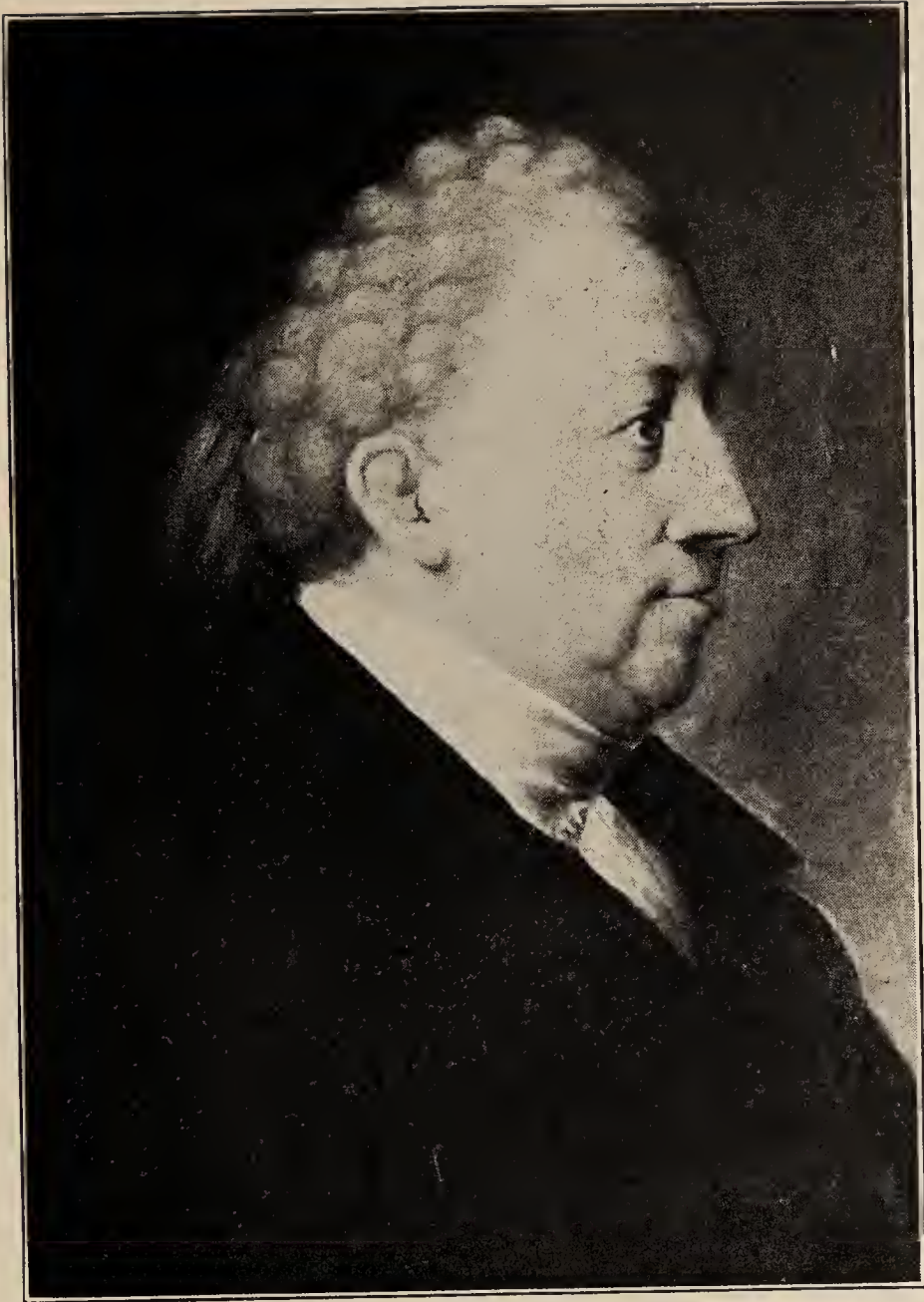
Dr. Ephraim W. Cheney began practice at Richmond in 1816 and came to Canandaigua in 1832. Dr. Edson Carr, another pioneer doctor, began his medical career as a drug clerk, and studied with Doctor Wells. He was licensed to practice in 1826. Dr. Joseph Byron Hayes, another prominent early physician, was a student in the office of Doctor Carr. He died in 1890. The death of his preceptor, Doctor Carr, occurred in 1861.

In 1855, Dr. George Cook came to Canandaigua and, with his brother, Robert D. Cook, and William G. Wayne, formed a company which built Brigham Hall, an institution for the insane, where the first patient was received October 3 of that year. Doctor Cook met his death in 1876 at the hands of a demented patient.

Dr. Elnathan W. Simmons, who was born in the town of Bristol in 1811, had a long medical career in Ontario County; his death occurred in 1903. Dr. Joseph T. Smith was another of the county's notable physicians. Dr. Harvey Jewett began practice at Allen's Hill, and later came to Canandaigua. Dr. Hilem F. Bennett was prominent in medical practice, as were Drs. J. B. Voak, J. Richmond Pratt, M. R. Carson, James A. Hawley, ——— Spencer, Joseph Beattie, G. N. Dox, H. N. Eastman, N. B. Covert, Lester Jewett; A. G. Crittenden and W. W. Archer at Clifton Springs; Hall in East Bloomfield, also Charles C. Murphy and Webster; J. W. Palmer and James F. Draper in Victor; F. R. Bentley at Cheshire; J. H. Allen at Gorham; T. D. Pritchard at Phelps; Deane and Buck at Gorham; John Q. Howe at Phelps, also F. D. Vanderhoof; D. S. Allen at Seneca; and L. F. Wilbur at Honeoye.

The Ontario County Medical Society was organized in the year 1806, but the early records of the organization are unavailable. The Society of Physicians of the Village of Canandaigua was established in 1864, and was known as the Village Medical Society until its incorporation in 1892. The first members of this group were: John B. Chapin, M. R. Carson, W. Fitch Cheney, George Cook, Harvey Jewett, J. Byron Hayes, J. A. Rogers, Elnathan W. Simmons, Joseph T. Smith, W. T. Swart, and, as honorary members, William S. Zantzinger, John Rosewarne, Alexander Murray and Charles S. Hoyt.

The story of the sanitarium at Clifton Springs, and the work of Dr. Henry Foster, is given elsewhere.



(From oil painting in courthouse at Canandaigua)

GIDEON GRANGER

Born in Suffield, Connecticut, July 19, 1767. Postmaster General of the United States under Jefferson from 1801 to 1814. Removed to Canandaigua in 1816. Elected State Senator in 1818. Died December 31, 1822.

The Thompson Memorial Hospital at Canandaigua was founded by Mrs. Thompson in memory of her husband, Frederick Ferris Thompson. It was opened September 1, 1904. A training school for nurses in connection with this hospital was opened April 1, 1908. The Ontario County Bacteriological Laboratory, built and furnished by Mrs. Thompson in 1906, is located on the hospital grounds.

The Canandaigua Hospital of Physicians and Surgeons, started as the Beahan Hospital in 1898, was established by Dr. A. L. Beahan; the nurses training school dates from 1903.

In 1909 the county provided \$15,000 for the establishment of a tuberculosis hospital in the town of East Bloomfield. It was completed the next year, and opened for patients in 1911.

In 1834 the legislature authorized a medical department in Geneva (Hobart) College, and in 1836 a building for this purpose was erected. Another building was put up in 1841. The medical department of the college was discontinued in 1872 and five years later the building was burned.

The Milliken history of Ontario County states, in regard to the county's participation in the War of 1812: "Canandaigua was uncomfortably near the frontier in the War of 1812. Judging from the newspapers of the day, the whole county must have been in a ferment. Alarm committees were organized in the various towns. Troops were enlisted, it being mentioned that ninety recruits had been enrolled in one month 'in the small town of Canandaigua,' and the village streets were the frequent scene of parades and other patriotic displays. On September 12, it is recorded that 'a regiment of militia composed of 400 or 500 of the best blood of the country marched through the village,' also that four wagons loaded with arms and ammunition from the arsenal here had been dispatched to the front. In 1814 the local committee of safety, of which Thaddeus Chapin was chairman and Myron Holley secretary, reported that it had received and distributed \$13,473.10 for the relief of sufferers on the Niagara frontier. And in November of the same year a public dinner was given at Mr. Barnard's, in honor of Maj.-Gen. Peter B. Porter, as a mark of the local appreciation of his services in protecting the frontier."

Maj.-Gen. Peter Buel Porter was born in Connecticut in 1773,

and settled at Canandaigua in 1795. He was county clerk from 1797 to 1804, and member of assembly in 1802. He moved to Niagara Falls about 1806. He served two terms in congress, won great renown for his military service, was secretary of state under Governor Tompkins, and secretary of war under the younger Adams. He died at Niagara Falls in March, 1844.

Ontario County, as a whole, was strongly in favor of freedom for the slaves during the days before the Civil war. Many "underground railroad" stations existed in the county. When President Lincoln called for his first 75,000 volunteers, it was not unheeded in the county. A committee consisting of John A. Granger, William G. Lapham, Henry O. Chesebro, William H. Smith and William Hildreth, called a public meeting for April 20, 1861, at the town house in Canandaigua. This was a rousing meeting, and subscriptions in excess of \$7,000 were given by the assembled citizens. A committee of fifteen was appointed to superintend the raising of volunteers. Party lines were forgotten and everyone moved with a single purpose. The principal recruiting place was at the town house, in charge of Owen Edmonston. The women of the village got busy with their needles and thread, making bedding, for use of troops which were to be billeted in the fair grounds. Companies of soldiers from other points, and other towns in the county, stopped at Canandaigua en route to their rendezvous, and added to the martial spirit. Some incidents of "copper" color were reported, but were of little consequence. The majority of the students and teachers of the academy enlisted under the flag of the Union. The best figures show that Ontario County men were enlisted in twenty-nine different regiments during the war, and that fully 5,000 men from the county took up arms. Company G of the 18th New York Volunteer Infantry, was recruited at Canandaigua in 1861; Henry Faurot was captain, James H. Morgan first lieutenant, and William H. Ellis, Jr., second lieutenant. Company E, of the 28th Infantry, was also raised at Canandaigua, and officered by Theodore Fitzgerald, captain; J. J. Whitney, first lieutenant, and Harvey Padelford, second lieutenant. In the 33d Regiment of Infantry, Company D was recruited at Canandaigua under Capt. John R. Cutler, and two companies at Geneva under Captain Walker and Captain Waterford. Company H, of the 38th Regiment of Infantry, with

W. H. Baird, captain, was raised at Geneva. Ontario County supplied two companies for the 85th Infantry, B and G, the former from Canandaigua and the latter from Geneva. The officers of Company B were: William W. Clarke, of Naples, captain; C. S. Aldrich, first lieutenant; Amos Brunson, second lieutenant. The officers of Company G were: John Raines, captain; George W. Munger, first lieutenant; Thomas Alsop, second lieutenant. Company K, of the 98th Infantry, George N. Williams, captain, and Company I, of the same regiment, William H. Adams, captain, were Ontario units. Company B, of the 100th Regiment, came largely from Victor.

The 126th Regiment was recruited in Seneca, Ontario and Yates counties and was mustered into the service August 22, 1862, and served through three years of war. Colonel Eliakim Sherrill, of Geneva, was in command. Companies D, H and K were raised completely in Ontario County, and parts of E, F and G. The officers of Company D were: Philo D. Phillips, captain; Charles A. Richardson, first lieutenant; Spencer F. Lincoln, second lieutenant. The officers of Company H were: Orin J. Herendeen, captain; George N. Redfield, first lieutenant; Alfred R. Clapp, second lieutenant. Company K was officered by Charles M. Wheeler, captain; H. Clay Lawrence, first lieutenant; Isaac A. Seamans, second lieutenant. Henry D. Kipp was captain of Company E. The officers of Company F were: Isaac Shimer, captain; Ira Munson, first lieutenant, and Ten Eyck Munson, second lieutenant. John F. Aiken was captain of Company G. This regiment performed notable service at Gettysburg.

Perhaps the largest regimental representation from Ontario was in the 148th Infantry. William Johnson was colonel of this regiment; George M. Guion was lieutenant-colonel, and John B. Murray, major. All of these men were from Seneca Falls. Dr. Elnathan W. Simmons, of Canandaigua, was surgeon; C. H. Carpenter, of Phelps, assistant surgeon, and Frank Seeley, of Rushville, second assistant surgeon. This regiment saw active service first at Gwynn's Island in 1863.

Other regiments in which Ontario County men were enlisted were: The 160th, 179th, 184th, 188th, 194th Infantry; 1st, 2d, 8th, 9th, 15th and 24th Cavalry; 1st Mounted Rifles, and the 4th, 9th, 13th and 16th Heavy Artillery.

Deeds of valor were performed by Ontario men in the war, and many of them lost their lives, among whom were Colonel Sherrill, who perished from a wound received at Gettysburg, Captain Wheeler and Captain Herendeen. The women at home worked heroically for the boys in the field; the Ladies' Hospital Aid Society was one of the local organizations. Money was contributed freely for assistance to soldiers' families and for bounties. The news of the end of the war was received in the county with noisy celebrations, only to be followed, too quickly, by the sad news of Lincoln's assassination.

The first newspaper published at Canandaigua was the Ontario Gazette and Genesee Observer, which was started in 1799, having been moved to the village from Geneva by Lucius Cary. Cary had established the paper at Geneva a year or so previous. This sheet was succeeded in 1802 by the Western Repository and Genesee Advertiser, published by James K. Gould. The name was changed a year later to the Western Repository, and in 1804 James D. Bemis became associated with it. He continued the paper after Gould's death in 1908. The name was again changed in 1830 to The Ontario Repository. Jacob J. Mattison came into possession of the paper in 1862 and consolidated it with the Messenger. Among the names of publishers of the Repository were Morse & Bemis; Morse, Ward & Company; Morse & Harvey; George L. Whitney; Orson Benjamin; George L. Whitney & Son, and George W. French.

The Ontario Messenger was established in 1803 as the Ontario Freeman, by Isaac Tiffany. In 1806 John A. Stevens took possession and renamed it, and it so continued until 1830. Day & Morse were publishers of this sheet, also T. B. Hahn, Hubbell & Turner, and then Mattison from 1845 until his death in 1879. William H. Underhill, of Bath, then became owner of the Repository and Messenger; he died in 1883, when his father, A. L. Underhill, took charge until 1885; Herbert Huntington then took it over and continued to publish it until 1907. The paper then became the property of the Messenger Printing Company, W. A. Patton, president, which on December 9, 1907, began its publication as a daily.

The Ontario County Times was started by Nathan J. Milliken in January, 1852, as the official organ of the anti-slavery wing of

the whig party. Charles F. Milliken, son of the founder, became a partner January 1, 1891. Nathan J. Milliken died in December, 1902, after which the management of the Times devolved upon his sons, Charles F. and R. B. Milliken. The latter died January 2, 1911, since which time the weekly has been issued by Charles F. Milliken.

The Ontario County Journal was started in 1874 by George D. A. Bridgman, as a liberal republican sheet. In May, 1886, it passed into the hands of William G. David, who sold it back to the founder in September following. Bridgman then conducted the paper until July, 1891, when Edwin P. Gardner and William H. Hamlin became the owners. In May, 1899, Mr. Hamlin retired and Mr. Gardner has remained the sole owner.

There have been a number of unsuccessful newspaper ventures in Canandaigua, among which may be mentioned the following: The Ontario Phoenix (1827), united with the Repository in 1836; The Clay Club of 1844; The Ontario Independent of 1882, of three years' duration; The Daily Chronicle (1898), and the Canandaigua Chronicle (1900-07).

On December 16, 1796, Lucius Cary published the first number of the Ontario Gazette or Western Chronicle at Geneva, which was the first newspaper in the village, and was removed to Canandaigua, as noted, the following year. The first newspaper in the village to endure was the Expositor, established in 1806 by Colonel James Bogert, who had come to Geneva that year. Three years later he changed the name to the Geneva Gazette; in 1902 it became the Advertiser-Gazette. In 1895, Geneva's first daily paper, the Geneva Daily Times (independent republican) was established; it is now issued by the Geneva Printing Company, of which W. A. Gracey is president. The Geneva Herald was established in 1920, and the editor and publisher is Edward J. Scheck.

At Naples, in 1833, Charles P. Waterman established a newspaper called the Free Press. It was short-lived, and in 1840 David Fairchild established the Neapolitan. The name was afterwards changed to The Naples Visitor. There are now two newspapers published in the village. The Naples Record was founded in 1870 by S. L. Deyo and at the beginning of 1925 was edited by J. S. Tellier. J. D. Campbell began the publication of the Naples News in 1898. It passed through several changes of ownership and is now issued by L. E. Morey.

In 1832 Jeremiah O. Balch began the publication of a weekly newspaper called the Vienna Republican. About two years later it was sold to E. N. Phelps, who changed the name to Vienna Advertiser. Between that time and 1887 several changes in ownership and management occurred. The paper then became the property of E. F. and H. C. Bussey. In 1910 E. F. Bussey was succeeded by his brother, A. F. Bussey. Since 1866 the paper has borne the name of the Phelps Citizen.

The Clifton Springs Press was established in the year 1878. P. A. Kemp is now editor. The Holcomb Review began in 1900. The Shortsville Enterprise dates from 1882. The Victor Herald began publication in 1881 and is issued by C. D. and F. H. Smith.

The early banks of the village of Canandaigua consisted of the Ontario Bank, established in 1813; the Utica Branch Bank, started in 1815, and the Ontario Savings Bank, organized in 1830. The early banks of the village were very stable in character and, with the exception of the failure of the H. J. Messenger Bank, in May, 1868, the financial development was uninterrupted. The Canandaigua National Bank was established in 1897; F. H. Hamlin is the president of this institution, which has a capitalization of \$200,000. The Ontario County Trust Company was organized in 1911, and has the same capitalization as the national bank.

The Bank of Geneva was founded in the year 1817; Rev. Henry Dwight was the first president. Reverend Dwight, who served twenty-two years as president of the bank which he founded, and who died at Geneva in 1857, was one of the notable men of early Ontario County. He came to Geneva in 1817, a native of Massachusetts, and graduate of Yale and Princeton Theological Seminary. This bank eventually became the Geneva National Bank and so continued until October 6, 1923, when the institution, through mismanagement, failed. The bank was re-organized, however, as the National Bank of Geneva in the same year. The Geneva Savings Bank was organized in 1910, and the Geneva Trust Company in 1919.

Two banks were organized in Ontario County in 1907, the Ontario National of Clifton Springs and the bank of George R. Granby & Sons at Naples. The Hiram Maxfield Bank at Naples dates from the year 1882. The Phelps National Bank was instituted in 1910, and the Hamlin National Bank in 1911. The State

Bank of Shortsville was founded in 1920, and in 1921 the Victor State Bank was established.

The first movement for a public library in Canandaigua occurred in the latter part of 1826, when the Canandaigua Merchants' Clerks Library was planned, with a nucleus of fifty books given by William Wood. Nothing came of this library. On May 6, 1859, the Wood Library Association, named in honor of the philanthropist who had died two years before, was organized. The association was first incorporated in 1868 and reincorporated as a free public library in 1896. The Ontario County Historical Society was incorporated in 1902, and now occupies quarters in the Wood Library building.

The first Masonic lodge in Ontario County was Ontario Lodge No. 23, established October 12, 1792, with Timothy Hosmer as the first master. Following the Morgan affair, the Masonic lodges were dissolved in 1826, and no local organization of Masonry existed until 1853, when Canandaigua Lodge No. 294 was instituted. Ontario Lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was started at Canandaigua in 1844, and was disbanded in 1857; the next Odd Fellow lodge was Canandaigua Lodge No. 236, established in 1870.

The first orphan asylum in the village of Canandaigua was that established by St. Mary's church in 1855. The creation of the Ontario Orphan Asylum was through the work of Mrs. George Cook, who was inspired by the need for such an institution after the Civil war. The first meeting held for the purpose of establishing this home was in May, 1863, in the chapel of the Congregational Church. The asylum was incorporated in July following, and the Samuel Greenleaf property at the head of Main Street was bought. The formal opening occurred October 27, 1863. Numerous bequests, among them one of \$80,000 from the late Commodore James Glynn, U. S. N., have provided a generous endowment for this asylum. The Clark Manor House, a home for aged people, was established in July, 1899, by Mrs. Mary Clark Thompson in memory of her parents, Myron Holley and Zilpha (Watkins) Clark.

Ontario County has always been known as a rich agricultural region. The first wheat was grown within the confines of the present county in 1790, by Abner Barlow. The first move to

organize a county agricultural society occurred February 18, 1819, when a meeting was held at the court house, and John Nicholas elected president, and a committee of one member from each of the then thirty-four towns in the county chosen. The 1819 legislature appropriated \$1,000 for premiums to be given by the society. On October 18, 1819, the first fair, stock show and plowing match were held. William Fitzhugh, William Wadsworth, Gideon Granger and John Greig were prominent members and officers of the agricultural society during its early years.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE COUNTY OF MONROE.

The topographical beauty of Monroe County's 663 square miles of soil, watered by the picturesque Genesee, is a thing of pride. The interesting story of her rocks, her unique land formations and her physical history is given in the geological chapter of this work, from the pen of one of the state's foremost geologists; it would be wasteful repetition to attempt further comment here. Nevertheless, the reader of today will find it worthwhile to note the description given of this land a century ago. In the first Rochester directory, published by Elisha Ely in 1827, the natural features of the county are thus described:

"The tract of country now forming the County of Monroe extends along the southern shore of Lake Ontario about twenty-one miles west and fourteen east of the Genesee River; its breadth southward from the lake being about twenty-two miles. The shore of the lake is indented with numerous bays and inlets, of which Irondequoit Bay east and Braddock's Bay west of the river, are the most considerable. On the borders of the Irondequoit and the creek of the same name, which discharges itself here, the surface presents a most extraordinary and picturesque appearance. It consists of a multitude of conical or irregular mounds of sand and light earth, sometimes insulated and sometimes united, rising to an average height of 200 feet from a perfectly level meadow of the richest alluvial loam. The rest of the country is diversified with gentle undulations retaining the remnants of their dense forests of beech, maple and oak on a deep yellow loam covered with six to ten inches of black vegetable earth—some light and sandy plains supporting alternately the oak and pine—a portion of the land called 'Oak Openings,' or sparse and scattering oak woods, on a solid calcareous gravel, and sometimes a lighter sand mixed with clay—occasional patches

of black ash swale and pine swamp—and along the river and creeks winding flats of the richest vegetable composition.”

Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, came to Irondequoit Bay in August, 1669. He had with him twenty-four men, including two Sulpician priests. La Salle was then diligently searching for a route to the Ohio River. In this vicinity he and his party remained for a month at the Indian village of Gannagaro, near the village of Victor. He came again to this region nine years later. Denonville landed at Irondequoit Bay in July, 1687, and there he constructed a small fortification prior to marching into the Seneca country. The Indian trade naturally was the prize sought by both the French and English during this early period. Fort des Sables was built in 1716 by the French on the west side of Irondequoit Bay, about where Sea Breeze resort is located. This displeased the British. In 1721 the New York assembly authorized a trading post on the west side of Irondequoit Creek and Governor Burnet approved an appropriation of 500 pounds for that purpose; he also sent a small company of volunteers, commanded by Captain Peter Schuyler, Jr., to establish the post. The object was to further the trade with the Senecas and to compete with the French. These different maneuvers on the part of the rival nations were not concerned with the permanent settlement; today they would be termed business campaigns.

Not until after the Revolution did permanent settlers come into the Genesee Country. We have noted the career of “Indian” Allan, who must be credited with having been one of the first settlers within what is now Monroe County. He cleared space enough for a small cabin near Scottsville and laid claim to nearly 500 acres. He sold this tract to Peter Sheffer when he came to the Falls to construct his mill. Sheffer was from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and had with him his two sons—Peter and Jacob. A few months before the advent of the Sheffers, in 1789, a company composed of Caleb Hyde, John Lusk, Enos Stone, Job Gilbert and a few others, of Lenox, Massachusetts, bought 1,500 acres near the head of Irondequoit Bay. Lusk, accompanied by his son, Stephen, a lad of fifteen, built a home and sowed a few acres of wheat, the seed for which he obtained from Allan. Lusk brought his family out the following spring and shortly afterward built the first distillery and opened the first tannery within the present limits of Monroe County. In 1807 he moved to the town of Pitts-



SECOND MONROE COUNTY COURT HOUSE

ford, where he continued making leather and whiskey until his death in 1814, at the age of sixty-six years. In the spring of 1790 the Schoonovers settled on Dugan's Creek, near the Sheffers. Young Peter Sheffer quickly found favor in the eyes of Elizabeth Schoonover and before the close of the year they were married, which is said to have been one of the first marriages within the county limits. Peter Sheffer, the elder, constructed one of the first frame houses in the western part of the county in 1797, and in this dwelling the first town meeting west of the Genesee was held. Sheffer brought his lumber from the mill at the falls and obtained his glass from Geneva.

The history of the settlement at Charlotte, the story of William Hinchey, the Grangers, King's Landing and Hanford's Landing, appear in the early settlement chapter of Rochester.

The date of the coming of Salmon Tryon from Ballston, New York, has been variously stated as 1794 and 1795. He purchased land on the Irondequoit from John Lusk and laid out the city of Tryon near the old Indian landing. In August, 1795, according to one record, he sold a lot to Abraham Harding, who was an ancestor of the late President Warren G. Harding. Salmon Tryon parted with his holdings here in 1797 to John Tryon, who opened a store about two years later, said to be the first mercantile establishment in what is now Monroe County. So far as known, John Tryon was not related to Salmon Tryon. Asa Dayton, a mulatto, kept a tavern, which was well patronized. The village of Tryon for a few years thrived and was the shipping point of considerable merchandise and flour to Canadian ports, but soon after the village of Rochesterville began to develop, its importance ceased. Most of the substantial settlers who had located in the vicinity moved into other parts of the county. On the meager books kept by John Tryon at his store are found such names as William Davis, Josiah Fisk, Polly Hopkins, Silas Losey, the Hinchers, Glover Perrin, Pioneer Seth Perrinton, Captain Benjamin Pierson, Captain Simon Stone, Ezekiel Taylor, James Wadsworth, Moses Taylor, Lewis Morgan, Isaac Stone, Joel Scudder, Nathan Fisk, Job Northrup, Oliver Phelps, Giles Blodgett, Major William Shephard, Captain Silas Nye, Caleb Hopkins, Joseph Palmer, Otis Walker, Reuben D. Hart, Samuel Lattie, Rufus Messenger, Caleb Martin, Nathan Nye, Leonard Stone-

burner, Orringh Stone, John Strowger, Abner White, Ruth Northrup, Miles Northrup and Augustus Griswold. Many of these men were from distant points, some of them navigators on the lake, but most of them lived within easy distance of the village of Tryon.

By the year 1815 there were several hundred inhabitants within the present limits of Monroe County. The territory comprising the county was included in the Phelps and Gorham Purchase of 1788, and was made a part of Ontario County in January, 1789. That part west of the Genesee River was taken to form Genesee County in 1802. Batavia and Canandaigua were the county seats of Genesee and Ontario counties, respectively, and the collective population of the two counties in 1816 closely approached 80,000. The citizens of Rochester, situated midway between the two, had to go to one or the other to transact county business and for court purposes. The long distances to be traveled over bad roads naturally created a desire for a new county; moreover, Rochester people felt a justifiable pride in their growing community and its increasing importance as a grain center. To be hampered by a remote county connection was awkward and undesirable. In December, 1816, the matter of separation began to be agitated. Subscriptions were taken for the building of a court house and jail "provided the legislature should erect a new county." In 1816 a petition signed by several hundred of the voters and taxpayers was prepared, asking for the establishment of a county. Colonel Nathaniel Rochester and Dr. Matthew Brown, Jr., were selected as agents for the petitioners, and early in 1817 they went to Albany to present the plan to the legislature, but the lawmakers from Genesee and Ontario counties opposed the project so vigorously that it was defeated. Rochester and Brown did secure the incorporation of Rochesterville at this time.

Similar petitions in 1818 and 1819 had no better result. In January, 1819, Elisha Ely, Roswell Babbitt, Elisha Johnson and Doctor Brown went to Albany and again presented the matter to the legislature. The bill was referred to a committee and became hopelessly enmeshed in "red tape." In fact, the scheme of the Rochesterians for a separate county had become a political football, the Senate and Assembly were antagonistic, and Colonel

Rochester, Ely and the other influential men of this section could not overcome this settled opposition. In January, 1820, Levi Ward, Elisha Ely and Enos Pomeroy journeyed to Albany, with like result.

On August 23, 1820, a meeting of citizens was held at Rochester and a resolution adopted favoring another venture. This time the petitioners were more urgent in their request. They set forth that the counties of Ontario and Genesee contained a population of more than 80,000; that many of the residents were subjected to "great inconvenience, trouble and expense in transacting business with the public offices and courts; that cases are often adjourned from term to term, making it necessary for parties and witnesses to repeat the toilsome journey; and that often this journey had to be made by persons who had no other business in the county seat except attendance upon the court." Another reason assigned for the creation of a new county was that the court dockets of Genesee and Ontario were crowded, and that new courts would relieve this congestion. It was further made to appear that at the falls of the Genesee there were five flour mills, with an annual capacity of 23,648 barrels; that there were 256 arrivals and departures of lake vessels in 1820, and that the exports of grain, flour, lumber, whiskey, pork and dairy products amounted to \$400,000 in the preceding year.

On October 28, 1820, Colonel Rochester and Elisha B. Strong were appointed agents to present the petition to the legislature. No name for the proposed county was suggested in the petition, but, as James Monroe had just been elected President for his second term, Rochester and Strong advised "Monroe." Assemblymen John C. Spencer and Myron Holley, of Ontario County, and Samuel M. Hopkins, of Genesee County, led the opposition. They argued that it would be a great mistake to erect a county with territory lying on both sides of the Genesee River; that it would be needless and unjust, in time of financial depression, to impose upon the citizens of the proposed county the expense of erecting new buildings for public use; that it would be unwise to make any division of the territory until after the completion of the Erie Canal, and that the larger the counties the more easily titles could be examined. Notwithstanding that the petition bore the names of several thousand citizens, these gentlemen insisted that the

inhabitants did not really desire a new county, but had been induced to sign by a few who held large landed interests, the value of which would be greatly enhanced by the erection of a new county. They derisively referred to Rochester as "Shingletown," and declared that there were numerous villages better adapted for a county seat. The county officers in Genesee and Ontario were active in their efforts to defeat the bill. Peck states: "The judge of the county court of Ontario County opened his court at sunrise and continued the sessions day after day until late at night, giving those in attendance scarcely time for food or sleep. His calendar was soon exhausted. The people of Canandaigua were highly elated and boasted that the evils complained of were only imaginary, and that any court anxious to complete what business was before it could easily do so. The county clerks kept their offices open early and late."

On February 13, 1821, Colonel Rochester wrote a lengthy letter to Abelard Reynolds, stating the various schemes launched to defeat the bill. Among other things he wrote: "Our opponents are now turning their attention to take from Monroe the whole of Caledonia and Rush, together with Penfield and Perrinton, so as to destroy our application in that way if they cannot in any other. They urge that as we take the breadth of three towns west of the Genesee River, we shall have territory enough along the lake without Penfield and Perrinton, and that these two towns will be wanted to make a respectable county east of us. Mr. Holley is at the bottom of this project, with a view to making Palmyra a center for such county, where he has a store and contemplates settling (as I am informed); he will be supported in this measure by Spencer, Hopkins, the Palmyrians, etc. Hopkins and Ganson are at the bottom of the other project and will be supported by both the Spencers, Holley, etc. Mr. Strong and myself have to contend with a great deal of management and intrigue and what will be the result of our application is uncertain. I do not despair, however, of success before the end of the session, notwithstanding the different plans to defeat us."

Two days after this letter was written, the bill passed the House by a vote of 73 to 27, it having previously passed the Senate unanimously. It became a law on February 23, 1821. The act provided for the erection of Monroe County with the boundaries

as they are at present, with a court of common pleas and a court of general sessions, and for the appointment of county officers. It authorized two assessments of \$5,000 each for current expenses and for the erection of a court house and jail. James Seymour, of Clarkson; Elisha Ely and Levi Ward, of Brighton, were named as commissioners to select a site and supervise the construction of the county buildings.

Early in March the following county officers were appointed: Elisha B. Strong, judge of the Court of Common Pleas; Timothy Barnard and Levi H. Clarke, associate judges; Nathaniel Rochester, clerk; James Seymour, sheriff; Timothy Childs, district attorney; Elisha Ely, surrogate. One member of the Assembly was apportioned to the county, and at the election of 1821 Nathaniel Rochester was chosen for the office. Elisha Ely succeeded to the office of clerk, and Orrin Gibbs was appointed surrogate.

The first meeting of the board of supervisors was held May 8, 1821, at the house of John G. Christopher, in the village of Rochester. Gibbons Jewett, of Parma, was the only absentee. The other towns were represented as follows: Brighton, Ezekiel Morse; Clarkson, Aretus Haskell; Gates, Dr. Matthew Brown, Jr.; Henrietta, Elijah Little; Mendon, James Smith; Ogden, James Baldwin; Penfield, Henry Fellows; Perinton, Reuben Willey; Riga, Joseph Sibley; Rush, Peter Price; Sweden, Silas Judson; Wheatland, John Garbutt. At this meeting Samuel M. Smith was appointed county treasurer.

The new officials keenly felt the dignity of the new county and lost no time in establishing Monroe upon a solid base. County buildings naturally occupied their attention first of all. The formality of resolving to carry out the provisions of the act in this matter was consummated at the second meeting of the board, June 12, 1821. The three proprietors of the village—Rochester, Carroll and Fitzhugh—generously donated a lot fronting 166 feet on Main Street by 264 feet on Fitzhugh Street, and here the cornerstone of the first court house was laid September 4, 1821. The building, which cost only \$6,000, was completed during the following summer. The cornerstone of the second court house, on the same site, was laid June 20, 1850, and the building opened with a session of the Supreme Court December 2, 1851. It was thought that this structure would be ample for the needs of the county during a long period of years, but it was not, and on July 4, 1894,

the cornerstone of the third and present county building was laid. The latter was opened for business June 27, 1896.

One of the first things the new county needed was a jail, and one was built in 1821, on North Fitzhugh Street, then called Hughes Street. This structure contained a double row of cells and was surrounded by a stone wall. It was not a very pretentious affair and was sold ten years later, when a second jail was constructed on the west side of the river, just south of Court Street. The site of this building is now occupied by the Erie Railroad station. The present jail, located on Exchange Street, was completed in October, 1885, and an extensive addition was made in 1912.

The first county alms house was erected in 1826. In 1872 the old buildings, which originally stood upon a site almost three miles outside of the village, but which is now well within the city limits, were replaced by new ones. In 1853 Joshua Conkey, Samuel H. Davis, Lewis Selye and Ezra B. True, of the board of supervisors, were appointed a committee to locate and erect a penitentiary. They decided upon a spot just north of the alms house and the prison was completed the following year. Two fires have visited the institution—in 1865 and 1868—but each time it has been rebuilt upon broader lines. The Monroe County Tuberculosis Sanatorium, a new institution, is located near the alms house and penitentiary. The State Hospital for the Insane, dating back to a small building erected in 1857, is south of the alms house.

Monroe County has nineteen towns; changes have occurred in many of them, and some have been absorbed by the ever broadening corporation limits of Rochester.

In 1806 a town called Boyle was erected, embracing the present towns of Brighton, Irondequoit, Penfield, Perinton and Webster. Five or six years later the name was changed to Smallwood. Brighton town was set off from Smallwood March 25, 1814, and then included Irondequoit. Repeated annexations to the city have left only a small portion of the original town. The village of Brighton was annexed to the city in January, 1905, and became the twenty-first ward. Mention has been made of the purchase made by Caleb Hyde and others of a large tract of land, which later became a part of Brighton. The first white settler in the

town was John Lusk; others were Timothy Allyn, Enos Blossom, Oliver Culver, Calvin and Chauncey Hyde, Joel Scudder, Samuel Sheffer, Solomon Hatch, Milo Barnes, Enos and Israel Blossom, Hanford Boughton, Abner Buckland, William Crocker, Barnabas Curran, Abel Follett, Romanta and Roswell Hart, Erastus Stanley, Joseph G. Wheeler, the Cory and Dryer families. Early industries of the town of Brighton included the gypsum beds, which were extensively worked, and some years later a large brick and tile works began operations in the southern part of the town, near the alms house.

On February 22, 1822, the town of Riga was divided and the eastern part was made into the new town of Chili. The first town meeting was held April 2d following, at the house of James Coleman. The first house was built within the present town limits by Joseph Morgan, in 1792, and the second by Josiah Fish at the mouth of Black Creek. Other settlers before the year 1800 were Benjamin Bowman, Joseph Cary, Lebbeus Fish (son of Josiah), Daniel Franklin, John Kimball, John McVean and his six sons, Alexander, Daniel, Duncan, John, Peter and Samuel; Stephen Peabody, who built a distillery in 1796; Jacob Widner and his sons, Abraham, Jacob, Peter, Samuel and William, who came in 1797; Lemuel and Joseph Wood and Andrew Wortman. James Chapman opened the first store; James Cary built the first mill, and the first tavern was opened in 1811 by Elias Streeter on the Chili and Spencerport road. At about that time Joseph Sibley built a saw mill near Buckbee's Corners, and later a grist mill. Postoffices were established at Clifton and North Chili at an early date, and after the railroad was built through the town the latter office was moved to Chili Station.

On April 2, 1819, the town of Murray was divided, the eastern portion being taken to form the town of Clarkson; the remainder is now in Orleans County. The new town was named for General Matthew Clarkson, an extensive landowner, and when established it extended northward to Lake Ontario. The first town meeting was held at the house of Abel Baldwin April 4, 1820, when Aretas Haskell was elected supervisor. Moody Freeman is credited with having been the first settler in the town. James Sayres located at Clarkson Corners in 1804. Eli Blodgett came the same year. Henry McCall opened the first store in 1810; Dr. Noah Owen was the first physician; Isaac Williams built the first frame house and

was the first blacksmith, and the first school was taught by Charlotte Cummings in 1812. Before the railroad was built, the Ridge road was the main route between Canandaigua and Lewiston and was an important thoroughfare. Several mills and distilleries were erected along the road. Clarkson, then called Murray Corners, was the stage station, and here the horses were changed and the weary travelers given a chance to refresh themselves with food and drink; it was a rendezvous for troops and a depot for military supplies during the War of 1812.

The town of Gates was created as Northampton, but on June 12, 1812, the name was changed to the present form in honor of General Horatio Gates of Revolutionary fame. The first town meeting was held April 4, 1809, at the house of Jeremiah Olmstead; Dr. Zaccheus Colby was chosen first supervisor. Among the early settlers of the town were Isaac Dean, who built the first mill; Daniel and Samuel Gilman, John Harford, Ezra Mason, John Sickles, Augustus B. Shaw and William Williams. William Jameson opened the first tavern in 1806; Ira West had the first store. Closely identified with the subsequent development of the town were Ansel Griffin, William Hinchey, Philip Lyell, David Frink, Everett H. Peck, Thomas Jameson, Lowell Thomas, Ira Waite, Ira and Cyrus Bartlett, Calvin G. Hill and Calvin Sperry.

The northern part of the town of Gates was cut off March 22, 1822, to form the town of Greece. The early settlement at Charlotte and the interesting events there during the War of 1812 have been noted in another chapter. The village of Charlotte was incorporated June 24, 1869, and the first board of trustees was composed of Ambrose Jones, president; Joshua Eaton, John Farnham, George Hardison and A. Wilder; F. A. Jones was the first clerk. The first store within the village was opened by Child & Gardner in 1810, and about the same time Frederick Hanford had one at King's, later Hanford's, Landing. Bushnell & Guernsey started another the following year. Charlotte was an important port, even in an early day, as Porter Benton's vessel, commanded by Captain Charles Sweet, made regular trips between Charlotte, Kingston and Ogdensburg. The village has become a part of the city of Rochester. Between the years 1800 and 1810 a number of settlers brought their families to what is now the town of Greece. Among them were John Bagley, Francis Brown,

Daniel Budd, Joseph Bullock, James Dailey, Benjamin Fowler, Wheeler Heacock, Aristotle Hollister, Asa Hurd, Silas Lloyd, John Mastick, John Odell, Silas Smith and Thomas Wood, most of whom settled near the mouth of the Genesee River.

On October 11, 1852, the northern part of the town of Clarkson was set off as the town of Union. The name of Hamlin was adopted February 22, 1861, in honor of Hannibal Hamlin, who had been elected vice president of the United States the preceding November. The first town meeting was held at the house of John C. Patterson March 1, 1853, when Ebenezer Barringer was chosen supervisor. Aretus Haskell, who located here in 1810, is credited with having been the first settler, but there were others who came very soon after, including Stephen Baxter, John Nowlan, Joshua and Samuel Randall, Billings and Alanson Thomas and Daniel Pease. A little later the colony was joined by William Clark, Thomas and William Hayden, Caleb James, Joseph Knapp, Albert Salisbury and Joshua Green. Green, James Sayres and Haskell all constructed saw mills, and the first grist mill was put up by Alanson Thomas for LeRoy & Baird. Daniel Pease was the first merchant, and the first tavern was opened by A. D. Raymond. The first postoffice in the town was opened at Hamlin Center, where Henry Kimball was postmaster. At East Hamlin Elisha Wheeler first handled the mail bags, and, at North Hamlin, L. Hovey performed this service. East Hamlin is now known as Walker, and Hamlin Center as Hamlin.

The western part of the town of Pittsford was cut off March 27, 1818, and formed the new town of Henrietta, so named from Henrietta, countess of Bath, and daughter of Sir William Pulteney. Among the early settlers of Henrietta were several Revolutionary soldiers. Major Isaac Scott received a land grant of 900 acres as a reward for military services in the Continental army. He located his grant on the east side of the Genesee River in 1790, but after two years of trying to found a settlement he gave up. Among the other veterans of the war, who afterward settled in the town, were Joel Clark, Robert McLeod, Daniel Phillips, Lyman Wright and Major Gilbert. In 1806 George Dickinson, Moses Goodall, Gideon Griswold, Selah Reed, Charles Rice, Thomas Sparks and William Thompson settled along the river, and the following year another settlement was founded on the

Wadsworth road by the Baldwins, Benjamin Hale, Ira Hatch, Jonathan Russell and a few others. Early industry assumed the usual character in Henrietta, consisting of a saw mill built by Jonathan Smith in 1811; a tannery by Daniel Richards in 1813, and a distillery by John Gooding. Sidney Warner very early had a small chair factory in the town.

The territory comprising the town of Irondequoit was taken from Brighton March 27, 1839, and at the first town meeting held April 2d following William Shepherd was made supervisor. Perhaps the first settler in what is now Irondequoit was William Walker, known as "Tory" Walker from the tradition that he had served with Butler's Rangers and with Brant in the Revolution. Walker located on the east side of the Genesee River at the mouth. He soon crossed to the west side and thence went to Canada. A mulatto named Dunbar, Jesse Case, John and Oliver Culver, Abel Densmore, Adonijah Green, Ransford Perrin, Elmer Reynolds, Samuel Spafford and Abner Wakely were others well known in the vicinity. In 1809 Caleb Lyon settled on the east side of the river, and in 1816 he was joined by Elisha B. Strong, the founder of ill-fated Carthage, mentioned in another chapter. Much of the original town of Irondequoit has been drawn into the city of Rochester.

When the town of Mendon was formed May 26, 1812, it was in Ontario County, its territory having been taken from the town of Bloomfield. For want of a better place perhaps, the first town meeting was held in April, 1813, in Thomas Ewer's barn. Jonathan Ball, Zebulon Norton and Peter Sines came from Vermont in 1790 and settled near the southern boundary. Norton erected the first mill where the village of Honeoye Falls now stands. During the next three years a number of people came from New England, among them being Jonas Allen, Ebenezer Barnard, Joseph Bryan, Jason Cross, Charles Foote, William Hickox, Reuben Hill, Samuel Lane, Benjamin, John and Rufus Parks, Calvin Perrine, Ebenezer Rathbun and Samuel Sterling. One of the early merchants in this locality was James Dixon; Abraham Parrish operated the first tavern, and James and John Dunn established the first distillery. All of the activity of the time centered in the settlement which grew up around Zebulon Norton's mill, and which for several years was known as Norton's Mills. A post-

office was established there in 1822 and given the name of West Mendon, which was changed to Honeoye Falls when the latter village was incorporated in March, 1838. This is the only incorporated village in the town, has a population of 1,107, and is typical of the thriving villages of western New York. In 1797 Jonas Allen bought 125 acres of land from Ebenezer Barnard and founded the village of Mendon. He constructed a saw mill, and A. H. Rand put in a carding machine; both were destroyed by fire in 1816.

On January 27, 1817, the southern part of the town of Parma was set off as a new town, named Ogden for William Ogden, son-in-law of John Murray, the original proprietor. Some time in the early years of the nineteenth century James Wadsworth visited Haddam, Connecticut, to induce settlers to come to the new western country. At a public meeting Daniel Arnold was appointed to visit the region. He made a favorable report, and in 1802 George W. Willey came from East Haddam, the first actual settler in the town of Ogden. Others who came from Connecticut shortly afterward were Daniel Arnold, Jonathan and William B. Brown, Abraham, Eastman, Isaac and Timothy Colby, Benjamin Freeman, Henry Hahn, Josiah Mather, Austin, Daniel and William H. Spencer, Daniel Wandle and Benajah Willey. Ansel Chapman, John and Samuel Gott and a number of others soon joined the colony, settling near the southern border. The village of Spencerport was laid out by William H. Spencer, through whose farm the Erie Canal passed. It was incorporated April 22, 1867, and the first trustees were C. S. Cole, E. D. Davis, George K. Field, Austin Reed and William C. Slayton. The founder of the village himself built the first sawmill; Charles Church was the first merchant in the town, but West & Richards opened the first store in the village. Daniel Spencer first dispensed local cheer in his tavern. Adams Basin is another small settlement in the town, and the first settler here was Stephen Ross, in 1816. He was both a farmer and cabinetmaker.

The first town west of the Genesee in what is now Monroe County was Northampton, which was erected April 4, 1797. On December 8, 1807, it was divided into the towns of Bayard, Fairfield, Northampton and Pulteney. The name of Fairfield was changed to Parma April 8, 1808, and then included what is now

the town of Ogden. In the spring of 1796 three brothers, Beza-leel, John and Stephen Atchison, located near the present village of Hilton. Other early settlers were Michael Beach, Abner Brockway, Jr., Hope and Elisha Davis, James Egbert, George Goodhue, George Huntley, Gibbons Jewett, Silas Leonard, Alpheus and Timothy Madden, Jonathan Ogden, E. W. Thayer, Jason Tyler and Jonathan Underwood. Thayer built a saw mill on Long Pond Creek about 1806. Jonathan Whitney and Bezaleel Atchison were the first to operate a grist mill, and the earliest tavern-keepers were Hope and Elisha Davis. The Ridge road was opened in 1816, and Samuel Hildreth & Company started a line of stages between Rochester and Lewiston. A postoffice was established that year at the general store kept by a Mr. Thompson, and was known as Parma. The office at Parma Center was started in 1831, and at Unionville (now Hilton) in 1845. Hilton was settled in 1805 by Jonathan Underwood and Jason Tyler. William Fosmire opened the first store here, and Samuel Smith kept the first tavern. Parma Center was settled about the same time by Austin and Roswell Atchison, also possibly a few others, including one Ross. Chauncey A. Knox was the pioneer merchant of the community.

About 1790 Phelps and Gorham sold the territory now comprising the town of Penfield to Jonathan Fassett, of Vermont. The purchaser visited his land, but was driven back to Vermont by the prevalence of malaria here. He sold out at a loss to a man named Ham, of New Jersey. Ham kept 200 acres and disposed of the remainder to Silas Pepoon, who, in turn, sold to Samuel P. Lloyd. A few small tracts were sold by the latter, and in 1810 Daniel Penfield bought what was left. The town was erected on March 30th of that year and named for the landed proprietor. Caleb Hopkins settled near the Irondequoit Falls in 1791, followed by another named Maybee, but they did not remain any length of time. In 1801 Calvin Clark and Lebbeus Ross came into the town and, during the next five years, there came David and Jonathan Baker, Isaac Beatty, Joseph Hatch, Josiah J. Kellogg, William McKinstry, Benjamin Minor, Brooks Mason, Henry Paddock and Daniel Stilwell. McKinstry was the first merchant, and Stilwell kept the inn. These early settlers soon took advantage of the Irondequoit Creek water power, and as early as 1800 a man named Bronson put up a triphammer. Daniel Penfield built the

first mills, Nathaniel Case and Nelson Fullam built mills soon afterward, William McKinstry established the first distillery, and Henry Fellows started the first tannery.

In the early records pertaining to the town of Perinton the name is also spelled Perrington and Perrinton. It was erected May 26, 1812, and was named for Grover Perrin, the first settler, who built his cabin about a mile south of Fairport in 1789, or possibly 1791. Before the close of the century several more settlers came in, among them Asa, Edward and Jesse Perrin, Gideon Ramsdell, John Scott, Levi Treadwell, Caleb Walker and Abner Wright. Richard Lincoln and Joseph Richardson built the first grist mills about 1810. Gregory & Dean opened the first store, and Grover Perrin had the first tavern. Peter Ripley built a saw mill on Thomas Creek about 1812, the first in the town; Bailey & Richardson followed with one on Irondequoit Creek a few years later. The first town meeting was held April 6, 1813, in the settlement known as Egypt. The village of Fairport came into prominence with the building of the Erie Canal in 1822. Goodell & Aiken opened the first store about that time, and Oliver M. Thompson soon followed with another. Cyrenus Mallett kept the first hotel about 1827. When the New York Central Railroad was constructed through the village, in 1853, it experienced the beginning of an era of prosperity which lasted for several years, during which time a number of manufactories were established. Fairport was incorporated under an act of the legislature approved April 12, 1867. At the first village election Daniel B. DeLand, Charles H. Dickenson, Joel Y. Parce, H. S. Perry and Henry H. Van Buren were chosen trustees. Fairport has its own waterworks system, which was placed in commission in 1894.

The town of Pittsford was erected March 25, 1814, and then included the present town of Henrietta. Historians have invariably referred to the tradition that Phelps and Gorham acquired the land in half of the present town for thirty dollars. As the story runs, Phelps and Gorham sold to Seth Dodge, Israel and Simon Stone in 1789 a large tract of land (including the present town of Pittsford) for about thirty-six cents an acre; the same year, before the land was entirely paid for, a settlement was started by the Stones; then Phelps and Gorham, noting the rapid increase in the value of Genesee Valley lands, sought to regain the

tract. They offered the Stones and Dodge one-half of the land without further payment in consideration of a return of the other half; this was done, and, if true, the purchasers thus became the owners of about half of Pittsford at a cost of thirty dollars. Israel Stone constructed his cabin where the village of Pittsford now stands, and Simon located half a mile farther south. Other of the early settlers were William Acer, Israel Canfield, Thomas Clelland, David Davis, Alexander and Amon Dunn, Joseph Farr, Henry Gale, Ebenezer Graves, William Jones, John Mann, Benjamin Miller, Noah Norton, Silas Nye, Ezra Patterson and Samuel Stone. Simon Stone put up the first saw mill, usually one of the first industries in a pioneer community, and was followed by John Mann in 1805, who chose a location on the Irondequoit. The village of Pittsford was incorporated April 7, 1827, and at the first election, just a month later, Carmi Hart, Samuel Hopkins, Philo Hurd, John Lane and Simon Stone were chosen trustees. Augustus Elliott opened the first store in the village in 1810; Charles Richardson and Thomas Benedict were other early merchants. Although having a population of only about 1,500, the village of Pittsford is at present an important trading and shipping point, due to its excellent transportation facilities. The village of East Rochester, located on the border line between Pittsford and Perinton towns, was incorporated October 31, 1906.

The town of Riga was erected April 8, 1808, from the town of Pulteney, and the first town meeting was held April 4, 1809, at the home of Henry Waidener. Thomas Hill was the first supervisor. Prominent among the early settlers of Riga were Samuel Baldwin, Ezekiel Barnes, Thomas Bingham, Henry Brewster, Elihu, Richard and Samuel Church, Dr. John Darling, Joseph Emerson, Amasa and Nehemiah Frost, Benjamin Holbrook, James Knowles, Enos Morse, Eber and Chester Orcutt, William Parker, Samuel Shepherd, Joseph Thompson and Henry Waidener. Elihu Church built the first house in the town; the firm of Thompson & Tuttle opened the first store, and the earliest tavern-keeper was Joseph Thompson. The village of Churchville was named for Samuel Church, who built the first house there. The village was incorporated in 1855, with J. M. Jameson, John Markley and Zephas Willard as trustees; it was reincorporated May

27, 1867. The first saw mill in the village was built by Samuel Church; the first store was established by Linus Pierson.

On March 13, 1818, the northern part of Avon, then in Ontario County, was set off as the town of Rush. The first town meeting was held during the following month at the house of Benjamin Billings, and William Markham was elected supervisor. As early as 1788 James and John Ganson, sons of a Revolutionary soldier, came from New England, cleared a few acres of land and built a log house near the Genesee River, which formed the western boundary of the town. The next year their father, Captain John Ganson, came and built a mill. It is said that his first grist was a sack of buckwheat, brought by Jared Boughton from Boughton Hill, a distance of twenty miles. Captain Ganson first came to this country as a soldier under Sullivan in 1779. He was then impressed with the potential value of this country; consequently his return here in later years. Other early settlers were John Barnes, John Bell, Benjamin Campbell, Thomas Dailey, Joseph Morgan, Ransom Smith, Christie Thomas and Abraham Wright. The last named was a mulatto and the place where he located afterward became known as Abraham's Plains. The three small villages of Rush, North Rush and West Rush are located closely together. William Roderick established a blacksmith shop at Rush in 1812, and Daniel Green had opened a tavern there a year or so previously. Peck & Skinner were the first merchants. John Webster came to the village about 1810, built a flour mill and carding machine, and also opened a store. The first store in North Rush was that of Arnold & Jefford in 1835. The postoffice there was established in 1856, under the name of Hart's Corners, and Willett Van Wayne was the first postmaster. The State Agricultural and Industrial School was removed from Rochester to Rush in 1907 and located at Industry, a short distance northwest of the village of Rush.

The town of Sweden was erected April 2, 1813, from Murray, Genesee County. The first town meeting was held at the house of Reuben Stickney April 5, 1814; John Reed was elected supervisor. The settlement of the town began in 1807, when Samuel Bishop, John Hopkins, Stephen Johnson, Walter Palmer, Nathaniel Poole and Isaac White located on what was known as the Lake road. They were soon followed by George Allen, Ralph W. Gould, Rufus Hammond, Benjamin Knight, Reuben Moon and his

three sons, Amos, Isaac and James; Edward Parks, John Phelps, Charles Richardson, Thomas R. Robey, James Seymour, Timothy Tyler, Luke Webster and the first town officers, John Reed, Elisha Stewart, Joshua B. Adams, Henry Hill and John Marshall. The village of Brockport was platted about the time the Erie Canal was built. It was named for Hiel Brockway, who came from Connecticut in 1815. On April 6, 1829, Brockport was incorporated. A revised charter was granted in 1852, and the present charter went into effect June 25, 1872. The first election under the latter, July 26, 1872, resulted in the selection of G. H. Allen, Edgar Brown, Luther Gordon and Samuel Johnson as trustees. In 1828 Backus & Ganson established an iron foundry in the village, and this firm was succeeded by Backus, Fitch & Company, pioneers in the manufacture of improved threshing machines. In 1844 Cyrus McCormick made his first reaper at Brockport. After several changes the concern was incorporated as the Johnston Harvester Company in 1870. The factory was burned in 1882, and was rebuilt at Batavia. Other early industries of the village were the Moore-Shafer Manufacturing Company, makers of shoes, which was started in 1881, and the Brockport Piano Company, established in 1893. In 1833 the Brockport Collegiate Institute was established by the Baptist Association. The citizens of the village raised \$50,000 to purchase the buildings in 1866, and the next April they were opened as one of the State Normal schools, with Malcolm McVicar as principal. Brockport was widely known as the home of Mary J. Holmes, novelist.

The town of Webster is the youngest town in the county, having been set off from Penfield February 6, 1840. The first town meeting was held at John Lett's tavern, March 4, 1840, when Byron Woodhull was elected supervisor. Settlement began in 1805 under the agency of Caleb Lyon, who built a saw mill and grist mill. The majority of the early settlers were from the states of New Hampshire and Vermont. Among them were Dr. Nathaniel Beecher, Benjamin Burnett, Ebenezer Cook, the first blacksmith; F. B. Corning, the first merchant; Abraham Foster, Samuel Goodenough, Paul Hammond, Daniel Harvey, William Harris, John Inman, John Lett, first tavern-keeper; William Mann and Samuel Pierce. The mills constructed by Caleb Lyon were bought by John Inman and were destroyed by fire in 1816.

The town of Webster has come to be noted for its production of small fruits, though its general agriculture compares favorably with that of the adjacent towns. Webster village was settled at an early date. James Spear built the first frame house in 1812, and opened a tavern, as one of the best paying businesses of the time. William R. Ellis was the first merchant. Early industries included a casket factory, a manufactory of sash and doors, and moulding and picture frames.

In the early part of this chapter mention is made of the settlement of Ebenezer Allan, the Sheffers and the Schoonover family in what is now the town of Wheatland. Christopher Dugan, a brother-in-law of Allan, settled in 1789 not far from the present village of Scottsville. Other early settlers were Caleb Aspinwall, Powell Carpenter, Peter Conkle, the Garbutts, Reuben Heath, Frederick and Nicholas Hetztiller, John McNaughton, David and Donald McVean, Joseph Morgan, Isaac and Jacob Scott, Charles Williamson and Andrew Wortman. On March 30, 1802, the town was organized under the name of Southampton. The name was changed to Caledonia April 4, 1806. An important company of settlers from Inverness shire, Scotland, located in the town in the spring of 1804, and the name Inverness was given to the district where they took up their residence, and was long retained. The first town meeting after that was held at the house of Powell Carpenter, April 3, 1821. At that meeting the name was changed to Wheatland. The village of Scottsville was named for Isaac Scott, of New Hampshire, who, in 1790, bought a tract of land from the Wadsworths and built a tavern. He died in June, 1818. Abraham Hanford opened the first store; the second tavern was started by Dr. Augustus Bristol in 1814, and at about that time David McVean built a grist mill. Sherman operated the first distillery, while Jonathan Babcock was the pioneer tanner. James Hanford was also an important merchant of the day. The Scottsville postoffice came into existence in 1822. Dr. Freeman Edson, nephew of Isaac Scott, was postmaster. The village was incorporated October 13, 1914. Mumford, an unincorporated village on the southern border of the town, was settled early in the last century. John and Robert McKay bought the land and built a small grist mill in 1808. A little later Donald McKenzie is said to have built the first cloth dressing mill west of the Genesee River. The McKays sold out to Thomas Mumford, and in 1817 John

McKay and Mumford put up a large grist mill. Philip Garbutt was the pioneer merchant of the village, and the usual brewery was conducted by a man named White in 1825. The postoffice was started here in 1825.

After the settlement of the communities the chief concern was the establishment of a place of worship. The early settlers were deeply religious, despite the harshness and rigor of their experiences. They were not hampered with a multiplicity of laws as we are today, but they lived with a due regard for individual and communal rights and obligations. The church was a holy and inviolable institution. In their scheme of existence and in the beginnings of every parish we find the same earnest religious zeal pressing for a tangible altar at which they could worship. During the early days, when there was no house of worship, meetings were held at the different homes or, in good weather, in the open. The entire Sabbath was dedicated to religious observance; indeed, attendance at meeting often meant a trip that left little of the day for other activities. It is said that the first church in the county was located at Pittsford, where a log house was built in 1799, used both as church and town hall. Rev. J. H. Hotchkin preached there. Circuit riders visited the west side of the river early, mostly Methodists. Rev. Ebenezer Everett was one of the first preachers in this section.

There are approximately ninety-one churches at present in Monroe County outside of the city of Rochester. The Baptist, Catholic, Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian denominations are the more numerous, the Baptist leading with twenty-one churches. Baptist churches are located at Brockport, Chili, Chili Center, Churchville, Clifton, East Rochester, Fairport, Greece, Hamlin, Henrietta (East), Henrietta (West), Hilton, Morton, Mumford, Ogden, Parma, Penfield, East Penfield, Pittsford, Walker and Webster. In what is now the town of Chili, the first Baptist Church was organized at Clifton in 1852, when forty members of the Wheatland congregation withdrew and formed a new congregation with Rev. H. K. Stimson as the first pastor. At West Hamlin a union church was built in 1833, and used on alternate weeks by the Baptists and Methodists. In the town of Hamlin the first church society organized was that of the Free Will Baptists, in 1824, at the Wright schoolhouse, by Rev. Eli

Hannibal. The first church building was erected ten years later. Thirty-one members withdrew from this church in the fall of 1831 and organized the church at Unionville. The first church society in the town of Henrietta was organized by the Baptists June 10, 1812, with Rev. Daniel Brown as the first minister. Eight years later it numbered 153 members. The Methodists acquired the first house of worship in 1841, and in 1843 a new church building was erected in the southern part of the town. The West Henrietta Baptist Church, an offspring of the above, was organized in 1838. In the town of Irondequoit a Baptist Church was organized in 1809, with Rev. Jesse Brayman as the first minister. This church was located in what is now Honeoye Falls. The Baptist Church at Hilton, the oldest religious organization in the town of Parma, was formed in the Atchison school-house May 27, 1809, by Elder Moses Clark, with eighteen members. The first church building was erected in 1830. On September 29, 1831, a Free Will Baptist Church was organized at Parma by Elder Samuel Whitcomb, of the Unionville Church. In the following January an orthodox Baptist Church was organized at Parma Corners, and a building erected in 1837. In August, 1803, the Baptist Church of Palmyra authorized Rev. Joseph Case to organize a church in the town of Northfield, which then included all of the present Monroe County east of the Genesee River and north of Mendon. The result of his labors was the founding of a Baptist Church of twenty-two members early the following year. A Free Will Baptist Church was started in Penfield in 1829, by Rev. Daniel Lyon, and a building was constructed the following year. The first church in the town of Perinton was organized by the Baptists in 1818. It was disbanded in 1838, and reorganized in January, 1842, when the first house of worship was built. A Free Will Church was formed in the eastern part of Perinton, in 1820, with nineteen members. Rev. Thomas Parker was the first pastor. In 1840 a church of the same faith was organized at Egypt by Reverend D. C. Holmes. In 1848 the two churches were consolidated and removed to Fairport. In Pittsford the Baptist Church was instituted in October, 1809, incorporated in 1830, and the next year a church building was erected. The society moved to the village of Pittsford in 1843. The church at Churchville was organized in 1851. In 1804 a Baptist minister named Goff, pastor

of a church at Hartford, Connecticut, purchased a tract of land in the town of Rush from James Wadsworth; before the close of the year several families from his Connecticut congregation came here and formed a settlement called the Baptist colony. They organized the first church in the town. The Baptist congregation at Brockport was formed in April, 1828, and the first house of worship erected two years later. This church was dissolved March 10, 1839, and was succeeded the same day by the Second Baptist Church. The Webster Baptist Church was organized in 1830 with thirteen members; Rev. Jason Corwin was the first pastor. In 1832 a church was built. From 1860 to 1872 the Webster Academy was conducted by this society, then the building burned and the school was discontinued. The first church in the town of Wheatland was the Baptist, organized in 1811; in 1845 the church building burned and a new one was constructed on the same site. The Baptist Church of Mumford was organized in December, 1851, by Rev. W. W. Everts, then pastor of the Wheatland Church. The first house of worship was dedicated in August, 1853.

Roman Catholic parishes are located at Brockport, Coldwater, Churchville, East Rochester, Fairport, Greece, Henrietta, Honeoye Falls, Mount Read, Penfield, Pittsford, Scottsville, Spencerport, Summerville and Webster. A church was organized in the town of Chili in November, 1854, and work was begun upon a church building just west of Coldwater station on the New York Central Railroad; this was completed and dedicated early in 1855. Rev. J. McGlew was the first priest. The Church of St. Ambrose, in the town of Greece, was established in 1829 by Father O'Donaghue, who said the first mass. Holy Cross Church dates from 1863. Rev. John M. Maurice was the first priest, and the first house of worship was a remodeled residence. Two years later Father Maurice founded St. John's Parish and bought the old Rowe tavern at Greece. The remodeled building was dedicated as a church May 22, 1865. St. Paul of the Cross Church, in the town of Mendon, was organized in 1850. St. Joseph's Church, in Penfield, was organized in 1872, as a branch of St. Joseph's of Rochester, by Father Pingel. Rev. Gile Bride said the first mass in Fairport in July, 1849. The parish was organized by Rev. John Tuohy in 1852. He was succeeded by Rev. William Cassey,

under whose pastorate the church edifice was built in 1856. The church in Pittsford came into existence in 1873. St. Vincent de Paul Church in Riga was organized in 1870. The church at Brockport was organized in the year 1852. Trinity Church, in Webster, was established in 1859, and Father Heginer was the first pastor. In Scottsville a mission commenced in 1840 developed into St. Patrick's Church. St. Mary's Parish, in Mumford, was organized in 1840. Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, of Rochester, held monthly services for a time, then Rev. James McGlew came as the first regular priest. In 1854 he completed a church building, and the name was changed to the Church of the Assumption.

Congregational churches are today located at Churchville, Clarkson, Fairport, Henrietta, Riga Center and Spencerport. In the town of Brighton there existed a Congregational Church until September, 1870, when it adopted the Presbyterian faith by unanimous vote; this society had been established early. In the town of Clarkson a church was started in September, 1816, with sixteen members, and Rev. Hanson Darwin as the first minister; a church building was erected in 1825. This society changed to the Presbyterian denomination in 1869. On December 2, 1819, a church was organized at Parma Corners by Revs. Solomon Allen and John F. Bliss. It started with twenty-two members and was known as the First Congregational Church of Greece and Parma. A house of worship was completed in 1825. Services were had by Congregationalists in Henrietta as early as 1811, and in 1816 a church was organized by Rev. Solomon Allen, of Pittsford. For several years the society worshipped in a log house; the first frame church was burned in 1865. In the village of Mendon a church was organized in January, 1815. A split occurred in 1820, when a number of the members organized a Presbyterian Church. In 1850 a disagreement occurred in the Adams Basin Presbyterian Church over the location of a new house of worship. Thirty-six members withdrew and organized the First Congregational Church of Spencerport, with Rev. James H. Dill as the first pastor. Something like the same situation existed in the Presbyterian Church of North Parma, which had been organized in March, 1829. In 1842 the membership was sixty-one, when dissension arose; twenty-one members withdrew and founded the

Congregational Church. In Penfield a Congregational society which had been founded in 1804 became Presbyterian two years later. In 1824 Rev. John Taylor organized a Congregational society of nine members in Fairport, and the first church building was erected in 1832. In Pittsford a Congregational Church was formed at the house of Glover Perrin in 1807; in 1814 it adopted the Presbyterian form of worship. The first church in Riga was organized by the Congregationalists in 1806, with Rev. Allen Hollister as pastor. Three years later the Congregational Church of Riga Center was organized by Rev. Oliver Ayres. The Riga Academy was established by this church in 1846, and conducted for about six years. In the town of Sweden a Congregational society was established in August, 1827, but became Presbyterian in 1852. In Webster a church of the Congregational faith was started in 1825, with Rev. Richard Dunning as the first pastor; this, like many others, later became Presbyterian. In Wheatland town the Congregationalists organized in March, 1822, built a church in 1831, and switched to Presbyterianism the following year.

Methodist Episcopal churches exist in 1925 at the following places: Brockport, Churchville, East Rochester, Fairport, Garland, Elmgrove, Hamlin, Hilton, Honeoye Falls, North Chili, Penfield, Pittsford, Perinton, Rush, Spencerport, Union Hill, Webster and West Webster. In the town of Chili, the church at Buckbee's Corners was established March 20, 1832, with thirty-three members; services were held in the schoolhouse by Revs. John Widen and James Hemmingway until 1836, when a church building was erected. The church at North Chili was a branch. Bethel Church, in the town of Clarkson, was organized in January, 1825, at the house of Silas Hardy; Rev. Benajah Williams was the first pastor. In the spring of 1848 several of the members withdrew and organized a new church, which, on January 25, 1861, became the First Methodist Episcopal Church of East Clarkson. The church at Charlotte was organized in May, 1848. The church at Hamlin Center was started in the schoolhouse in 1869. In the town of Henrietta the first society of this denomination was organized in 1822 by Rev. Calvin Brainard, and the second church was started in 1826, when the Monroe Academy was built. Several of the trustees of this academy, which was one of the noted early educa-

tional institutions, lived in Rochester. In the town of Mendon, a Methodist camp meeting in 1818 resulted in the organization of a church in 1820, with Rev. James Mitchell as the first pastor. In the town of Ogden the church was organized as the Methodist Protestant Society of Adams Basin in 1828; it became a regular Methodist Church in 1854. In 1811 a class of eight members was organized at Parma Center, with Benedict Lewis as leader; a little later a church was established. The church at North Parma came into existence in 1826; Rev. Michael Seages was the first pastor. Penfield had a church in 1829, organized at the house of James Chase. In Perinton two churches were founded in 1825, one at Fairport and the other at the schoolhouse in Egypt; a third church was organized in South Perinton in February, 1837, by Rev. Thomas J. Champion. In the town of Pittsford a church was organized in 1815 and removed to Pittsford Village in 1843. The Riga church had its beginning in 1835, and that of East Rush in 1831. The first church of the denomination in the town of Sweden was organized in December, 1827, by Rev. John Copeland. In Webster the first society was started in 1830, and a church building called the Center Church was erected in 1832. The second church was formed in 1839. In 1859 fifty-five members of Center Church withdrew and organized another church at Webster Village. A German Methodist Church also was organized in the village in 1860. The church at Scottsville grew out of a class of seven members, organized February 14, 1820.

Presbyterian churches are located at Brockport, Chili, East Rochester, Honeoye Falls, Ogden Center, Pittsford, Scottsville, Summerville, Sweden Center and Webster. There are two United Presbyterian churches in Wheatland—Beulah Church, organized in February, 1852, and the one at Mumford, in 1869. The Brighton Church was organized September 18, 1817, with Rev. Solomon Allen the first pastor. In the town of Chili, a church was organized in June, 1816, in Isaac Brokaw's barn, with sixteen members; it was known as the Presbyterian Church of Riga until 1822. The first church house was erected in 1821 about a mile east of Buckbee's Corners. A new one was built in 1833 and served the congregation for over fifty years. The church at Clarkson Corners was organized in September, 1816, with sixteen members; Rev. Hanson Darwin was the first pastor. It was organized as a Con-

gregational Church, but became Presbyterian in 1869. The church of Charlotte was established in January, 1852; Rev. A. Ferguson was the first preacher. Presbyterian pastors held services in the town of Henrietta as early as 1811. In Mendon the first Presbyterian society was started in March, 1821, numbering six people. Forty-one were received during the year and a house of worship was completed in 1831. In the village of Mendon a church came into existence in 1820, due to a split in the Congregational Church; Rev. Reuben Parmele was the first minister. In the town of Ogden the first church was that of the Presbyterian faith, organized November 4, 1811, by Rev. Reuben Parmalee. The church building was dedicated in the fall of 1823. In 1837 twenty-five members of this church withdrew and formed the Presbyterian Church of Adams Basin. Another split later occurred in the latter society, which is mentioned in a preceding paragraph. The church at North Parma was organized in March, 1829, in the Atchison schoolhouse, with thirteen members. The church at Penfield was founded February 7, 1806, with fifteen members. It had been organized as a Congregational society two years before. This church was the mother church of the ones at Brighton, Henrietta and Pittsford. The church at Pittsford came into being in 1814, with Rev. John Stewart as pastor, having changed from the Congregational faith. The year 1852 witnessed the start of the Riga society. Mention is made in the paragraph dealing with the Congregational churches of a number of other Presbyterian churches in the county which grew out of Congregational societies.

In the town of Greece, a Methodist Protestant Church was organized at the schoolhouse in district No. 9 on July 25, 1841, by Rev. William Williams. This became an orthodox Methodist Church in 1866. St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church building in Hamlin was built by German settlers in 1874 and the society was regularly organized April 1, 1875. In Mendon, St. John's Episcopal Church was established in June, 1840, with Rev. Nathaniel F. Bruce as pastor; the Evangelical Reformed Church was organized in March, 1862, with Rev. Louis Herman as minister. A Free Methodist Church was organized at Parma Center in May, 1862, by Rev. John W. Reddy, and in January following a church of the same faith was organized at North

Parma, by Rev. William Manning. A Free Will Baptist church was organized in the eastern part of Perinton in 1820 with nineteen members; Rev. Thomas Parker was pastor. In 1840 a Free Will Baptist Church was organized in Egypt by Rev. D. G. Holmes. In 1848 the two churches were consolidated and removed to Fairport. A Free Will Baptist Church was organized at Parma September 29, 1831, by Elder Samuel Whitcomb, of the Unionville Church. The Universalist Church at Fairport was established in April, 1833, and a small house of worship erected the following year. Christ Church (Episcopal) in Pittsford was organized in November, 1846, with Rev. Henry Lockwood as rector. A Universalist Church was also started here in an early day, but was abandoned in 1851. The German Evangelical Lutheran Church was established in Pittsford in 1866. The Christian Church in the town of Rush was started in 1829, and the Evangelical Lutheran Reformed was established in 1830, by Rev. Samuel Mack. In the town of Sweden, St. Luke's Episcopal Church had its organization in September, 1838. The Free Will Baptists organized here in May, 1844; the Free Methodists in 1858, and the German Evangelical Association in 1871, as the successor of the Lutheran Church. Rev. William Gould organized the Free Methodist Society in Webster in 1867, with four members. The Universalist Church in this town was founded in 1843, and a German Lutheran Church in 1867. The first church in Mumford was the Episcopal, organized in 1835.

The solid financial character of the ten banks in Monroe County outside of Rochester well reflect the stability of the county itself, its richness and thrift. Nearly all of these financial institutions have come into existence since the beginning of the present century. Remarkably few bank failures have occurred in the county since 1900 and today there is on deposit in the town banks almost \$5,000,000. The First National Bank of Brockport, one of the earlier institutions of the county, was chartered in the year 1864, and today carries close to a million and a half dollars in deposits. Banking in the county from this time until 1900 was in a state of starvation, in so far as the establishment of new institutions was concerned. In the latter year, however, one new bank began business—the private banking house of Jayne & Ma-

son at Webster. Then, in 1907, came the Bank of Spencerport, followed closely in 1909 by the Brockport State Bank of Commerce. The First National Bank of East Rochester was organized in 1912 and the State Bank of Hilton came into existence two years later. The Fairport National Bank was opened in 1916 and the next year the State Bank of Churchville was formed. The youngest bank of the county group is the State Bank of Honeoye Falls, which was established in 1921. The Bank of Charlotte is a branch of the Union Trust Company of Rochester.

Notwithstanding that the large dailies of the city of Rochester supply the newspaper wants of the entire county, a number of weekly publications exist in the different villages and have thrived, largely through the support of local interests. It is the history of the press in every section that newspapers come and go. There have been many short-lived publications in Monroe County, some of them foredoomed to failure, and others expiring only after a determined struggle. One of the first papers in the county was the Honeoye Standard, established in 1837 by Gary A. Hough. This paper emitted just a few feeble breaths. In January, 1863, S. J. Jory began the Honeoye Falls Free Press, but this sheet, too, quickly gave up the ghost. Then A. T. Norton founded the Gazette at Honeoye Falls on August 12, 1876, and in 1882 it was succeeded by the Times, now issued as an independent weekly. Fairport has two newspapers. The Fairport Herald was started in 1872 by George C. Taylor and is issued every week. The Monroe County Mail, established in 1881, by S. D. Palmer, is a weekly also. Both papers are independent in their political complexion. The Brockport Republic, the oldest paper in Monroe County outside of Rochester, was founded in 1856 and is a Republican weekly. The Brockport Democrat was established in 1870 and, as its name indicates, is Democratic. The Charlotte News, issued every week as an independent sheet, was started in 1894. The East Rochester Realities was founded in 1910 and is published once a week. The Hilton Record was begun in 1897; it is an independent weekly. The Pittsford Advance was first published in 1907. Scottsville has a newspaper called the Bee, but it is published by the Advertiser-Era Company of Caledonia. The Spencerport Star, independent, has ex-

isted since 1888. The Webster Herald began its career in 1899. Webster also has a monthly called the Evaporator, devoted to the dried fruit interests, an important industry of this section. It was started in 1907.

The subject of the schools of the county is one which will be reviewed very briefly in making our survey of this section. From the day of the little log schoolhouse, when attendance was a real hardship, to the present modern, scientifically constructed buildings and the splendidly organized school system, bear witness to the progress which the intervening years have made in educational opportunity and facilities. The county has perhaps two hundred school buildings located outside of the city, valued at approximately \$2,500,000, in which nearly 500 teachers are employed. In early days there were academies scattered here and there, the forerunners of the present splendid schools. The Monroe Academy, in Henrietta, was incorporated July 2, 1827, though the building was erected the year before. David B. Crane was the first principal. This academy continued until 1886. Webster Academy was opened in 1832 and later became the Union School. Mendon Academy was established about the same time as that of Webster and continued in operation for over a generation. The Brockport Collegiate Institute was opened in 1835 and the Riga Academy in 1846. The latter was located at Riga Center and was under the control of the Congregational Church. Rev. Franklin W. Olmstead was the first principal.

The subject of transportation naturally begins with the Indian trails; those which traversed this county have already been described. One of the first roads to be constructed in what is now Monroe County was that between Palmyra and the falls of the Genesee. It was built in 1806-7 and became a stage road. A settlement on this road in the present town of Pittsford was called "Egypt," because the farmers there raised large quantities of corn, and the name still persists. The first stages on this road were operated by Samuel Hildreth of Pittsford. In 1816 he extended the line to Canandaigua and was awarded the contract for carrying the mails. The Ridge road was opened west of the Genesee that year. Hildreth then took a partner and the firm of Samuel Hildreth & Company put on a line of stages between Rochester and Lewiston, a distance of 104 miles. The arri-

val of the stage was an event in the village and the approach was heralded long in advance. Rough weather meant delays of hours, sometimes of days, and at best travel was slow and irregular. Hildreth & Company sold out to Levi Talmadge, who operated the line a short time; Adams & Blynn succeeded him. About 1822 an opposition line was started by Aristarchus Champion, whose advertisements announced that no stages would be run on Sunday. Aristarchus, with Josiah Bissel, Jr. and A. W. Riley, headed a strong movement at this time for a "blue Sunday," which banished all travel, whether by stage or boat, on the Sabbath.

In 1827 there were two stage lines between Rochester and Albany. One of these ran by way of Pittsford, Palmyra, Lyons, Bucksville, Weed's Basin, Manlius, Syracuse, Cazenovia, Springfield, Cherry Valley and Schoharie, a distance of 217 miles. The other line was twenty miles longer; it ran via Pittsford, Canandaigua, Geneva, Auburn, Manlius, Utica, Amsterdam and Schenectady. Still another line ran from Rochester to Batavia, where it made connections with the stages to Buffalo. The completion of the Erie Canal put most of the through east and west stage companies out of business, but a number of local lines then came into existence for the purpose of connecting the interior towns and villages with points on the canal.

The canal question began to be discussed about 1807, the plan suggested being to connect Lake Erie with the tide water of the Hudson River. A preliminary survey was made, but nothing further was then done. Some years later De Witt Clinton agitated the matter in the state senate and again general interest was aroused. The War of 1812 interfered with any action at the time, and the matter remained stagnant until January 8, 1817, when a public meeting was held at Canandaigua and resolutions offered by Myron Holley in favor of the canal were unanimously adopted. In April, 1817, the legislature authorized the building of a canal to connect the waters of the Mohawk and Seneca rivers. Succeeding legislatures extended the canal, and in October, 1819, the commissioners, De Witt Clinton, Joseph Elliott, Myron Holley, Stephen Van Rensselaer and Samuel Young, made contracts for the construction of the canal from Palmyra to Rochester. As each section was completed the water was let

into it from the streams it crossed, and traffic began at Rochester late in April, 1823. During the first ten days of the operation of the canal 10,000 barrels of flour were shipped to Albany from the Rochester mills. On October 24, 1825, the last section of the canal was completed and the water was turned in. Then came a celebration which lasted more than a week. An official party headed by Governor Clinton passed over the entire waterway from Buffalo to New York, stopping at the principal points for banquets and speeches.

By 1827 there were six lines of canal boats running between Buffalo and New York City, using together 160 boats. These lines were the Hudson and Erie, Merchants, Pilot, Troy and Erie, Union and Washington. The six companies owned 882 horses and employed several hundred men. Passenger fare was one and a half cents per mile, exclusive of meals, which were supplied for fifty cents a day. The Erie Canal played a conspicuous part in building up the commerce of Rochester and developing the resources of the county. It was soon discovered, however, that the canal was not sufficiently large to meet the demands upon it and in 1838 the legislature appropriated \$4,000,000 for its enlargement. This was but the beginning of operations, which, ultimately involved an expenditure of over \$50,000,000.

In 1837 work was begun on the Genesee Valley Canal, but it was not completed between Rochester and Olean until 1856. A short line canal was constructed from Scottsville to the Genesee Valley Canal and for several years it gave the farmers around Scottsville an outlet for their products. The Genesee Valley Canal, though, failed to fulfill the expectations of the promoters. In 1878 it was abandoned and in 1881 was sold to the Genesee Valley Canal Railroad Company, which laid its tracks along the tow-path of the old canal. This road is now a branch of the Pennsylvania System.

The railroads came and with them the means of more expeditious movement of passengers and goods; the canal at once became antiquated and its usefulness rapidly declined. It was replaced by the barge canal, of much greater capacity designed for the carriage of non-perishable freight; but its value and importance as a great transportation system is in question. The old days of the canal were full of interest; canal boat captains and crews

were distinctive in type and travel upon the slow-moving craft was not without a measure of excitement that we, in the days of through trains, high-powered motors and airplanes, cannot fully appreciate; indeed, it may be asserted quite seriously that some timid souls considered traveling by the canal a rather hazardous adventure.

In 1832 the Tonawanda Railroad Company was chartered. Daniel Evans was the president; Jonathan Child, vice president; A. M. Schermerhorn, secretary, and Frederick Whittlesey, treasurer. These men had no experience in railroad construction, and the enterprise suffered. But the road was surveyed and built by Elisha Johnson and completed to South Byron, a distance of twenty-five miles, in 1834. Two years later the rails reached Batavia and the first regular passenger train left Rochester May 3, 1837. Five years later the road was completed to Attica, forty-three miles in all.

The Auburn & Rochester Railroad Company was chartered in May, 1836, but actual work was not begun for two years. The citizens of Rochester subscribed \$58,000 to the capital stock; ground was broken in the spring of 1838, and on September 10, 1840, the first train ran from Rochester to Canandaigua. The road was completed to Albany in November, 1841.

The year 1851 was one of great railroad activity. Work was commenced on the short line between Rochester and Syracuse; a small railroad between Niagara Falls and Lockport was extended to Rochester; and on October 8, 1850, the Buffalo & Rochester Railroad Company was incorporated. It was formed by the consolidation of the Tonawanda and the Buffalo & Attica companies. The latter began operating trains January 8, 1843, and was the first railroad running eastward from Buffalo. Through trains were not put on between Buffalo and Rochester until 1852.

On January 15, 1851, the Rochester & Genesee Valley Railroad Company was organized to build a road from Rochester to Avon. Work began in 1852 and the road was opened for traffic in 1854. It was afterward extended to Mount Morris and was leased for ninety-nine years by the Erie Railroad Company. With the exception of this road, those above mentioned were consolidated under the name of the New York Central May 17,

1853. The consolidation also included the Rochester & Charlotte Railroad, which was completed in 1852.

In 1869 the Rochester & State Line Railroad Company was incorporated. The work of construction was not started until 1874 and in the fall of the following year trains began running between Rochester and Le Roy. In 1878 the line was completed to Salamanca, its original terminus. Financial troubles followed, and, in 1880, the road was sold to New York capitalists, who changed the name to the Buffalo, Rochester & Pittsburgh. It was then extended to Pittsburgh and is an important coal carrying route. The Lake Ontario Railroad, between Oswego and Lewiston, was completed through the northern part of Monroe County in 1876 and later became a part of the New York Central system. The main line of the West Shore Railroad, which is a branch of the New York Central, runs east and west through the county a few miles south of Rochester. The Lehigh Valley Railroad gained an entrance into Rochester in 1892, under the name of the Rochester & Honeoye Valley Railroad. In addition to the steam roads, recent years have developed interurban electric railway lines. The most important of these are the New York State Railways, which connect Rochester with Canandaigua, Geneva, Webster, Sodus Bay and other eastern points, and the Rochester & Syracuse, which runs via Fairport, Lyons and Newark. The Rochester, Lockport & Buffalo line runs by way of Brockport, Albion, Lockport and Tonawanda.

